

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MORE ON THE ARTHURIANA OF NENNIUS

The problem of Arthurian names is a fascinating but difficult problem, as all who have delved into it or have read Brugger's article in *MP* 38 (1941), 267-89, will realize. If I advert to it once more in connection with the Arthurian battles in Nennius, it is because I wish to clarify my own position that it is in the North—in Scotland and England—that we should look for the earliest manifestations of Arthurian lore or legend. To my preceding effusions on this subject (*MP* 39 (1941), 1-14, and *MLN* 57 (1942), 64-68) I now add the following remarks.

How easily we may err in our identifications is well illustrated by Rhys' explanation of the name *Gwenhwyvar*, as the equivalent of *Guenevere*. Rhys (*Arthur. Leg.*, p. 38) derives the Welsh name from *gwynn* 'white' and *hwyvar*, Irish *siabur* 'ghost' or 'phantom,' thus accounting for his idea of the mythological character of Arthur's queen. The fact,¹ however, is that *Gwenhwyfar* corresponds, in all probability, to Irish *Finnabair* and means 'fair-eye-brow,' a trait of feminine beauty common enough in medieval romances. On the other hand, transmogrifications are common, and we should not shut our eyes to changes in names merely because they apparently violate phonological laws. This may be seen in the place-name *Lyonnesse*, employed by Tennyson in "The Passing of Arthur":

And ever push'd Sir Modred, league by league
Back to the sunset bound of *Lyonnesse*—

and commonly associated in English with Tristram of *Lyonnesse*, for *Lyonnesse* originally is *Lothian* in Scotland. "It designated," says Brugger (p. 288), "the district in Scotland that is situated south of the Firth of Forth—Lothian, in Geoffrey's *Historia*."

¹ See T. P. Cross, *Lancelot and Guenevere* (*Modern Philology Monographs*, 1930), p. 58, note 1.

'Lo(u)donesia' (Wace: 'Loëneis'). How it became Léonois, etc. may be read in *MP* 22 (1924), in Brugger's article "Loënois as Tristan's Home." Probably it also underlay the personal name Loenel (Leonel, Lionel), and so may account for Yvain's association with a 'lion'—the *Chevalier au lyon*, as again Brugger has shown. Akin to the process just described, is the method based on the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville of abstractly 'etymologizing' a name. On the biblical side it is admirably illustrated by Gilson in "Les raisonnements scripturaires usités au moyen âge" (*Les Idées et les lettres*, Paris, 1932, pp. 155-69). Thus arose, in the Arthurian field, various modifications of the name *Perceval*, such as *Perlesvaus* ('lose-the-valleys'), *Parluifet* ('self-made'), *Perceforest*, and even *Parsifal*. So too the form *greal* for *grail* (ML. *gradalis*, Eng. 'Grail'), which Robert de Boron (vv. 2660 ff.) connects² with the verb *agreer* or *abelir* 'to please,' and Robert appears to have equated Celt. Bran with the biblical Bron or Hebron. Often, however, certain figures owe their existence, or at least their names, to a misunderstanding³ or to the mistakes of careless and ignorant scribes. Thus the Sir Bercilak of *Gawain and the Green Knight* (see Hulbert, *Manly Anniversary Studies*, 12, and Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, 59-60) probably goes back to the 'herdsman' or 'churl,' the Irish *bachlach*, in the legend of Cu Roi mac Daire, and the Barzelack (Fucterer's *Lancelot*), Bertelak (English Prose *Merlin*), Bercelai and Bertolais (Vulgate *Lancelot*) are similarly connected. But the classical instance of this type has been pointed

* Even Helinand (see *MP* 13 (1916), 681) says: "Dicitur et vulgari nomine *greal*, quia *grata* et *acceptabilis* est in ea comedenti." See now the pertinent remarks of Spitzer, *MLN* 57 (1942), 605-6.

² Such an error accounts for the personal name of Galaad or Galahad (cf. Heinzel, *Grailromane*, 134). The biblical text reads (Judges 10: 18): *erit dñs populi Galaad* 'he shall be head over all the inhabitants of Gilead.' But the author of the *Queste* makes Galaad a person and obviously read the line to mean: 'Galaad will be head over all the inhabitants.' As for contaminations due to the mixture of languages, extreme caution should be exercised, especially in a field as perilous as Arthurian studies. One may grant that Galaad must be related to W. Gualhavet as Gauvain is to W. Gwalchmei (see Loth, *Mabinogion*, 2nd ed., I, 282); but when it comes (see Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, 251 and elsewhere) to identifying the names Ballain, Galvain, and Galaad and saying, in so many words, "that Galaad is probably a substitution for some form of Galvain" credibility is strained. But then most Arthurians have dwelt so long in 'glass-houses' that it is unbecoming for any of them to throw stones. *Absit omen!*

out by Kuno Meyer ("Miscellanea Hibernica," *University of Illinois Studies*, II (1916), 9-11). After showing that King Bran mac Febail (in *Imram Brain*) originated from a misreading of the promontory called *Srúb Brain* 'Raven's Beak,' as if it were Bran's Headland—a discovery of Thurneysen's,—Meyer takes up the expression *mac Soalte* as applied in later legend to the great Irish hero Cu Chulinn. Hence Cu Chulinn's 'mortal' father was known as Soalte, Soalta, Sualtach, or most often Sualtaim. Let me now quote Meyer's own words:

"By itself *mac soalte* would mean 'well-nurtured son,' and that this is actually the original phrase to which the name of the father may be traced is proved . . . by its occurrence in . . . alliterative prose, in which Leborcham addresses Cuchulinn as follows (LL p. 119a): *Átraí, a Chūcūlaind, coméirig, cobairthe Mag Murthemne ar firu Galeōn, a gein Loga soalta* ('thou well-nurtured son of Lug').

To this there is an Arthurian analogue (see Gertrude Schoepperle, *Vassar Medieval Studies*, 4 ff.) in the manner whereby Arthur, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, became the son of Uther Pendragon. In MS F. f. I. 27 of the Public Library of Cambridge the Nennian account of the Arthurian battles ends with the following statement:⁴

Arthur latine translatus sonat ursum horribilem vel malleum ferreum quo confringuntur molae leonum; *mab Uter* britannice, *filius horribilis* latine, quoniam a pueritia crudelis fuit.

Granting that Geoffrey was acquainted with a manuscript of this family, why did he interpret or misinterpret *mab Uter* as 'son of Uther'? The best answer given to this question is by J. Loth (*Revue celtique* 49 [1932], 138; cf. Vendreyes, *loc. cit.*, 48, p. 410), who argues that Geoffrey, knowing the name of Uther Pendragon as that of a great magician in Welsh legend, made the identification in order to give the British king, as was suitable, a supernatural father.⁵ One might add the large number of 'toponymic' stories,

⁴ MS 139 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, contains the same passage, but on its margin, not in the text.

⁵ The subject of misinterpretation should not be dismissed without a reference to Professor Tatlock's fascinating discussion of St. Amphibalus in Geoffrey (see *Essays in Criticism*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 1934). In the *editio princeps* (1525), Gildas—who was Geoffrey's source—reads: *sub sanoto abbate Amphibalo*; but the correct reading, according to earlier MSS, is: *sub sancti abbatis amphibalo* 'under the

current in Ireland and Wales, in which the object of the tale is to explain how a name became attached to a place, as the cairn bearing the footprint of Cabal in Arthur's hunt of the *porcus Trojant* (W. *Twrch Trwyth*), or a place to a person, as the association in the Mabinogion of Annwn with Pwyll (Geoffrey's Pellitus).⁶ In short, there are many factors to be considered in explaining an Arthurian name, and the positive, 'phonological' factor—fundamental as it should be in all cases—is only one of the many reasons for the particular form an Arthurian name may take.

With these observations in mind, let us now revert to the names of Arthur's battles given by Nennius. Lot's text reads (p. 194):

Secundum et tertium et quartum et quintum [bellum] super aliud flumen quod dicitur Dubglas et in regione Linnuis (var. lnuis, innis).

W. J. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names in Scotland* (p. 457) identifies *Dubghlais*, W. *Dulas* (in L. Land. *Dubleis*, *Dugleis*), meaning 'black stream,' with Eng. Douglas—a frequent river-name in England.⁷ As for Scotland, "Douglas Water," says Watson, "enters Loch Lomond north of Luss, and another, from Loch Sloy, has its confluence at *Inbhir Dhubhghlais*, Inveruglas, near Arrochar. . . . Another enters Loch Fyne on the west; there are besides Douglas Water in Lanarkshire and Douglas Muir in Milngavie." As Crawford, one of the latest writers on Arthur and his battles (*Antiquity* ix [1935], 277-91) correctly states, "without some clue, identification is therefore hopeless." But then there is Nennius' *in regione Linnuis*, and following a suggestion by Professor Kenneth Jackson—now of Harvard University,—Crawford thinks *Linnuis* might stand for *Lindenses*, "just as Cludwys stands for Clotenses, the people of Strathclyde, and Rhededwys (Recentenses), the men of Rheged." Since the names of a country or city and those of a people

chasuble of the holy abbot.' Gildas, as Tatlock makes clear, was rather addicted to the use of unusual words, and *amphibalus* is not a familiar word. "It is never found in either classical Latin or Greek. Apparently a popular etymologized form for *ἀμφιμαλλος* ('something woolly to be thrown about one'), it came to be understood as 'something to be thrown about one,' even as a rare synonym for chasuble." In any case, it furnished Geoffrey with the name of his saint.

⁶ On all this, see *Perlesvaus*, II, 142-43 and 192-93.

⁷ See Ekwall, *English River-Names*, 129-33.

are interchangeable (cf. "Paris"), Linnuis can be connected with *Lindensia*, the region north of Lincoln;⁸ on which see further Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, pp. 411 ff. Phonologically, the argument is sound. The great difficulty, however, is that *Lindensia* has no trace of a river Douglas, and Nennius places the battle *super flumen Dubglas*.

Turning back to Lot (p. 68), we find this statement:

La véritable identification n'est pas difficile à faire. il s'agit de l'Upper ou du Lower Douglas, qui se jettent dans le Loch Lomond, tout près de Dunbarton, chef-lieu des Bretons de Strathclyde, et la *regio Linnuis* est le Lennox (cf. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, p. 53, and *Celtic Scotland*, I, 153).

In view of this categorical explanation, it must be said that the name Lennox appears in Ptolemy as Lemannonioi Kolpos ('Lemannonian Gulf'), and, according to Watson (p. 119), a Lennox man is *Leamnach*; indeed, "the Lennox men are still *Leamnaich* in Gaelic." The root here is a Celtic word **lem-* 'elm tree' (Lat. *ulmus*), which, according to Jackson, "appears in Irish and Scotch Gaelic with the short grade *ē*, and in British with the long grade *ē* (from *ei*). One can distinguish various derivatives: among them one with an *-an-* suffix. * * From this **Leman-* base there was a Goedelic adjective, which as a common adjective would mean 'elmish,' 'of the elm,' etc., but as a name would be 'man of elm-land' or 'man of Lemanis.' From this comes the Irish and Scotch *Leamnach*, the plural of which in Scotch Gaelic is *Leamnaich*, meaning 'Lennox men' and therefore 'Lennox.'" Ptolemy's form is a derivative with an *-n-* suffix (cf. Greek *λακεδαιμόνιος* in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Sparta*), *-onios* being a very widespread adjectival ending. The noun for *Leman-onios* would be * *Leman-onia*, that is 'elm-land.'

While it appears clear then that the ending *-uis* of Linnuis or Linuis cannot represent the *-ach* or *-ox* of Lennox, and the derivation given by Crawford (from *Lindenses*) is preferable on linguistic grounds; Lot's and Skene's derivation should—in my opinion—not be ruled out. It accounts for both the river and the region, and the ending *-uis* may reflect Ptolemy's *-onios* through a substitution of (or a corruption with) Lat. *-ensis*.⁹ But, in neither case, is the

⁸ Or indeed with *Lindum Colonia* or Lincoln itself.

⁹ On the distribution of *-ensis*, PL. *-ēsis*, see Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, II, § 473; Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, p. 24; Nyrop, *Gram-*

battle in question placed in the South; Lindensia is adjacent to the territory (on the Humber) south of York, and Lennox is in Scotland.

On *cat coit Celidon* the seventh battle placed in the 'forest of Caledonia,' see J. Loth, "Les formes celtiques du nom des Calédoniens," *Revue Celtique*, 47 (1930), 1 ff.

Octavum fuit bellum in castello Guinnion (var. guinnon, guinon, and gunnion). Here again Lot (p. 69) is very positive: "cette localité répond certainement au Vinnovium antique." Crawford, much more cautious, says: it "has been attributed to the Roman fort of Vinovia, Binchester, near Bishop Auckland, co. Durham; but it is said Vinovia would become Gwynwy [see below]. The readings in the manuscripts of Nennius are very variable, and one feels that the identification should not yet be entirely rejected." Crawford's skeptical attitude was doubtless inspired by the opinion of Professor Jackson, who on enquiry writes me as follows:

A Romano-British *Vinovia* or *Vinovium* would give in Old Welsh *Guinui*, which might be spelt *Guinoi* or *Guinoy* also; in later Welsh this would be *Gwinwy* or *Gwynwy* according to the length of the first vowel—the former is more probable. For the termination, compare Romano-British *Conovium*, the Welsh *Conwy* (Old Welsh would be *Conui*).

Guinnion, on the other hand, can come only from *Vindion-* or *Vinnion-* with some suffix; perhaps *Vindionum* or *Vinnionum*, a genitive plural of an unknown tribe-name **Vindiones* or **Vinniones*—a name quite hypothetical.

To this I might add that the Ordinance Survey map of Roman Britain records a number of names in *vind-* signifying 'white' (Watson, 32): *Vindolanda* and *Vindobala* on Hadrian's Wall, and *Vindogara* directly south of it. The problem is, therefore, the ending *-ion* as against *-ui* or *-oi*. Perhaps *Vindolanda* 'white enclosure' occurred in a Latin form as *Castellum Vindionum* 'fort of the Vindiones,' if such a tribe existed. The problem can be solved only by taking into account the *castellum* or 'fort' to which the text refers, and there *Vinovium* still has in my estimation the advantage of the other names mentioned. If the question of the double *-n-* is raised, it can be met by the variant form (guinon) for *Guinnion* or by other examples of *-nn-* for *-n-*. Possibly there was a form *Vin[n]onium*, which by metathesis became *Vin-[n]ionum* (cf. above, *Loëneis* and *Lëoneis*); but that again is mere conjecture.

maire historique, III, §§ 279-80. As Brugger observes (*MP* 38, 233), the ending "*-ois* [*-uis*]" is very common in geographical names."

On the tenth battle, in *litore fluminis quod vocatur Tribuit* (var. Trahtrevroit and Traethevroit), see now Crawford, pp. 287-88. He thinks the MSS indicate that the proper name consisted of two elements, *tri* and *frut*, the latter of which "occurs in Camfrut, Guenfrut, Frut mur, and in the modern names of many English streams." The place is mentioned, he thinks, as *Trywruid*, in the Black Book of Carmarthen (see Skene, *Four Anc. Bks.*, I, 262, 263, 368; II, 3, 51-53, 321, and 351). He concludes: "the site was certainly in the north, in the Gododin region."—All this would be convincing, especially as the variants for Tribuit look like an effort at the *Traeth(ev) Trywruid* of the Black Book. But, as Professor Jackson observes, the *b* of *Tribuit* represented a *v*-sound in Old Welsh¹⁰—the word was pronounced *trivruid* with *-ui-* like 'Lewis,' whereas **Trifrud* would have been *trifrud* with *-ud* like 'good'; and in no case would the name for 'stream' be spelt with a *b* in Old Welsh. Thus, again, we are confronted with a doubtful "phonological" explanation, although the identification with *Trywruid* seems clear.

A name which lies outside of the Nennian list but which merits consideration is Camlann. The reader will remember that it occurs in the *Annales Cambriae* (Harleian MS 3859) under the year 537. On the first element of the name, see *Perlesvaus* II, 196 ff., where it is treated in connection with Camelot or Camaalot, Romano-British *Camalodunum* or *Camulodunum* (Colchester, in Essex). It is quite common in Old Celtic words and is derived from *cambo* 'curved' or 'crooked.' As for the second element, Crawford takes it from *landa* (e. g., *Vindolanda* 'white enclosure,' referred to above), later *lan-na*, an 'enclosure,' represented by the modern Welsh *Llan-* (frequent in Arthurian names). Crawford says (289): "it is possible to equate Camlann with Camboglanna. The place is a fort on the wall of Hadrian, and was the starting place of a Roman road running north beyond the wall to Bewcastle and doubtless terminating there."

I agree that "the name has nothing to do with the Camels of Somerset or Camelford in Cornwall"—despite Professor Brodeur's arguments to the contrary (*University of California Publications in English* 3, No. 7, pp. 282-83), and I add Jackson's comment that "in earlier Old Welsh one would expect the spelling *Camglann*."

¹⁰ This is corroborated by Loth, *RO* 39 (1922), 235.

pronounced with spirant *g* as in German *lage*; but in later Old Welsh this spirant was already lost, so that *Camlann* represents exactly the pronunciation in the tenth century, when the *Annales Cambriae* were probably put together."

If Crawford's identification is correct, we have in it another testimony to the hypothesis that the Arthurian legend began in the North in proximity to the Roman fortifications erected by Hadrian. "The historicity of [Arthur]," says Collingwood (*op. cit.*, 321), "can hardly be called in question. The fact that his name in later ages was a magnet drawing to itself all manner of folk-lore and fable, and that an Arthurian cycle grew up composed partly of events transferred from other contexts, no more proves him a fictitious character than similar fables prove it of Alexander or Aristotle, Vergil or Roland. It tends rather to prove the opposite." The question is: Where was his activity located? The evidence seems to me to show that it was in the North.

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'MR. HOWARD AMUSES EASY'

It is a well-known characteristic of verbal usage in English that transitive verbs may be used intransitively in a so-called passive reference: 'Don't *stretch* the curtains'—'the curtains have *stretched*'; cf. also 'the soap *dissolved*,' 'the paint *peeled*,' 'the fog *lifted*,' etc. Such examples represent an established procedure in the language and could be multiplied by the score: in general this possibility of extension is at hand whenever the transitive verb itself describes activity that is productive of a process (movement) that takes place (or may be thought of as taking place) without the direct, absolute control of an agent. Thus, in the case of soap *being dissolved* by hot water, we may subordinate the part played by the agent and think of the soap merely as *reacting* to causative activity, as entering into a process: 'the soap *was dissolving*.' But we could never say *'the soap *was rubbing* [= was being rubbed] on the clothes,' for, when activity of this kind is involved, it is impossible to disregard the all-controlling rôle of the agent; the object-affected could become the subject only of a passive verb. On the other

hand, 'my suede bag *has rubbed off* on my white gloves' is quite possible: even though a human agent must have been ultimately responsible for the achievement of this process, he has not directly controlled it: he has not 'rubbed' the bag on the gloves as he has the soap on the clothes.¹

According to the criterion just established it would be impossible to use the intransitive form of such a verb as *to add (up)*, for example, in order to describe the act by which figures *are added up* by a clerk (*'in a few minutes the figures *added up*'). It is, however, quite possible to say 'these figures *add up* to 100' [= form a total of 100], for here we have to do with a purely *static* reference concerned with the nature of the subject. Though the speaker may have had to perform the activity of adding up the figures, in order to be able to make the statement 'they add up to 100,' this statement in itself describes, not the activity of this agent, but an attribute of the subject. Cf. also:

the package weighs 3 lbs.	the lines rhyme	this dress buttons in back her bonnet ties under the chin
the cake tastes good ²	the suit fits nicely	the shoes fasten at the ankle
the air smells spicy		
the carpet feels soft		

The verbs *taste*, *smell*, *feel* serve simply as copulatives;³ with all the verbs alike the reference is static.

¹ Thus such intransitives as *to rub off*, *to dissolve* etc. represent only a "so-called" passive use; they are not the exact equivalent of passive forms.

Nevertheless it cannot be denied that the idea of 'undergoing process caused by some agency or factor' is regularly at hand with these intransitives; consequently this extension of transitive verbs must not be confused with the absolute use of transitives (e. g. 'she *washed*' [= washed herself—or, washed her clothes]; 'they *kissed*' [= kissed each other]), for here we have to do with the idea of *performing*, rather than of *undergoing*. Yet Jespersen, in his detailed discussion of "Transitivity" (*MÆG.* III, 319-55) dismisses this distinction as "of no great significance" (p. 320).

² One also hears in vulgar speech 'the cake *eats* good,' 'the beer *drinks* good'; these expressions are old in the language, according to the *NED*:

one of our French wither'd peares, it looks ill, it *eates* drily
(Sh. *All's Well*, I, 1, 176)

the wine . . . *drunk* too flat

(Heywood, *Woman Killed with Kindness*)

³ Quite similar are the intransitives *listen*, *hear*, as cited by Jespersen (p. 348-49):

That doesn't *listen* so bad. Sounds racy (Lewis MS 209)

his letters *read* stark and bald as time-tables (Wister Grant 21)

But *to add up* may also be used intransitively, even in reference to activity by an agent (an activity which must of necessity be all-controlling)—*on condition that this activity is not represented as taking place*, as: 'The figures made her cry. They *would not add up*' (Di D 564).⁴ Compare also the following examples in which the reference is hypothetical: not passive activity but the *possibility* of such activity is described:

the book would not *translate* well (Wells M 48)

I am at a sentence that will not *write* (Barrie MO 133)

my plays won't *act* . . . my poesy won't sell (Trelawney R 19)

Let us . . . shew our fowlest wares, And thinke perchance they'd *sell*⁵
(Sh. Tro. i. 3. 360)

If I had anything that could sell or *pawn* for a little money
(Defoe Rox. 13)

We might put up two or three [big houses] and see how they *let*
(Kaye Smith T 159)

this filthy stuff will never *brush off* my bags (Kipl L 137)

the dirt *rubs off* [i. e. easily] (Merriman S 14)

if it [the coat] had been tighter, 't would neither have *hooked* nor *buttoned*
(Sheridan 322)

three or four swords . . . but they won't *draw* (Farquhar B 369)

when the matches refused to *strike* (McKenna SS 154)

a large Upham [cigar] that would *smoke* for a good hour
(Mackenzie PR 47)

Alabaster *cuts* very smooth and easy (Kaye Smith GA)

The various verbs above, used intransitively in a potential reference, have one general signification: the transitive verb describes a way

⁴ This example and those which follow may all be found in Jespersen (p. 347-49), listed (alphabetically!), together with others not quite homogeneous, in the eighth and final division (Active-Passive Use of some Verbs) of his chapter on "Transitivity."

⁵ This verb is not limited to a hypothetical reference; *to sell* has long been accepted as an intransitive with the meaning 'to find purchasers,' 'to fetch a price,' and may easily be used to describe selling that actually takes place: 'his books *are selling, were selling, well*'; 'this house *sold* for \$10,000' (in such statements the agent, the merchant, is an anonymous, shadowy figure).

None of the other verbs above shares the elasticity of *to sell*, and yet Jespersen, in his discussion of the problem offered by the extension of "doublesidedness" to verbs "where it is not so natural to the meaning of the verb itself" (p. 350), speaks almost exclusively in terms of the one verb *to sell*. In this way he succeeds in explaining nothing about the type 'my plays won't act.'

of realizing the potentialities of the object: serving to create or develop it; to dispose of it profitably, properly; to put it to the service of the agent.

In order to explain the development of what he calls "active-passive use" (i. e. as distinguished from the transitive-intransitive use of such verbs as *dissolve*), Jespersen appeals to the "double-sidedness" of the form in *-ing*:

This, like other verbal substantives (nexus substantives) is indifferent to the distinction between active and passive and may therefore be sometimes understood actively and sometimes passively (as in . . . Brontë W 234 she deserved *punishing* for *punishing* me). As will be said elsewhere, this resulted in the use of the expanded tense in a passive sense: the house *is building* [is a-building], what *is doing?* etc. Now this use of sentences like *the book is selling well* may have assisted in making people say *the book sells well*.

But this passage will not well bear analysis. It must have been noted that Jespersen suddenly changes examples on us: he begins with the gerundival combinations *is [a-]building*, *is [a-]doing* which illustrate supposedly the original stage, and, to prove his point, he should have continued with the statement: "these have now become *builds*, *does*." He did not do so for the obvious reason that no such development has taken place: we are still saying 'the ship *is building*'; 'what's *doing*?—and *'the ship *builds*,' *'what *does*?' are impossible. Having dropped these two verbs in mid-air, Jespersen turns to the verb *sell*, noting that both forms, *is selling* and *sells*, are possible; he *implies* thereby that *is selling* represented originally a gerundival combination on the same level with *is [a-]building*: i. e., just as the latter meant 'is on the build,' so *is selling* would have meant 'is on sale.' But, according to the NED, there is no evidence of any such use of *selling*; instead, the infinitive was used: cf. *Abram to sell moght find na sede* (*Curs. Mundi*, 1300); *Wher such cloth was to selle, No ho it made, coude noman telle* (1370); one said originally, not 'this book *is a-selling*' but 'this book *is to sell*.' Thus, in the development which Jespersen postulates, the last stage has never come about for *build* and *do*; the first stage is unattested for *sell*.

In my opinion, the possibility of intransitive use in the case of verbs of the type *add*, *act*, *write*, *cut* is easily enough explained by the limitations attendant upon this use—by its restriction to a hypothetical reference. Even though the transitive verb itself

describes activity on the part of a human agent who completely controls reaction, still the activity is not presented as actually taking place, and the all-powerful Agent is apt to be only 'qui que ce soit.' This restriction Jespersen does not recognize.⁶ Nor does he note the fact that the transitive verb must always have the one general signification of 'putting the object to good use,'⁷ of realizing its potentialities. When such verbs are used intransitively (*alabaster cuts smooth*) the object-become-subject is represented as possessing in itself the capacity of functioning easily, of 'lending itself' docilely to the manipulation of an agent.

Indeed, in spite of the fact that he may be only hypothetical, the idea of an Agent is absolutely necessary for the implication of the verb; it is impossible to disregard the rôle played by the agent, for it is he who makes it possible for the subject to realize its proper function. This undoubtedly accounts for the frequency today in advertising of the potential intransitive: the suggestion of a hypothetical agent constitutes an appeal to none other than the potential buyer himself, whose existence is taken for granted and who is implicitly invited to test the capacities of the various commodities; and the inevitable reference of the intransitive (so long as it is affirmative) to efficient or profitable functioning, makes it a most appropriate construction for those who would cry the virtues of their wares. And so they claim that

couches *convert* easily into beds
bed-lamps *attach* and *adjust* easily
drawers *pull out* and trays *lift out*
easily

faucets *turn on and off* easily
the clock *winds* easily

lingerie *tubs* quickly and *irons* easily
garments *pack and unpack* neatly⁸

⁶ He was unable to recognize this because of the fact that he had included in his list of examples a few verbs of process (*wear out, cook, digest*), and such copula-like verbs as *eat, drink, read*; neither of these types is limited to a hypothetical reference. Moreover, he chose as his key-verb the flexible *sell*, heading his final section with the phrase 'the book sells well'—an example which has nothing in common with the majority of those which he quotes.

⁷—or, occasionally, the reverse meaning of (accidental) mistreatment. Jespersen gives no examples of this kind but it may be noted that the intransitive use of the two verbs *soil* and *rumple* is fairly frequent.

⁸ Cf. also the negative type 'this dress *doesn't rumple, doesn't soil* easily'; instead of representing the subject as responsive to (proper) manipulation,

machinery *installs, operates, repairs*
easily
automobiles *steer and park* easily

cream *whips* quickly
paint *applies* evenly
nail-polish *removes* easily

bond paper *erases* neatly
linoleum *wipes off* easily

Such statements conjure up a utopian world where all the material and mechanical factors of our civilization 'operate' smoothly, easily, to the end that man shall be more comfortable—a world where the pass-word is "easy."⁹ Thus the ideal of comfort characteristic of our age has found its grammatical reflection; if all verbs of manipulation could become hypothetical intransitives the world would be perfect!

There is undeniably a poetry in the conception of materialistic idealism which enables such expressions to flourish. But the expressions themselves are not touched with poetry; for the most part they would be scorned by the more creative and individualistic composers of advertising copy, who often achieve subtle and arresting stylistic effects. Such types as *the nail-polish removes easily* represent the garden-variety of advertising style; they are routine expressions of the trade, characteristic more of the mail-order catalogue than of Vogue or Esquire—characteristic, most of all, of the Saturday Evening Post.

the endorsement may deny that it will prove susceptible to *improper treatment*.

There are in all four common variations to be found in every-day speech:

(Recommendation)	(Complaint or Warning)
------------------	------------------------

1 a. The faucets turn on and off easily 1 b. The faucets *don't* turn on and off easily

2 a. This dress *doesn't* rumple 2 b. This dress rumples easily

Obviously, it is only 1 a. and 2 a. that are to be met with in advertisements.

⁹ The idea of an object docilely lending itself to manipulation is quite distinct from that of its working independently of an agent (as, for example, the functioning of an oil heater that automatically 'turns [itself] off and on'). When an advertisement states that a certain paint *applies* evenly, there is no guarantee whatsoever that the buyer may leave paint and brush on the floor, go out to the movies, and return to find the paint applied. Such a verb takes for granted that the activity of the agent is necessary; it suggests 'cooperation' on the part of the paint, but not 'independence.'

And yet—who knows but what the possibility of ambiguity is ever so slightly exploited in order to suggest a magical quality of performance: this paint *applies* so smoothly that the agent is hardly conscious of having to work himself!

So far we have taken it for granted that the intransitive use of transitive verbs in a hypothetical reference is limited to cases involving the reaction of inanimate objects: none of the examples so far considered has contained a reference to human behavior.¹⁰ But, in popular language, this reference is not excluded: during the last year I have become conscious of hearing over the radio (I have not yet seen it in print) the type, with variations, 'I don't *scare* easy.' In most cases the pattern has been rather elaborate: the verb, regularly descriptive of aggressive activity, is negative, and there is usually a double-beat arrangement: first the possibility of the subject's proving susceptible to such activity is postulated; then this is denied, emphatically and sarcastically. Cf.:

- | | |
|--|--|
| "they wanted to surprise me, | but I don't <i>surprise</i> so easy" |
| (after a reference to the prediction that prizefighter A would knock out B) | "But B won't <i>knock out</i> so <i>easy</i> " ¹¹ |
| (after a reference to certain dictatorial persons who seek to push us around) | "But Americans don't <i>push around</i> easy" |
| (after a reference to the removal of the U. S. Marines from China, to avoid the danger of a possible massacre by the Japanese) | "But the U. S. Marines don't <i>masacre</i> any too easily" |

Now the regularity of the 'denial' in these examples with animate subject would indicate that, in the case of *he won't knock out so easy*, we do *not* have to do with the negative form of *he knocks out easy*; rather, the intransitive use of *knock out* is possible only if this is negative. And if we assume that this new type is based upon expressions with inanimate subject then it would seem obvious that

¹⁰ Jespersen does include two passages in which a person is the subject of an intransitive: 'four babies, none of whom *photographed* well' (Wells V 71); 'one *transplants* badly at sixty-four' (Ward E 484). But in the first example there is no reference to personality; one could just as well speak of an object (or group of objects) as photographing well. In the second, personality is indeed involved, but we have to do with a simile in which a person is compared to a plant: neither to *photograph* nor to *transplant* is descriptive of behavior peculiarly human.

¹¹ This example represents the speech of a ring trainer, while the last two were spoken by political commentators. But it is undoubtedly *he won't knock out so easy* that should be accepted as revealing the social strata in which this type first arose—to be taken up later by the more literate.

it must be based upon a negative type. Two such types are common, 1 b. and 2 a.; the first (*the faucets don't turn on and off easily*) is out of the question, for it represents a complaint about lack of response, whereas *he won't knock out easy* is high praise. With 2 a. praise is implied: in *this dress doesn't rumple*, just as in *he won't knock out so easy*, the statement that the subject is capable of resisting destructive activity is offered as a recommendation.

And yet I do not believe that any such type as *this dress doesn't rumple* could have led to *he won't knock out so easy*. The first is much too tame: it amounts merely to a guarantee that the subject meets normal requirements, that it may be depended upon to withstand the wear-and-tear of every-day life. But much more than that is involved in *he won't knock out so easy*: this is no simple, straightforward recommendation to the effect that the subject will be found to be a satisfactory fighter, capable of coming through a bout still on his feet; this is indeed no matter-of-fact statement at all, but a bit of repartee highly charged with sarcasm, and concerned with rejecting an implication ("so they think he's gonna knock him out, huh? Well, they've got a surprise coming: I'm telling you he won't knock out so easy"). This dramatic negative type could hardly come straight from such a banal negative as *this dress doesn't rumple*.¹²

Perhaps *he won't knock out so easy* is not, after all, based upon a negative type; perhaps it goes back to the affirmative type met with so often in popular advertisements: *it erases easily, it turns on and off easily*. That is to say, it involves first the recognition, then the rejection, of the conception of docile easy response to manipulation. It is as if the speaker were saying: "there are gadgets that turn on and off easy; you can buy 'em in any store. But my man ain't one of 'em: he don't 'manipulate' so easy." The obvious link between the two types is the key-word *easy*; *he won't knock out so easy*, which denies a postulated easiness, owes its humor

¹² Moreover, while the verbs *rumple* and *knock out* are alike in their reference to the infliction of damage, still *rumple* refers regularly to activity that is only accidentally destructive, whereas *knock out* describes deliberate attack.

What can perhaps be traced to the type *the dress won't rumple* is the expression 'he won't kill,' which, according to Holder informants, was current a generation ago in reference to someone who managed to escape unharmed from accidents.

to the implication of a parallel between human and mechanical reaction; it owes its forcefulness to the *rejection* of the parallel.

The time is ripe for such a development. The idea of easy response which is exemplified in the smooth functioning of the contrivances with which we are surrounded and which has found its syntactical reflection in the advertising formula *it turns on and off easily*—this has been deeply impressed upon the popular mind and has long been accepted as an ideal way for gadgets to work. But as this ideal becomes more and more perfectly realized in the world of gadgetry, so it becomes necessary to question it and to limit the sphere of its applicability: the line must be drawn between things and men. In *he won't knock out so easy* this line is drawn—and by a kind of syntactical feint: the intransitive construction characteristic of popular advertising is borrowed for application to human behavior; but the applicability is denied by the use of the negative. For there seems to be no affirmative type *he knocks out easy*: the negative denies a type that is non-existent—or that exists only at the moment of denial.

But this is not to say that the affirmative use of the hypothetical intransitive is excluded from any reference to human reaction: in the case of emotional reaction this construction is very probably at hand: 'he ain't no good, he *scares* too easy'; 'better be careful; she *shocks* awful easy.' Such types would repeat the motif of complaint or warning present with *this dress rumples easy*—with overtones of derision: the subject is censored for giving way too easily to fear and shock.

Subtly distinct from such an affirmative as *he scares easy* (which I have not heard but which sounds reasonable to me) is the expression *he amuses easy* which Mr. Clifton Fadiman coined during a broadcast of *Information Please*, on the occasion of the New York-London hook-up (Nov. 14, 1941). In New York were the "regulars," Messrs Kieran, Adams and Fadiman; in London, invisible to the master of ceremonies (and consequently, even less tangible to the radio audience than were the [unseen] trio in New York), were John Gunther and Leslie Howard, who manifested their desire to volunteer answers by the expedients of pushing a buzzer and tinkling a bell, respectively: there was a curious effect of two disembodied voices. This was especially true in the case of Mr. Howard, who seemed to find the whole program (including his own failures to identify Shakespeare passages) vastly comical: time and

again, after some comment in New York, an instant giggle from London would be heard; due to the rather peculiar circumstances, the impression was that of easy automatic response to a signal: the reaction of an automaton. And finally, after the fifth or sixth giggle from London, Mr. Fadiman was led to remark, "Well, I must say that Mr. Howard *amuses* easier than anyone I know."

Such an expression distinguishes itself both from *he won't knock out so easy* and *he scares [don't scare] easy*: unlike the negative types it denies nothing; unlike *he scares easy* it is offered not as an indictment but as an (ironic) recommendation ('how smoothly, effortlessly, instantaneously, the gentleman responds! He never fails.'). According to Mr. Fadiman himself, who at my request was kind enough to analyze his own coinage, *Mr. Howard amuses easy* was intended as a parody of the current syntactical trend represented by *he won't knock out easy*. The result, it seems to me, is a particularly subtle adaptation of the advertisement slogans; the heavy sarcasm which pervades *he won't knock out easy* gives way to a gentle irony that pretends to echo the complimentary implications of *it turns on and off easily*—that pretends to accept this as offering an ideal pattern for human reaction.

* * * * *

The new development represented by the use of the hypothetical intransitive with animate subject is simply one more illustration of the way in which the interaction between things and persons is recognized by syntax: the substitution *persona pro re* (as well as the reverse procedure *res pro persona*) is a general characteristic of human speech. As regards our particular American development (I know nothing of any parallel in "English" English), this is one that could arise only out of a civilization stamped with the ideal of mechanical perfection and material comfort; and it was in the trade 'literature' devoted to expounding this ideal that the pattern could flourish, that was to inspire our innovation—an innovation which constitutes a moral criticism of the ideal.

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CHAUCERIAN MINUTIAE

The following brief notes, here assembled after the fashion of a diminutive Gordian knot, might with appropriateness be entitled "Chaucerian Puzzles" since each has to do with either a disputed passage or some intricate detail reflecting a disputed larger issue about which it seems impossible to draw now any final authoritative conclusions. Nonetheless I believe that in at least a few instances fresh data are offered which lead to the solution of, or which suggest a new approach to, several significant problems in Chaucer.

1. *Perkyn*

The discovery¹ of an *Indenture of Apprenticeship*, dated 1396 (between John Hyndlee of Northampton, Brazier, and Thomas Edward, son of Gilbert Edward of Wyndesore), suggests immediately a comparison with the incomplete *Cook's Tale*, which enumerates little more than the defections of the apprentice Perkyn Revelour. This *Indenture*—one of the oldest and most detailed extant—contains among others three important stipulations. First, the apprentice shall not absent himself illegally from his aforesaid service: "A servicio suo praedicto seipsum illicite non absentabit." Secondly, the goods and chattels of the said master John he shall lend to no one without permission: "Bona et catalla dicti Johannis magistri sui absque ejus licencia nulli accommodabit."² Finally, he shall not visit taverns, prostitutes, dice, and other similar games to the loss of time of his master: "Tabernam, scortum, talos, aleas, et joca similia non frequentabit, in dispendium magistri sui praedicti."

In turning now to the *Cook's Tale*, it is arresting to observe that Perkyn violated all of the three foregoing agreements. First, he absented himself from duties without permit: "Out of the shoppe thider wolde he lepe . . . he wolde nat come ayeyn" (vv. 4378-80). Secondly, this "joly prentys" freely expended his master's substance: "and thereto he was free / Of his dispense, in place of

¹ C. S. G., "Indenture of Apprenticeship, Temp. Ric. II," *Archaeological Journal* (London, 1872), xxix, 184-85.

² One early record states that the apprentice is not to steal his master's goods, by sixpence in the year; see E. Lipson, *An Introduction to the Economic History of England* (London, 1920), p. 281.

pryvetee / That fond his maister wel in his chaffare" (vv. 4387-89). Finally, "He loved bet the tavernne than the shoppe" (v. 4376), for certainly he was "a prentys revelour / That haunteth dys, riot, or paramour" (vv. 4391-92). There is thus no lack of evidence that Perkyn broke the covenant with his master.

Accordingly, after he had "his papir soghte" (v. 4404), the master in the *Cook's Tale* gave acquittance to Perkyn, who was "ny out of his prentishood" (the term is seven years in the *Indenture*). Now Professor Robinson glosses "his papir" as "perhaps his account book."³ But the allusion seems to be to the indenture, or deed of mutual covenant, between the two parties, which two copies in early days (the first dates from c. 1304) were written on one piece of parchment or paper cut asunder in a serrated line so that when brought together the two edges fitted and showed they were parts of one original document.⁴

It remains to note that although Perkyn was almost criminally negligent, the penalty for infractions of the rules was distinctly not always permanent expulsion. This of course may have been the reading in the aforesaid "papir"; but in the *Indenture* of 1396 it is only stated:

And if the said Thomas shall fail to carry out any of his agreement, or in any prescribed article, he shall make satisfactory amends to his master John according to the kind and enormity of his crime, or else the aforementioned term of his apprenticeship will be doubled, duplicating his set term of service.⁵

Moreover the master-craftsman was himself bound to the covenant and was largely responsible, as is well known, for the moral upbringing of his charge. In any case, the agreement between the descriptions in the *Cook's Tale* and this contemporary historical record attests to Chaucer's superb realism.⁶ If in the completed narrative

³ F. N. Robinson (ed.), *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, 1933), p. 792.

⁴ *NED*.

⁵ "Et, si praedictus Thomas de aliqua convencionem sua vel articulo praescripto defecerit, tunc idem Thomas juxta modum et quantitatem delicti sui praefato Johanni magistro suo satisfaciet emendam aut terminum apprenticiatus sui praedicti duplicabit, iterando servitium suum praefixum."

⁶ For further evidence that Chaucer was fictionizing contemporary persons and events, see Earl D. Lyon, "The Cook's Tale," in W. F. Bryan and G. Dempster (eds.), *Sources and Analogues* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 148-54.

Perkyn was returned to his apprenticeship, it is significant that the plot would appear to involve the "expulsion and return" motif of the *Tale of Gamelyn*, which in a number of MSS follows the Cook's fragment.

2. A Crowned A

On the gold brooch of the Prioress (*Gen. Prol.*, vv. 161-62) "there was first write a crowned A, / And after *Amor vincit omnia*." As noted by Professor Lowes,⁷ a crowned letter as a contemporary royal emblem was hardly unconventional; e. g., Edward III wore a crowned \tilde{E} ^{*} and his Philippa a similarly crowned \tilde{P} ^{*}. Among the badges and devices on the Parliament Robes of Richard II and his Anne in the effigies in Westminster Abbey appear both the crowned \tilde{R} ^{*} and \tilde{A} ^{*}.⁸ But these instances are inapplicable to the Prioress: she was not of royal lineage and besides "she was cleped madame Eglentyne."

In the first line of Lydgate's *Complaint for My Lady of Gloucester* in Shirley MS Trinity College Cambridge R. 3. 20, Miss Hammond⁹ interpreted the lettering as a sort of compound capital of a fused M, A, and R topped by a crown, and in 1904 she regarded this as possibly an anagrammatic *Maria*. Further study of Shirley MS Ashmole 59 (Bodleian), and consideration that in the Trinity MS the letter stands where an A is expected, led her in 1907 to declare in favor of a crowned \tilde{A} ^{*}, or a fusion of the lettering in *Amor*.¹⁰ But it is not at all certain that John Shirley meant either *Maria* or *Amor*, for the questioned letter in Ashmole appears on verso of the flyleaf as follows: "A + JOYE + \tilde{A} ^{*} + SHIRLEY + +."

Significantly enough, this same phraseology appears in the Mostyn MS (Bodleian) of the Herald of Chandos' poetical narrative on the Black Prince, and the first owner of this MS was no other than the scribe Shirley. On recto of the first flyleaf occurs the identical large lettering noticed above: "MA + JOYE + \tilde{A} ^{*} + SHIRLEY + +." This decorative capitalizing seems nothing more than

⁷ *PMLA* (1908), xxiii, 285 ff.

⁸ Mary G. Houston, *Medieval Costume in England and France* (London, 1939), pp. 134-35.

⁹ *Anglia* (1904), xxvii, 393.

¹⁰ *Anglia* (1907), xxx, 320.

John Shirley's abbreviated inscription of MS ownership ¹¹—"Ma joye; a Shirley"; i. e., "My joy; it belongs to Shirley."¹²

3. *Elpheta*

The personages in the *Squire's Tale* Chaucer describes as the Tartar King Cambyuskan, his wife Elpheta, their two sons Algarsyf and Cambalo, and the daughter Canacee. The name Cambyuskan has been tentatively identified with that of Genghis Khan (1162-1227), founder of the Mongol Empire. All the other names are unexplained. The celebrated Kublai Khan had a grandson called Kambala, which closely approximates Cambalo. Canacee occurs in the tale told by Ovid and Gower and condemned in the Man of Law's *Prologue* (II, 77 ff.). Professor Robinson suggests that Elpheta and Algarsyf look like Oriental forms, and he comments that they are unlikely to have been invented by Chaucer.¹³

As for Elpheta, Professor H. B. Hinckley¹⁴ observed in 1908 that *Elfeta* (the peculiar spelling¹⁵ of the Hengwrt MS) is the name given a star in certain star-lists in Skeat's edition of Chaucer's *Astrolabe*.¹⁶ In 1928 Professor J. M. Manly announced that "My own view is that Chaucer found the name in some list of the principal stars";¹⁷ and in 1940 Manly made a final statement: "Chaucer possibly took the name 'Elpheta' from some list of the principal stars; it occurs in several such lists, e. g. in 'Liber Astronomicus qui dicitur Albion,' ascribed to Richard de Wallingford, abbot of St. Albans c. 1326 (MS Harley 80, f. 51a)."¹⁸

The possibility of literary, not astronomical, origin must be favorably considered inasmuch as Chaucer expressly states that he will proceed "as the storie telleth us" (v. 655). This statement

¹¹ It is thus interpreted by Sir Israel Gollancz in his unpaginated pamphlet on the Black Prince: "*Ich Dene*," London, 1921.

¹² In Chaucer's age lovers sometimes wore a crowned initial or abbreviation of the name of a beloved; but the Prioressse probably had no *amie*.

¹³ F. N. Robinson (ed.), *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, 1933), p. 822.

¹⁴ *The Academy*, I, 866.

¹⁵ For variant spellings, see J. M. Manly and E. Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1940), IV, 5.

¹⁶ *Chaucer Society Publications* (London, 1872), pp. xxxii ff.

¹⁷ *The Canterbury Tales*, p. 598.

¹⁸ Manly and Rickert, *op. cit.*, IV, 480.

has support from the suggestive analogues now known to exist for all episodes in the fragmentary narrative¹⁹ There thus seems good reasoning behind Professor Robinson's²⁰ recent summation: "Probably all four names (Elpheta, Algarsyf, Cambalo, and Canacee) come from an undiscovered source, or sources, of the *Squire's Tale*." But for at least Elpheta no occurrence in medieval literature except in Chaucer has been thus far discovered.

I may observe in this connection a second literary reference to Elphita, although the name is employed by a poet writing some fifty years after Chaucer's death. In a stanza of an untitled fifteenth-century *chanson* the Catalan Andreu Febrer²¹ alludes to an Elphita as follows—

Altra n i say en qui natur a mesa
(There is not there any other in whom nature has put)
Gentils fayços e morosa peruenga:
(Gentle manners and lofty inclination:)
Don Yolant que b gaya captenenga,
(Don Yolant, who with gay countenance)
Ab dolç squart mostra sa gran noblesa.
(And pleasing gaze, shows her great nobleness.)
Na Beatriz d'Anglesola a avança
(Lady Beatriz d'Anglesola advances)
Lossanament lost stranys aculhir;
(Graciously to receive the strangers;)
E Johana Pineda qui felhir
(And Johana Pineda, who is not inferior to any one)
No sab, ne nquer Elphita la de Franga.
(Not even to Elphita, the one from France.)

Repeated efforts have not enabled me to identify the Elphita here eulogized or to disclose a likely source for Febrer's information. However, Professor Orgel del Río, whose translation is quoted above, suggests the following answer to my appeal made through Professor R. S. Loomis: "As to the identity of the persons mentioned, I think that they are ladies of the court of Aragon and Naples in the XVth century. That of Johana Pineda is found in other 'courtier' poems of the same epoch."

¹⁹ H. S. V. Jones, "The Squire's Tale," in W. F. Bryan and G. Dempster (eds.), *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 357 ff.; my article, "The Genre of Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*," *JEGP* xli (1942), 279-90.

²⁰ *Loc. cit.*

²¹ No. vii, as printed by Manuel de Montoliu, "Las poesias líricas de Andreu Febrer," *Revue hispanique*, LVII (1923), 52-53.

If in the early fifteenth century Elphita was already used as a proper name, it is altogether possible that this nomenclature was current in Spanish literary tradition at a period contemporary with Chaucer. To suggest a connection between Chaucer and Catalonia is by no means far-fetched since the poet's interest in Spanish affairs is well-known from the Monk's inclusion of *Petro-Rege Ispannie* among the tragical "Modern Instances"; and, inasmuch as the friend Oton de Graunson complimented in the *Complamt of Venus* was for some years imprisoned in Catalonia, Chaucer would have ready access to knowledge of Spanish culture from an experienced informant.²² It may be recalled that the Catalan Map of 1375 mentions the Sea of Sarra²³ (Sarray is Cambyuskan's capitol) and that for the episode of the flying horse in the *Squire's Tale* the common source of the related *Cléomadès* and *Méliacm* appears to be a Spanish version.²⁴ Finally, as for Eastern influence in medieval Europe, Moorish invasions of Spain would also seem best to explain the Oriental form of the name Elpheta.

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HALDEEN BRADY

CHAUCER'S "BROKEN HARM"

A phrase which has puzzled editors of Chaucer is "broken harm," in the Merchant's Tale [iv (E) 1425].¹ The old knight planning to marry will have none but a young wife, because

thise olde wydwe, God it woot,
They konne so muchel craft on Wades boot,²
So muchel broken harm, whan that hem leste,
That with hem sholde I nevere lyve in reste; . . .

²² See my article, "The Two Petros in the 'Monkes Tale,'" *PMLA*, L (1935), 69 ff.

²³ J. M. Manly, "Marco Polo and the 'Squire's Tale,'" *PMLA*, XI (1897), 351.

²⁴ H. S. V. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-66.

¹ All references are to F. N. Robinson's *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Student's Cambridge ed (1933). Abbreviated titles are those used in Tatlock and Kennedy's *Chaucer Concordance*.

² *Craft on Wades boot* is a puzzling phrase also; see Skeat's and Robinson's notes. It seems to mean the art of moving about swiftly—particularly

Robinson's note ³ summarizes conveniently the present status of the question:

Broken harm, of uncertain meaning; Skeat explains it as "petty annoyances." Prof. Magoun (*Anglia*, LIII, 223 f.) cites the similar phrase "broken sorowe" in Skelton's *Magnificence* (ed. Ramsay, EETS, 1908, l. 1587), of which the meaning is also doubtful.

Editors have taken *broken* to be a past-participial adjective from the verb 'break'; but it seems to me to be, rather, the infinitive of the verb 'brook,' to make use of, avail oneself of; and I would render lines 1423-6 as follows:

these old widows, God knows,
They know so much [adj.] cunning of Wade's boat,
So much [advb.] to make use of harm (or annoyance), when
they want to,
That I should never have any peace living with them.

This interpretation may be supported on grounds of form, grammar, and meaning.

As to FORM there is no difficulty. In its etymological note to *Brook, v.*, the Oxford Dictionary says:

The phonetic history is unusual; the OE *brūcan*, ME *bruken*, *brouke*, would normally have given mod. *brouk*; while the mod. *brook*, and Sc. *bruik* normally answer to a ME *brōken*, found already, as a by-form, in Layamon [c1205].

The form with *o* [appearing variously: *brok(e(n, brook(e*] is well attested by quotations in the OD, Bradley-Stratmann D, Mätzner's AE Sprachproben; and in addition I have found many in the files of the Middle English Dictionary.⁴ There can be no question that

so as to get out of the way of trouble or blame. It seems almost the complementary art to that of making use of harm—with which we are here concerned.

³ *Op. cit.*, 819, col. 1.

⁴ By kind permission of the Editor, Prof. Thomas Knott, University of Michigan. The forms (combined here under the infinitive) are found as follows: *Brok(e(n*: c1325 Poem Times Edw. II, Percy Soc. 28, p. 16, st. 34; c1340 Cursor Mun., EETS, 59, l. 5881 (Vesp.); c1380 Sir Ferumb., EETS es 34, l. 463; c1400 Beryn, EETS es 105, l. 66; 1421 Lydgate Prol. to Story of Thebes, Hammond, *Anglia* 36.366, l. 96; a1450? Wright's Chaste Wife, EETS, 12, l. 165; a1450? King Ed. & Shepherd, French & Hale, ME Metr. Rom. (1930), l. 551; a1450? Chester Pl., Adams, Chief Pre-Shaks. Dramas (1924), p. 134, l. 167. *Brooke*: a1470 Hardyng Chron., Ellis (1812), ch. clxxx, st. 3.

from the early 13th. century onward, *broken* was one of the well known forms, though used less frequently than *brouken*. By Chaucer's day it had become fully established, and it is perfectly possible that we have an example of it here.

The MSS. do not reveal anything unexpected. For this instance (Mch. IV 1425), all those that have it agree on the spelling *broken*.⁵ This verb is used in Chaucer's works in four other instances,⁶ spelt, in the MSS. which I have been able to see, *brouke* usually, *browke* occasionally, and *brooke* once.⁷ This frequency among the variant forms agrees with what the historical situation would lead one to expect, and the last instance (conveniently for our argument) is found spelt in all three ways. As the MSS. are generally clear at these points, there seems no reason to question or to prefer any of these spellings.

The GRAMMAR is quite regular. *Muchel* in l. 1423 is an adj.; in l. 1424 it is an advb. *Konne* takes two objects: *craft*, and *broken* (the infin. functioning substantively); and *harm* is the object of *broken*. This kind of construction is found often enough in Chaucer so that only a few examples need be given.

They konne . . . so muchel broken harm,
(auxil.) (advb.) (infin.) (obj.)

First, an exact parallel from the same tale:

He may not sodeynly wel taken keepe [IV (E) 2398]

In others the word order is different, but the construction is the same:

I kan noon harm of no womman divyne. [NP. VII 3266]
muchel oghte a man to drede swich a juggement, [X (I) 160-5]

Last, a parallel to the whole passage, with the auxiliary functioning in two different clauses, and with *moche* used in the first as an adj., in the second as an advb.:

⁵ Manly and Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* (1940), VI, 407.

⁶ NP VII 3300; Mch. IV (E) 2308; HF 273; LGW F 194. Only the first two of these are in Manly and Rickert, *op. cit.*; some of the variant readings of the other two may be found in *A Parallel-Text Edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Chaucer Soc., 1st. ser., 21, 57, 58, and in *A Supplementary Parallel-Text Edition . . . etc*, Chaucer Soc., 22, 59.

⁷ The first three instances generally have *brouke*, a few MSS. having *browke*; the fourth has *browke* generally, 2 MSS. have *brouke*, BM Addit. 9832 has *brooke*.

Hyt shal doon us as moche good,
 And to oure herte as moche awaylle
 To counterpese ese and travaylle, . . . [HF. 1748-50]

This new interpretation is a stylistic improvement also. For if *broken* is taken as an adj., the phrase *whan that hem leste* can only modify *konne*, which is far from it, and makes the phrase appear rather like a versifier's tag. However, when *broken* is taken as an infin., the phrase *whan that hem leste* closely modifies it, giving compactness to the whole, and strengthening the hinting quality of *broken*.

This last, of course, is a matter of MEANING, and in this respect the new interpretation is surely the better. The whole weakness of Skeat's (the only positive one offered) is that while formally it raises no questions, the meaning is hard to accept. Even 'broken' in the sense of 'intermittent' might have been better. But 'brook,' 'avail oneself of, make use of,' so well strengthens the idea of *craft*, and suits so well with *whan that hem leste*, that the whole passage acquires the knowing, worldly-wise quality that the context demands, and that we know as Chaucerian.⁸

Finally, what about the similar phrase from Skelton pointed out by Magoun? He uses it to question Skeat's "petty annoyances" and the gloss given by Ramsay to the passage from *Magnificence*, and to destroy the suggestion of Dyce, earlier editor of Skelton, that *broken* there is an infinitive (of an unidentified verb) meaning to 'tame,' 'assuage.' But he does not claim to have cleared up the passage himself; he hesitantly suggests 'heavy' or 'grievous.' I am afraid there is no more lexical support for this suggestion than for that of Dyce, and while it may bring better sense into the Skelton passage (in which, by the way, the exact meaning of *sorowe*

⁸ Chaucer's recognition of the value of the 'nuisance' one can make of oneself is a delightful part of this worldly-wisdom. The Wife of Bath [III (D) 384 ff.] was aware of it too. But one anticipation of *broken harm* is so striking as to be worth quoting:

schrewes, whan hem list to usen hir strengthe, they reioyssen
 hem to putten undir hem the sovereyne kynges, . . . [Bo. I. m. 5 51-4]

Januarie, the old knight, may well have had this kind of passage in mind, for he has just been quoting 'Theofraste' and other 'clerkes' who are cynical about marriage. He may be ruminating how the sovereignty of a husband can be subdued by 'thise olde wydwes' who know so well how to use 'harm, whan that hem leste.'

is not too clear), it fits less well the sense of the Chaucerian. Can the Skelton passage really be taken as parallel to Chaucer's? There is reason to doubt it. If, as Magoun suggests, Skelton was here consciously echoing Chaucer, one may wonder how well he had understood this phrase. He may have echoed its form, but not its clever implications of meaning.

The interpretation here offered of Chaucer's *broken harm* is not only perfectly possible on all grounds, but in illuminating the meaning it seems preferable to the hesitant and questionable interpretations given up to now.

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NOTES ON VERNER'S LAW IN OLD NORSE STRONG VERBS

In discussing the operation of Verner's Law in the preterite plural of ON strong verbs Prokosch says: "Class I offers no evidence, in class II there are 3 verbs which show the change (*kīōsa*, *friōsa*, *flȳia*, in the older language or poetry *kþrom*, *frþrom*, *flugom*). In class III *finna* has change."¹ Prokosch could have enhanced the value of these statistics if he had pointed out the probable influences which prevented the results of Verner's Law from being leveled by analogy. These influences are fairly clear in the case of class II and therefore could have been mentioned without undue digression. The case of *finna*, class III, is more doubtful.

As regards class II it is clear that the forms *kþrom*, *frþrom* stood under the influence of the reduplicating verbs such as *rþrom* (inf. *rōa* with original *r*), *sþrom* (inf. *sā* with original *s*), as the back-formations *kþra*, *frþra* (cf. *rþra*, *sþra*) prove. Furthermore, an OIcel. form *kurum* (with analogical *u*) also occurs, which Prokosch does not mention. The *r* here was preserved probably after the pattern of the phonetically correct form *kþrom*.

As regards the form *flugom* from *flȳia* 'to flee' the *g* was retained probably under the influence of the form *flugom* from *fliūga* 'to fly.' This is all the more likely in that the preterite singular form

¹ E. Prokosch, *Comparative Germanic Grammar*, p. 185.

of both verbs was identical (*flō*). In regard to the OHG form *fluhun* Prokosch (183) says: "On account of OE *flugon* we may safely assume that it formerly showed the change." To OE *flugon* he could have added ON *flugo*.

As regards the preterite plural form *fundom* (later leveled to *funnom*) of class III the retention of *d* (< **ð*) in the earlier language is harder to explain. According to Larsson's *Ordforrådet i de äldsta isländska handskrifterna* (88) only the form *fundō* (with *d*) occurs in the oldest MSS, whereas the form *fiþr* (= *fiðr*) already occurs beside *finnr*. This fact indicates that the form *fundom* was not leveled to *funnom* until after the time (ca. 1000) when *finnr* had become *fiðr*. It is, therefore, possible that the leveling of *fundom* to *funnom* was retarded by the fact that the *d* (< **ð*) in *fundom* was felt as corresponding to the secondary *ð* in *fiðr* (cf. *fundom*: *funnom*, *fiðr*: *finnr*).

In regard to class V Prokosch says (*loc. cit.*): ". . . as in West Germanic, *siā* has *sōm* in the preterit plural" and adds (186) as a footnote: "But in East-Norse (OSw.), the pret. pl. *sāgho*, with analogical grammatical change, is found, later transferred to the sing., *sāgh* for *sā*; cf. Sw. *såg*, *sågo*." This statement might be improved. In the first place, ON *sōm* (*sōm*) is on a level with WGic. only in the case of the *hw*-forms (OHG-OS *sāhum*), but not in the case of the *gw*-forms (OE *sæwom*, *sægom*; OS *sāwum*). In view of the *gw*-forms in WGic. I can see no reason for attributing to OSwed. *sāgho* (= ONorw. *sāgo*) "an analogical grammatical change," unless the WGic. forms are likewise analogical. The ON contracted form *sōm* < **sāhwum* may be explained as due to the influence of the past participial form *sēnn* < **sehwan*-. The *hw*-form of the past participle was probably due to the influence of the present system because of the same radical vowel *e* (i. e., **sehwan*-*aR* > *sēnn* after the pattern of **sehwan* > *sjā*). This assumption is confirmed by the example of OHG *gisehan* which displaced *gisewan* because of the influence of the infinitive form *sehan*; hence OHG *sāhum* = ON *sōm*.

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REICNE FOTHAD CANAINNE

About thirty years ago, Kuno Meyer published a poem entitled the *Reicne*¹ of Fothad Canainne from MS. B. IV, 2 in the library of the Royal Irish Academy.² Apart from this MS., no other codex apparently has preserved a complete copy of the poem in question.³ Since MS. B. IV, 2 was written as late as 1628 by Michael O'Clery, whereas the actual poem itself must have been composed in the Old Irish period,⁴ the span of time between the date of composition and O'Clery's transcript is sufficiently great for successive scribes to tamper with the original text and thereby introduce numerous corruptions. As a result, the meaning of many passages is hard to determine. That Meyer was, therefore, able to make such an adequate rendering despite the handicaps under which he was laboring deserves the warmest praise. He, however, was the first to recognize the shortcomings of his translation, and shortly after the appearance of his edition, he printed a series of textual emendations.⁵ But since that time, very little additional work on the elucidation of this difficult text has been undertaken, although a few scholars, such as Osborn Bergin,⁶ E. J. Gwynn⁷ and Joseph Vendryes⁸ have made notable contributions. Much, therefore, still remains to be done.

Among the many unsolved difficulties is the second verse of the nineteenth stanza. This with the preceding stanza is printed and translated by Meyer as follows:

¹ Since the precise meaning of *Reicne* has not as yet been established, no translation is given. It seems to denote a particular kind of poem, perhaps of an extempore nature; cf. *Hessen's Irish Lexicon*, II, 198.

² Cf. *Fianaigecht*, pp. 10 ff.

³ For a shorter version of the prose account preceding the poem as well as for another copy of the first stanza from MS. 9748 of the National Library of Ireland, see V. Hull, "The Death of Fothath Cananne," *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, xx, 400-404. The first two verses of the thirty-second quatrain also occur in a slightly altered form in W. Stokes's *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. 317.

⁴ Note especially *tu . arnect* in the third stanza, where pretonic *do* is still represented by *tu* (*to*).

⁵ See *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, viii, 599.

⁶ Cf. *Ériu*, xii, 204.

⁷ He has confirmed one of Meyer's proposed emendations; cf. *Revue Celtique*, xlviii, 458.

⁸ See *Revue Celtique*, xxxii, 106-108.

18. *Comrac Mugairnd fri Mugna,*
Batar da c[h]uilen cholma,
Manis tisedh fien forbar,
Ropad mur a congal.
19. *Fo·ce[i]rd a n-oman cach tuaith*
Cain dothfasuith Falbe Ruaidh,
Immus apt[h]atar, gann gle,
Re cäch ar nda deogbaire.
18. The combat of Mugarn with Mugna,—
 Two brave whelps were they;
 If the puissant *fian* had not come to them,
 Their contest had been dour.
19. It casts every tribe into dread,
 of Falbe the Red.
 Before all the rest our two cup-bearers
 Perished by each other's hand.⁹

With respect to the second verse of stanza nineteen, Meyer in a note¹⁰ says that he "can make nothing of *cain dothfasuith* which should contain a noun on which the gen. *Falbi Rúaid* depends." But an interpretation of this phrase is possible by dividing *dothfasuith* into two words, namely *doth* and *fasuith*, whereby alliteration is established between *fasuith* and *Falbe*.¹¹ Of these words, *doth* is a well-attested substantive signifying "brood, litter, offspring" which here obviously refers back to the *da c[h]uilen cholma* in the preceding stanza. If, therefore, *fasuith* is left out of consideration for the moment, *cain doth Falbe Ruaidh* could mean "the fair brood of Falbe Ruadh," which furnishes not only good sense, but also continues the figure of speech introduced in the foregoing quatrain where Mugarn and Mugna are called "two brave whelps." Moreover, this phrase would be the logical subject of *fo·ce[i]rd*, "casts, puts." Whether, however, *cain doth* is to be regarded as a compound or not is uncertain.¹² If *cain* is simply the attributive adjective, its position before the governing noun violates the normal word order in prose, but such inversions are permissible in poetry.¹³ Whichever solution may be the correct

⁹ Meyer has purposely left untranslated the rather meaningless cheville *gann gle* which is approximately equivalent to the German "klipp und klar."

¹⁰ Cf. *Fianaigeacht*, p. 19.

¹¹ Alliteration is, however, not consistently practiced in the oldest poems; cf. K. Meyer, *A Primer of Irish Metrics*, p. 10, § 21.

¹² Professor Myles Dillon suggested this possibility to me.

¹³ Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 12.

one, the meaning of the passage, at all events, remains essentially the same.

Still unexplained, however, is *fasuith*, which is best construed as the genitive masculine singular of the *u*-stem adjective *fosuth* agreeing with *Falbe Ruaidh*. This adjective means "staunch, steadfast, firm" and is often used with reference to persons¹⁴ so that its employment here is not out of place. Like *cain*, it also precedes the substantive which it qualifies,¹⁵ but unlike *cain*, there can hardly be a question of its forming a compound with *Falbe*, since it presumably is intended to alliterate with that word. If, however, objection is raised that one expects *fosuith* instead of *fasuith*, it may be said in reply that accented *o* and *a* continually interchange in Old and Middle Irish,¹⁶ as may actually be seen by several examples in the *Reicne Fothaid Canainne* itself.¹⁷ Since *fosuth* later becomes an *i*-stem,¹⁸ it might also be argued that *fasuith* here modifies *doth* in view of the fact that in Irish poetry one adjective may precede and the other follow the substantive.¹⁹ But in so archaic a text that is not at all probable.

If, therefore, the foregoing analysis is accepted, the phrase *cain doth fasuith Falbe Ruaidh* signifies "the fair brood of staunch Falbe Ruadh" and is the subject of *fo·ce[i]rd a*²⁰ *n-oman cach tuath*, "casts every tribe into dread." Such an interpretation, at all events, seems to fit the context and, at the same time, provides the genitive *Falbe Ruaidh* with a noun upon which it can depend.

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¹⁴ Cf. *Fianaigeacht*, p. 48, § 14; E. Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindsenchas*, IV, 32, v. 28; G. Calder, *Togail Na Tebe*, p. 62, l. 983.

¹⁵ See note 13 above.

¹⁶ Cf. R. Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Altirischen*, p. 48.

¹⁷ For example, *fadbach* for *fodbach* in stanza 12, *cholma* for *chalma* in stanza 18, and *fadb* for *fodb* in stanza 23. Compare also *faglaíd* for *foglaíd* in Kuno Meyer's *Bruchstücke der älteren Lyrik Irlands*, p. 5, § 2.

¹⁸ Cf. G. Calder, *Togail Na Tebe*, p. 377 s. v. *fosaid*; O. Bergin, *The Three Shafts of Death by Geoffrey Keating*, p. 55, l. 1669; P. S. Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla*, p. 483 s. v. *fosaidh*.

¹⁹ Cf. K. Meyer, *A Primer of Irish Metrics*, p. 12, § 29.

²⁰ Read *i*.

OF THE RACE OF CONAIRE MOR

Among the oldest texts in Irish is *De Sú Chonairi Móir*, "Of the Race of Conaire Mor," which was ably edited by Lucius Gwynn.¹ However, like many similar documents belonging to the earlier period of the language, it contains a number of problems which still await solution. One of these the late Professor R. Thurneysen solved.² Another one is *conachmoceth* which occurs in the following passage: *Bai carpat rig hi Temair no · gabtais de ech oendatha nad·ragabaitis riam fon carpat. Inti nad·airoemath flaith Tempach, con·ocbath in carpat fris conachmoceth 7 con·cligts ind hích fris.*³ This passage Gwynn renders: "There was a king's chariot at Tara. To the chariot were yoked two steeds of the same colour, which had never before been harnessed. It would tilt up before any man who was not destined to receive the kingship of Tara, so that he could not control (?) it, and the horses would spring at him."⁴

Here, *conachmoceth*, which should be read *conach·moceth*, is tentatively translated "so that he could not control it," but the difficulty with this translation, as Gwynn realized, resides in the fact that there apparently exists no verb beginning with an *m* which answers to that meaning. However, this difficulty vanishes if *m* is regarded as the eclipsis of a *b* so that the scribe should actually have written *conach·m-boceth*. Since *carpat*, "chariot" is masculine, the infixed objective pronoun referring to it would after a negative and the conjunction *co*, "so that" be expressed by the nasalisation of the following consonant or vowel. Before *b*, the homorganic consonant *m* is employed and the *b* is no longer pronounced. By omitting this *b*, the scribe has simply permitted himself a phonetic spelling, just as somewhat later in the same text he writes *in tochraite* for *in t-íchraite*, "the hosts" and *isin tith* for *isin t-sith*, "in the fairy mound."⁵

The verbal form here in question would, therefore, seem to be *·boceth*, which is the imperfect indicative third singular of *bocaid*, signifying primarily "softens," but apparently often used with reference to spears and similar objects in the sense of "shakes, vibrates, tosses."⁶ That the scribe had *bocaid* in mind is shown by

¹ *Ériu*, vi, 130 f.

² *Die irische Helden- und Königssage*, p. 621, n. 2.

³ *Ériu*, vi, 134.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁶ K. Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*, p. 232.

two other passages in which it also occurs in collocation with a chariot. These are as follows:

a) *In cetna carpat i tánic . . . bocais 7 bertnaigis imme.* "The first chariot into which he came, he tossed and brandished about himself."⁷

b) *Boccais⁸ in carpat imme.* "He tossed the chariot about himself."⁹

Whether, however, the meaning here assigned to *boc(c)ais* is really correct is not certain, despite the fact that in Modern Irish *bogaim* is also recorded in the sense of "I brandish, shake, rock, etc."¹⁰ Since this verb is usually coupled with *bert(n)aigim* which once glosses *vibro*,¹¹ it is generally assumed that these two words are synonymous, but that assumption is not necessarily true. At all events, Gwynn's tentative rendering of *bocaid* by "controls" seems hardly right. If the primary sense is "to soften," then when applied to chariots, it should signify approximately "to render pliant or manageable" and, hence, perhaps "to manipulate, wield or handle." Some such meaning, at any rate, seems to suit the context in all three preceding passages. Though greater preciseness with respect to the sense is not possible, at least there can be little doubt regarding the form, for on the basis of the evidence cited above the verb can hardly be any other than *bocaid*. The emendation of *conachmoceth* to *conach·m·boceth*, therefore, seems so in keeping with the facts that no further justification is required.

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OE CHARM A 13: *BŪTAN HEARDAN BĒAMAN*

In the course of the really wonderfully explicit instructions how to render farm-land fertile, that make A 13¹ one of the most

⁷ E. Windisch, *Die altirische Heldensage Táin Bó Cúalnge*, p. 137, l. 1115.

⁸ A different MS adds: *et bertaigis*, "and brandished."

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 137, l. 1127.

¹⁰ Cf. P. S. Dinneen, *An Irish-English Dictionary*, Dublin, 1927, p. 106

¹¹ W. Stokes, *Irish Glosses*, p. 138

¹ Felix Grendon, ed., "Anglo-Saxon Charms," *The Journal of American Folklore*, xxxi (1909), 172, A 13, l. 8; the same is available in an anastatic reprint by G. Stechert, New York, 1930. For a recent note on this same charm see L. K. Shook, *MLN*, lv (1940), 139-40.

remarkable and most fascinating of all OE charms, are described not a few steps whose significance is not yet altogether clear. To one of these difficulties an answer has, I think, now been found.²

At the outset we are told that four sods should be cut before dawn from the four corners of the lot of land to be improved, and, before anything further is done, that the underside (*stapol*) of each sod should be sprinkled with a fertilizing liquid. This is to be prepared from olive-oil, honey, yeast, the milk of each (kind of?) live-stock on the property, and is to include, *inter alia*, a bit of each kind of wood that grows on the estate *except hard wood trees* (*būtan heardan bēaman*).

The point of this exception seems to depend not on the character of hard wood trees but of their opposite, soft wood trees, which are to be used; in other words, the instruction is given negatively. Now the essential characteristic of soft wood trees is that they are conifers and mostly evergreen.³ The deciduous larch would be a conspicuous exception, but the larch was in pre-Conquest times unknown in England.⁴ In the present charm the soft wood trees are, I think, almost surely equated in fact and in the mind of the author with evergreen trees and are recommended here because of the inevitable association of evergreenness and fertility; that green is symbolic of vitality and youth is a commonplace.⁵

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THE CARBUNCLE IN THE ADDER'S HEAD

To illustrate the Gospel precept 'Be ye wise as serpents' in his *Confessio Amantis* (I, 463 ff.) John Gower makes use of an interest-

² For the essential point I am indebted to a former undergraduate student, Mr David Kelleher, who made the pertinent suggestion immediately on hearing the charm read in translation. I do not attach importance to Grendon's note (*ed. cit.*, p. 220, n. 7) that hard wood did not need to be blessed. The process here at issue involves the assembling of a number of substances in one way or another symbolic of fruitfulness.

³ See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., xxii, 217A, under art. "Timber," and dictionaries under "hard wood" and "soft wood."

⁴ Joh. Hoops, *Waldbäume u. Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum* (Strassburg, 1905), p. 266.

⁵ See, e. g., *NED* under "green," adj., 6.

ing bit of folklore.¹ It is the account of a "serpent which that Aspidis / Is cleped" whose forehead is studded with the very precious stone, the carbuncle.² To procure the gem, snake charmers seek to lull the adder into insensibility. However, the clever serpent lays one ear close to the ground, stops up the other with its tail, and thus, like Ulysses among the sirens, preserves itself from seduction.

Gower's editor, G. C. Macaulay, notes³ that the legend is founded upon Psalm lviii, 4, 5: "they are like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear; which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely." To St. Augustine,⁴ Macaulay attributes the first suggestion of the serpent's ingenious method of stopping her ears; but, the editor points out, to Isidore, bishop of Seville, who follows Augustine's account in the serpent section of his *Etymologiae*, the Middle Ages were indebted for their version of the legend.⁵ Macaulay might have cited, too, as a source, the description of the adder in the *Physiologus* which adds many details. The enchanter in this bestiary is able to approach the adder by casting before it successive trusses of dried plants upon which the serpent exhausts her fiery breath. Then, when the adder tries to stop her ears to shut out the blandishments of the charmer, he stretches forth a rod and separates her tail from her ear. The adder dies at once, and the enchanter "takes from her whatever he wishes."⁶

In Gower's version the carbuncle in the adder's head is a significant part of the story: it serves to motivate the attempts to charm and capture the serpent. Nevertheless, Macaulay fails to account for the snake stone. He merely notes that the versions by St. Augustine and by Isidore say nothing about it. It is not necessary, however, to assume that Gower himself improvised the carbuncle element in the story. Widespread and multitudinous are the

¹ This is repeated in the *Mirour*, ll. 15253-15276.

² This designation, signifying literally "a glowing coal," was used for certain stones distinguished by their brilliant red color, such as the ruby and certain fine garnets.

³ "Notes," *The Works of John Gower* (Oxford, 1901), II, 468.

⁴ St. Augustine, "Expositions on the Book of Psalms," transl. Rev. James Tweed, *A Library of Fathers of The Holy Catholic Church*, No. 30 (Oxford, 1849), III, 107.

⁵ Liber XII, caput iv (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. 82)

⁶ *The Epic of the Beast*, translation of *Physiologus* (London [1924]), pp. 234-5.

references to the myth upon which the poet might have drawn. Like the Shakespearean toad which "ugly and venomous wears yet a precious jewel in his head," the fable of the jewelled adder was part of the folk and lapidary lore of antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Plausible is the hypothesis that would connect the carbuncle in the adder's head of Gower's *Confessio* with the myth surrounding the jewel *dracontides*. The history of this stone reaches back into antiquity, but Gower could have learned about the gem from numerous mediaeval sources. First mention of the *dracontides* is that by Sotacus, a writer on mineralogy who flourished before the Macedonian conquest. According to Sotacus, who had himself beheld the jewel, the *dracontides* is to be found in the brain of the dragon.⁷ To capture the stone, men strew before the cave of the dragon medicated herbs that induce sleep. When the dragon has been rendered unconscious, the jewel is cut from his head. From Sotacus, Pliny borrowed the legend of the *dracontides* for his *Natural History*. The "dragon" described by Pliny is identified as a venomless serpent.⁸ Of the stone Pliny relates that unless the head of the snake is cut off while it is alive the stone will not assume the form of a gem; this, through spite on the part of the serpent when finding itself at the point of death. Hence, to insure the proper production of a precious stone, the head of the snake is cut off when it is asleep.⁹

The Greek Philostratus who lived in the second century details, in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, a more fanciful method of seizing the dragon stone as practised in the mountains of India. The Indians embroider golden runes on a scarlet cloak which they lay in front of the serpent's burrow. By means of the runes and mysterious lore sung to him, the dragon is charmed to sleep: the runes induce him to stretch his neck out of his burrow and fall asleep over them. This is the only way to overcome the eyes of the dragon which are otherwise inflexible. With their axes the Indians fall upon the sleeping dragon, cut off his head and despoil it of its gems.¹⁰

⁷ Charles W. King, *The Natural History of Precious Stones* (London, 1870), p. 53 n.

⁸ *Natural History*, v, 395.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vi, 447.

¹⁰ Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, trans. F. C. Conybeare (London, 1912), I, 245-247. See also, Edward Topsell, *The History of*

The tradition of Sotacus and Pliny is followed both in the account of the dragon stone of Ethiopia featured in the *Polyhistor* of Caius Julius Solinus, a writer of the age of Constantine, and in the encyclopaedic work of Isidore of Seville, the *Etymologiae*. The first of these, Solinus, quotes Sotacus on the method of rendering the dragon unconscious; and adds that it is necessary that the gem be removed while the serpent is still breathing, for just as soon as breath ceases the jewel disintegrates.¹¹ Isidore's work, which passed on to the Middle Ages the myth of the snake which could resist charmers,¹² also passed on the myth of the dragon with the jewelled head.¹³ The *Etymologiae*, a work of the seventh century, follows Solinus and Sotacus in detailing how medicated grass is scattered before the serpent's cave to induce sleep; and how, unconscious, the snake is beheaded and the gem removed. In the version of the legend given in the lapidary of Albertus Magnus composed in the thirteenth century, stress is again laid on the necessity of removing the stone while the dragon is still alive.¹⁴ A Greek lapidary, the *Kyranides*, translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona in the twelfth century, records that the hydra or water-serpent has a jewel in its head.¹⁵ The *Kyranides* is the source of the mediaeval fables of the unicorn and the jewelled toad-stone, which last Shakespeare immortalized.¹⁶

With the exception of the lapidary attributed to John Mandeville,¹⁷ later mediaeval lapidaries which record the myth of the dragon stone repeat with only minor variations the traditional details.¹⁸

Fourfooted Beasts and Serpents, ed. John Rowland (London, 1658), pp. 705, 707.

¹¹ Caius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, edited by Theodor Mommsen (Berlin, 1895), caput, xxx, p. 133.

¹² *The Etymologiae*, Lib. xii, caput iv (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. 82).

¹³ *Ibid.*, Lib. xvi, caput xiv, 7.

¹⁴ *Opera Omnia*, ed. Augustus Borgnet (Paris, 1890), v (Liber ii, Tract ii, cap. iv), 35.

¹⁵ Fernand de Mely, ed., *Les Lapidaires de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1902), Tome iii, 136.

¹⁶ Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 18-19.

¹⁷ The attribution was due probably to Mandeville's fame as an authority on India and the East.

¹⁸ Chevalier Johan de Mandeville, *Le Lapidare du Quatorzieme Siecle*,

The legends of dragon-stones cited, detail the characteristics of the jewel adorning the serpent's head, but fail to identify the specific jewel. The precious stone in the adder's head described by Gower is, however, definitely specified as a carbuncle. In two mediaeval lapidaries, the Alphabetical Lapidary, and the Peterborough, we come upon positive identification of the dragon stone as the carbuncle. The Alphabetical Lapidary existed in numerous versions both in France and England, the earliest of which dates back to the twelfth century.¹⁹ The description of "Dracontides" is the traditional one:

Dracontides co est un nom
De pere qui vient de dragon;
Dracontides est nomee
Pur le dragon dunt est trovee;
Es charbocle ad nom en franceis . . .
Enchanteurs, par lui reisuns,
Issi enchantent les draguns,
Que il les funt ben endormir,
Puis lur vunt lur testes tolir.
Quant les testes lur unt trenchees
Duncunt les peres desraisees.²⁰

This identification of the dracontides with the carbuncle is echoed by the Peterborough lapidary, which is without doubt merely an English transcription of the Alphabetical Lapidary. There it is affirmed:

Dracontidis is a stone, & it is in a dragones hed. Some men clepen him escarbuncle.²¹

It is apparent from the evidence adduced that the passage in Gower's *Confessio* is either a confusion or a conscious combining of two legends, one dealing with a snake in whose head is imbedded a carbuncle, the other with a snake with a trick to nullify a charmer's incantations. In Gower's illustration of the Gospel text,

ed Is. del Sotto (Vienna, 1862), p. 113; also, *Das Buch Der Natur*, ed Franz Pfeiffer (Stuttgart, 1861), p. 444, par. 29; also p. 269, par. 10.

Lapidaries of the 15 and 16 century continue the legend. See Joan Evans, *op. cit.*, Appendix D, pp. 228-229, Christopher Entzelt, *de Re Metallica* (Frankfurt, 1551), Liber III, cap xxxix, p. 223.

¹⁹ *Romana*, xxxviii (1909), 53

²⁰ P. Studer and J. Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries* (Paris, 1924), p. 229.

²¹ J. Evans and M. S. Serjeantson, *English Mediaeval Lapidaries*, EETS, O. S. 190 (1933), p. 85.

the first legend seems a gratuitous addition to St. Augustine's story of the snake that could not be seduced. It serves, however, the dramatic function of motivating that story, since it explains why conjurers seek to enchant the serpent: to secure the prized jewel. Of the many serpent-stone myths which might have inspired Gower, that of the dragon-stone seems most suggestive. Like Gower's adder-stone the dragon-stone was discoverable in the head of a serpent, was reputed to be a carbuncle, and was sought after by conjurers who tried to subdue the serpent to their will to secure the jewel. The charming of the serpent is the element common to both the legend of the serpent-stone and that of the crafty adder of St. Augustine, and might well have been the bridge which connected both stories in Gower's mind.

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TWO NEW CAROLS

(Hunterian MS. 83)

In a recent article in *MLN*¹ I listed seven carols not included in Dr. Greene's monumental collection. Of those unpublished, three will appear in my forthcoming *Secular Lyrics of the XIV & XV Centuries*; the remaining two fugitives, for the sake of completing the roster, are made available here. I am indebted for the texts of these pieces to my friend, Miss Beatrice H. N. Geary (of Leicester, England), who examined the MS. some years ago and obtained leave to publish it; on the outbreak of the present war, however, she handed over her transcriptions to me.

These two carols are found in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University, MS. 83 [*olim* T. 3. 21]: "Gabriell off hye degre" (f. iiii^b) and "All heyle Mary and well pou be" (f. 21^a). The MS. was carefully described in the *Catalogue* of 1908,² but overlooked by both Brown and Greene. The carols, as well as a popular tail-rimed poem "Nowe well and now woo," are in the same late xv century hand; they are casually written, along with such miscellaneous entries as the names of the owners of the book and a list of

¹ "The Burden in Carols," *MLN*, LVII (1942), 16-22.

² *A Catalogue of the MSS etc*, Young, completed by P. Henderson Aitken, Glasgow, 1908, pp. 88-9. The Hunterian MSS. are not at present available.

monarchs of the world, in the spaces left vacant by the main body of the text, John of Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*. The first carol is in the bolder and more careless script in which the scribe added the last stanza of "All heyle Mary." Noteworthy is the fact that the texts are provided with music, thus adding in a slight way to the scanty tangible evidence that the popular carols were meant to be sung. For whereas the words of 544 carols survive, the music of only 99 is known; or, excluding the xvi century MSS., only 41 out of 486 carols are found with music.³

"Gabriell off hye degre" is a variant of a text (Greene No. 239) found also in the minstrel manuscript, Bodleian 29734, and in Richard Hill's commonplace-book (Balliol MS. 354), in both cases without music. The Hunterian text agrees very closely with the Balliol, which itself combines features in the other versions, having eight stanzas against six in the Hunterian and seven in the Bodleian MS. The slips in the Hunterian text point to its having been written from memory or from oral transmission at some period. "All heyle Mary" is unique; the refrain, however, is similarly used in a Marian hymn.⁴ The music and words of the burden serve for the refrain, and both are written in the MS. in plainsong—actually the opening of the Introit in the Common of Festivals of the B. V. M.⁵ The texts offer no difficulties, and are presented without further comment.

f. iiib

Noua noua

Aue fit ex Eua

Gabriell off hye degre

he cam down from trinite

from Nazareth to galile

Noua

I met a madyn in a place

I knelyd down a-fore hir face

And seyd heile mary ful of grace

Noua

1-2 One line in MS

The burden and vv 1-3 are written again with the music

³ MSS. Trinity Coll. Camb. 1230; Arch Selden B. 26; and Greene Nos. 239a-d, 144, 151B.

⁴ Brown, *Register*, No. 662; see also Greene No. 200.

⁵ *Liber Usualis*, Tournai 1932, p. 1091.

When þ^e maiden herd tell off this
 Sche was full sore abaschyd I-wys
 And wened þ^t sche had don a-mysse
 noua

Then seid the angell dred not þ^{ue}
 ffor 3e be conceyued w^t gret vertu
 whoos name Schalbe called criste ihū
 Noua

It is not 3it vj wekes Agoon
 Sen Elizabeth conceyved Iohn
 As it was prophysed be-forne
 Noua

20

The[n] seid the mayden verely
 I am youre seruaunt ry3t truely
 ecce ancilla domini
 Noua

12 W^t struck through before *noua* (*With noua* is the refrain in the two other versions)

18 Corrections by scribe from original reading *Sen sche was conceyved w^t seynt*—*sche* was struck through and *Elizabeth* inserted above line, and *w^t seynt* struck through and *Iohn* added at end of line

21 *to* written above second *the*

23 W^t struck through before *ecce*

Throughout the riming lines are bracketed and refrain written at right

f. 21^a

Salve sancta parens

All heyle Mary and well þ^u be
 Madyn & modere wt-outyn offens
 ffor thy suffren virginite
 Salve sancta parens

¶ O curtasse qwheyn most comendable
 O prynce pereles in pacience
 O virgyn victorius onvariable
 Salve sancta parens

¶ O consolatrix of contribute
 O suffren well of sapiens
 O mayden & moder immaculate
 Salve sancta parens

10

4 *Salve sancta parens* written twice, first time struck through

6 *pacience* altered by scribe from *paciens*; *perles in* struck through before pereles

The burden and first stanza are written under the music; in st. 2, 3 and 4 the two pairs of riming lines are bracketed

¶ O precious perele imperpetuell
 O saffure off sadenesse sett in sentence
 O Imparice both off hevyn and hell
 Salue sancta parens

¶ O well off grace celestiall
 Bryng vs lady to thy presence
 Kepe vs well that we note fall
 Salue sancta parens

20

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THE PEARL: west ernays (307); Fasor (432)

Line 307 of the manuscript of *The Pearl* has usually been read,

3e setten hys wordez ful westernays,

and *westernays* has been explained as an error for OF. *bestorneis* or a transformation of it.¹ Morris, however, had early recognized it as two words in a crowded line.² His reading was *western eys*, his translation, 'western ways,' neither of which would seem satisfactory. A possible reading, and one which permits a sense consistent with the rest of the stanza is *west ernays*—*west* from OE. *wēste*, 'empty,' and *ernays* for *ernes*, a fourteenth century form of 'earnest' (v. *NED.* 'earnest' sb.²) with the figurative meaning 'foretaste, instalment, pledge . . .' developed from the literal 'money, or a sum of money, paid as an instalment, especially for the purpose of securing a contract.' The word, according to *NED.*, was early confused with 'earnest' (sb.¹, also spelled *ernes* in the fourteenth century) 'seriousness, serious intention . . . the notion being that an *earnest* [sb.²] was so called as showing that a bargain was made in earnest.' *Ernes* in the fifteenth century *Promptorium Parvulorum* is defined 'pignus.'

The ending *-ays* may be explained as an example of the poet's

¹ Cf. *NED.*: *Westernais*, adv Obs. [App an alteration of OFr. *bestorneis*] Wrongfully, perversely [In illustration, Line 307 of *The Pearl* is quoted]. Cf. also Stratmann-Bradley, *Middle-English Dictionary*, "Additions and Corrections," 708; *The Pearl*, ed. C. G. Osgood, Jr. (Boston, 1906); *The Pearl*, ed. I. Gollancz (London, 1921).

² Richard Morris, *Early English Alliterative Poems in the West-Midland Dialect of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1864), EETS. 1.

use of artificial rhymes, as in *wace* (65) and *streny* (351). However, in West Midland the form *ernays* might have appeared. The proper name *Erneis* (probably *Ernes*, *Ernest*) occurs on the list for Cornwall in *Domesday Book*,³ and Welsh names are found in Lancashire documents, chiefly in the south, dating from about 1200.⁴

Line 307 of *The Pearl*, therefore, in accordance with the conjecture here proposed, may be translated,

Ye make His words a quite empty pledge.

That is, in believing only what you see (308), you make what Our Lord promised (*hyȝte*, 305) regarding the resurrection of the body (305-306) a pledge without value.⁵

A quatrain of the poem which has caused some trouble to editors is that at the end of Stanza 36 (lines 429-432), in which the dreamer praises the Blessed Virgin:

Now for synglerty o hyr dousor,
We calle hyr Fenix of Arraby,
bat freles fleȝe of hyr fador,
Lyk to þe Quen of cortaysye.

The traditional interpretation of *fador* (*NED.* 'fashion, form') misses the special significance of the poet's praise of Mary, namely, that from the moment of her creation she was immaculate even as was the phoenix,

Which flawless flew from its Creator.

Fador, that is, here represents one of the various forms of OF. *faiseor*, *faisour*, 'Maker, Creator.' Two pertinent illustrations from Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, are:

Me covient monter a mon *feseur* por les euvres de ses commandemenz.
(Vie et mir. de plus s. confess., Maz. 568, f.^o 118)

Dieu *faiseor* de toutes choses. (Regle del hospit., Richel. 1978, f.^o 166)

This meaning for *fador* is supported by—and possibly is traceable

³ *Domesday Book*, ed. Sir. H. Ames (Southampton, 1861-1864), XII, fo. 6

⁴ Elert Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922), 266-267.

⁵ The phrasing is Biblical Cf. Ps 88.35 (Douay Version): Neither will I profane my covenant: and the words that proceed from my mouth I will not make void.

to—*The Phoenix Homily*, two passages of which stress the fact of the creation of the marvelous bird by God:

Pair wunep on an fugel fæger Fenix gehaten, he is mycel and mære swa
se Mihtige 3esceop . .

ƿas halge fugel is Fenix 3ehaten, wlitiz and wynsum, swa hine God
3escop.⁶

Compare also in the poem *Phoenix*, a like emphasis upon the view that the bird is a beautiful work of the Creator:

eall biþ geniwad
feorh and feperhoma, swa he aet frymþe waes,
ƿa hine aerst god on þone aepelan wong
sigorfaest sette

farap feorran and nean folca bryþum,
ƿær hi scewialþ scyppendes giefes
faegre on þam fugle, swa him aet fruman sette
sigora soþcýning sellicran gecýnd,
fraetwe faegran ofer fugla cyn.⁷

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THE NAME IRISDISION IN THE 'INTERLUDE OF JOHN THE EVANGELIST'

In his edition of the *Interlude of John the Evangelist*¹ John Stephen Farmer comments on the meaning of Irisdision, the name of one of the dramatis personae. Under the heading "Trentham (Sir William of Trentham)" in the "Note-Book and Word-List," an appendix to the volume, Farmer makes the following statements:

As regards Irisdision, who is obviously the same as John the Evangelist and Sir William of Trentham, this is a puzzle. Eugenio is Greek, but an attempt at making Greek of Irisdision is not quite satisfactory, and may seem somewhat far-fetched. *Iris* in Greek mythology was a messenger of

⁶ *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth Century*, ed. Rubie D-N. Warner (London, 1917 for 1915, EETS 152), 147, 148.

⁷ *The Elvener Book*, ed. I. Gollancz (London, 1895, EETS 104), ll. 279-282 and 326-330

¹ "Lost" *Tudor Plays, With Some Others*, London: Early English Drama Society, 1907, 349-368.

the gods, who are sometimes noted collectively by *Dis*—is Irisdision intended to mean 'a divine messenger'?²

Farmer doubtless pointed to the analysis of Irisdision as an unsatisfactory compound of Greek words chiefly because, for the time being at least, he was not able to make a clear disposition of all the elements in the name.³ "Iris-Dis" with the "ion" element left hanging is indeed an unsatisfactory analysis. Had the author of *John the Evangelist* wished to make his character simply the messenger of the gods, he could have named him Irisdis and been done with it. Or, he could have taken the name Irisdios and thus have simplified matters for all of us. I suspect, however, that he meant Irisdision, every element of it.

At the very opening of the play Saint John the Evangelist is sermonizing on the blessedness of "meditacyon of our lorde Jesus." Eugenio makes a brief reply and then is answered by Irisdision, who is obviously John. Now Irisdision as a messenger of the gods has a character wholly in harmony with John's, and there is nothing far-fetched about it. Does not the New Testament tell us, "*Exstitit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen Joannes*"? Is not John a messenger of God? He was, indeed, a very special messenger, and I think that the following passage from the play will offer us an opportunity to make a guess in harmony with Farmer's but better established.

Irisdision. What is thy name?

Eugenio. A rede.

Iris. Eugenio I trowe the same.

Eug. A syr the devyll stryke of thy hede
Horeson who taught the so ryght to rede
I trowe some yvell spyryte be within the.⁴

Iris. In the cyte of Hierusalem that is so called
I feare thou wyte never come to that holy Syone
That with twelve precyous stones is surely walled
Full strayte is the waye thyder to gone
And into that castell entrynge is none
Without thou acquaynte the with two porters before
Hope is the fyrst / and Faythe the other one.⁵

² *Ibid.*, 465.

³ Farmer admits that the publication of the plays was being made at a date earlier than he desired (p. 420); hence some of his analyses may not have had the benefit of repeated consideration.

⁴ Farmer thinks that the continuation is imperfect at this point.

⁵ From a photostatic copy of the play (British Museum), Signature A. iii (right).

The seemingly imperfect continuation may at this point have sufficiently distracted Farmer that he failed to note the significance of the above passage. Surely we may take the expression "holy Syone" and immediately apply it to the name in question.

One needs only a smattering of Greek to make the analysis. The first part of the name is from Iris (Ἴρις) and the last part from Sion (Σιών). The middle element is clearly di' (δι'). John, who is Irisdision, is indeed a messenger of the gods, but the habitat is not Mt. Olympus but Zion. Irisdision, Iris-di'-Sion, is the messenger from Zion.

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'METHLES' IN *SIR GAWAIN AND THE GREEN KNIGHT*

2106

Per passes non bi þat place so proude in his armes
 Þat he ne dynges hym to deþe with dynt of his honde;
 For he is a mon methles, and mercy non vses,
 For be hit chorle oþer chaplayn þat bi þe chapel rydes,
 Monk oþer masse-prest oþer any mon elles,
 Hym þynk as queme hym to quelle as quyk go hym-seluen.

(Lines 2104-9, Re-ed. I. Gollancz and M. Day (EETS. O.S. 210), Oxford, 1941)

Tolkien-Gordon and Miss Day accept *NED*'s (s.v. *mæthless*, a. obs.) generalized 'immoderate,' and the former add to it their own 'violent,' but neither of those meanings here gives the poet's thought. The guide condemns the Gn. Knt. not so much because he is 'immoderate' or 'violent,' but because he transgresses two of the generally accepted obligations of chivalry, veneration for the clergy, and the duty of acting as a protector of the laboring classes. Bosworth-Toller gloss *mæþ* (see V) 'due measure in regard to others, honour, respect,' and support that translation by a quotation from the *Laws of King Cnut* (*Ancient Laws and Institutes*, publ. by Record Commiss., 1840, Sect. 4, p. 154): *Man sceal . . . mæþe on hāde gecnāwan*, 'people must feel respect for the clergy.' Reverence and respect are due to priests, so ecclesiastical writers tell us, from all classes, but particularly from the knightly class, and throughout medieval times members of that class (though with less

enthusiasm) had admitted the obligation. Sainte Palaye (*Mém. sur L'Ann. Chevalerie* I. 133 n. 34) quotes from the OF. *Ordre de Chevalerie* the assertion that 'Office de Chevalerie est de maintenir la Foi catholique,' and from Eustache Deschamps, a contemporary of the G.-poet, an almost identical sentiment

Chevaliers en ce monde cy
Ne peuvent vivre sanz soucy:
Ils doivent le peuple defendre
Et leur sang pour la Foy espandre.

For further references see S. Painter, *French Chivalry*, Balto. 1940, pp. 69, 88. Less frequently mentioned by medieval writers on chivalry is the obligation to protect, not *assault*, people of the lower classes. But the Gn. Knt. reportedly doesn't even respect this obligation (2107).

Methles = 'without principle.' The Gn. Knt., according to G.'s guide, is a conscienceless 'thug,' heedless of compassion or any ideal held sacred by his order.¹

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'SEINT JULIAN HE WAS'

Chaucer says of the hospitable Franklin (*Prologue to C. T.* 340):

Seint Julian he was in his contree.

Recently I chanced upon a quotation from Perrinet Dupin, *Chronique du Comte Rouge* (cited from Terrier de Loray, *Jean de Vienne*, pp. 214-15, Paris, 1877), which adds picturesque detail to the poet's description, and shows the currency in the later fourteenth century of the expression that a certain person was 'a St. Julian,' or his house a 'maison' or 'hostel' of that saint. Apparently neither Professors Skeat, Manly nor Robinson chanced upon this particular quotation, for it does not appear in the explanatory notes to their excellent editions of *The Canterbury Tales*. The words of the *Chronique* describe the hospitality of the Count of

¹ The sense here given would render *mepelez* in *Pur.* 273 more accurately than G.'s 'immoderate' or Menner's 'extraordinary.' I am indebted to the learning of Professor Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins University for instruction on the chivalric code of the fourteenth century. All errors upon me proven, however, are not his, but mine.

Savoy who had joined the French army assembled in 1386 at l'Ecluse for the invasion of England.

Celui-ci lui fit grand accueil et grande chère, comme à tous les seigneurs, 'qu'il faisoit, dit un chroniqueur, boire et manger, en sorte que son hostel estoit appelé la maison Saint-Julien, parce que nul en icelui, tant fust grand, moyen ou petit, n'alloit qui s'en tournast sans diner, goustier ou souper.'¹

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WORTH BOTH HIS EARS

On *Piers Plowman*, B text, prologue, line 78, "Were þe bischop yblyssid and worth bothe his eres," Skeat observes, "The phrase 'worth both his ears' is a satirical expression, signifying that the person spoken of is one to whom his ears are of some use, not one who turns a deaf ear to the complaints of the poor" (ed. E.E.T.S. Part IV, sect. i, 1877, p. 13). Elsewhere Skeat's note reads, after "signifying that": "the person so spoken of is one of some worth, and not like one whose ears and eyes are of no particular use to him" (Clarendon Press Series, 9th ed. revised, 1906, p. 97). "Fit to *keep* both his ears" seems a better gloss; the probable implication is that this particular licenser of brevet-banging pardoners deserves to have his cropped.

There is no better piece of drawing in the poem than the portrait of Avarice. The meaning of line 194 of the B text (Passus V) is obvious: "And as a bondman of bacoun his berde was bidraueled." The change in line 201 of the C text (Passus VII) is an improvement: "As bondemenne bacon hus berd was yshaue," for two reasons. The smooth shave fits better the mean, avaricious face; it is essential if the tremulous jowls are to have their full effect. The second reason for C's superiority is its line's social import. Skeat glosses (E.E.T.S. *Notes*, p. 117; ed. Oxford, 1886, II, 81-82): "i. e. cut off in rather a ragged manner." Surely the point is that at best a serf got a thin slice.

HAZELTON SPENCER

¹ The passage just quoted would also serve very well as an explanatory note to lines 773-6 of *Sw Gawain and the Green Knight*:

Heȝly he þonkeȝ

Jesus and sayn Gilyan, þat gentyle are boȝe,
þat cortaysly had hym kydde, and his cry herkened.

'Now bone hostel,' coȝe þe burne, 'I beseeche you zette!'

THE LOST LINES OF "SECUNDA PASTORUM"

In the E.E.T.S. *Towneley Plays* (p. 124) a footnote to line 263 suggests that "possibly 2 lines in *-owne* are missing in this couplet.¹ But see the like,² stanza 15 in the first *Shepherds' Play*, p. 104." The editor's "possibly" was soon lost sight of. J. M. Manly (*Specimens of the Pre-Shakspearean Drama*, I, 103) not quite accurately states that "E.E.T.S. notes that two lines are missing and refers to a similar stanza (No. 15) in the first *Shepherds' Play*. In both cases lines have been lost, I think." Manly's reference figure, as in E.E.T.S., is superscribed after "*rowne*," the last word of line 263, the second line of the stanza as it has come down to us. Dr. J. Q. Adams (*Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas*, p. 149) notes, "A lacuna in the MS." He prints two rows of dots after line 263, next inserts the stage direction "They lie down," and then lets Mak continue with "No dred,"³ presumably apropos of something in the allegedly lost lines. Some of the translators, if that is the proper term, seem to think there is no doubt about either the existence of the lacuna or its exact location: e. g., "The two lines that should follow are missing," "Two lines missing in this stanza," "At this point there appear to be some lines omitted in this original."

As George England, the E.E.T.S. editor, implies, there is no way of telling whether we are here confronted with a lacuna or with an irregular stanza. "No drede" follows "*rowne*" acceptably; it would follow almost anything acceptably. I think the chances favor a lacuna, though not precisely here. One reason, of course, is the stanza's being shorter by two lines. A second arises from the care the dramatist has taken to differentiate the three shepherds, at any rate up to this point. Since Daw, the third, is a subordinate, is it likely that he provides the solution of what to do with Mak? My guess is that, if there is a lacuna, the two missing lines preceded line 262 and began the stanza, and that, at least in part, they were spoken by *Primus Pastor*, who has opened the subject of who is to stand watch. That the lost lines, if such there were, began the stanza also seems likelier because the dispute with which

¹ For "couplet" read "stanza"

² I. e., an irregular, short stanza.

³ E.E.T.S. and Manly: *No dredde*.

the preceding stanza ends is not settled in it. *Primus Pastor* orders *Secundus* to mount guard, but the latter declines. Doubtless *Primus* then steps or turns toward Comrade *Tercius*, who characteristically anticipates a similar order with the declaration that he is as well descended as either of the others. As the MS stands, line 262 follows well enough, but the order to Mak would come more appropriately from *I Pastor*. Thus we are certainly not required to assume the existence of a lacuna; but one seems likely, and it probably precedes line 262.

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NOTES ON EARLY TUDOR CONTROL OF THE STAGE

Since Sir E. K. Chambers' *Medieval Stage* (vol. II) and Miss Virginia C. Gildersleeve's *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama* are the most frequently consulted discussions of early Tudor control of the stage, it is worth while to call attention to omissions and correct any errors or misleading statements in these generally accurate and dependable works. Indeed, a very important correction in the records as reported in the *Medieval Stage*¹ is made by Miss Gildersleeve when she points out that what chambers supposed to be a pronouncement by Henry VIII in 1533, and consequently the earliest known formal statement of a governmental policy of stage censorship, is in reality a proclamation by Queen Mary in 1553. She traces the origin of this misdating through Collier to Warton's *History of English Literature*, and sets the record right by an accurate reading from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, which is the ultimate authority for the item.²

Miss Gildersleeve, however, is not so careful to check the facts in connection with another detail of stage history which she discusses in a following paragraph.³ Obviously depending on Chambers,⁴

¹ E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, II, 220. In his *Elizabethan Stage*, II, 275 n., Chambers admits and regrets the error in the earlier work.

² Virginia C. Gildersleeve, *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama* (New York, 1908), p. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴ *Medieval Stage*, loc. cit. It is curious that Chambers should have made the slip, for he had earlier noted the correct year of the revival of *Pammachius* at Christ's College (*ibid.*, p. 195). Sources of information

she relates that in 1537 Bishop Gardiner found the student performance of *Pammachius* at Christ's College, Cambridge, "soo pestiferous as were intolerable." Yet a glance at the authorities cited by Chambers reveals that it was in 1545, not 1537, that *Pammachius* was acted by the Cambridge students. The series of letters that passed between Gardiner and Vice-Chancellor Parker in relation to this affair is dated over the period from March 27 to May 18, 1545. Since Parker was not Vice-Chancellor of the University before January 25 of that year, there is no possibility of an earlier dating.

Still another passage in the *Medieval Stage* which Miss Gildersleeve incorporates into her survey⁵ needs attention. "Foxe records," says Chambers,⁶ "how under the *Act Abolishing Diversity in Opinions* (1539) . . . one Spencer, an ex-priest who had become an interlude player, was burned at Salisbury for 'matter concerning the sacrament of the altar.'" Here is an accurate statement, so far as words go; but it embodies an incautious implication. Foxe at no point declares that the "matter concerning the altar" was uttered in the course of an interlude, as he would have been likely to do had such been the case. The *Acts and Monuments*, however, is replete with instances of persecution on account of remarks made in private concerning the sacrament, and it is probable that such an instance of heresy is referred to in the passage under discussion. At least, we have no evidence here to indicate the significance of the incident in a history of the drama.

But if it seems advisable to reject the above item which has been supposed to have a bearing on stage history, we are also able to make some additions to the story of governmental control. Unnoticed by either Chambers or Gildersleeve, there is a document catalogued among the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* which contributes to our knowledge of the origins of official licensing of plays. On May 2, 1546, five persons "naming themselves the Earl

concerning the correspondence between Bishop Gardiner and Vice-Chancellor Parker on the subject of the play are listed by Chambers in a footnote on p. 220. To these references may be added Strype's *Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* (London, 1711), pp. 18 f, and J. A. Muller's *Letters of Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 129 ff.

⁵ Gildersleeve, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁶ *Medieval Stage*, II, 221. See John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. S. R. Cattley (London, 1937-41), v, 443.

of Bath's servants" were committed to the Counter for "playing lewd plays in the suburbs of London." Four days later they were released under bond not to play without the Privy Council's license, and the Lord Mayor was apprized of the fact.⁷ This seems to be the earliest known reference to licensing by a governmental agency, and anticipates by five years the system set up under Edward VI.

Perhaps the most interesting addition to our information about official concern with drama in the reign of Henry VIII, however, is the report of a royal precept promulgated in 1545, incorporated into Journal 15 of the London Town Clerk's Records and copied in Letter Book Q.⁸ This proclamation, after noting the extraordinary increase of plays in "suspytyous darke and inconvenyent places" in the city, especially on Sundays, holy-days, and at the time of divine service, points out the dangers from the plague, the evil effects of such entertainment on the young, and the dangerous influence upon apprentices. It therefore carries the king's command that henceforth no one should play any manner of interlude within the city,

unless yt be yn the howses of noblemen; or of the lord maire, shryves, or Aldermen of the same . . . or els, the howses of gentlemen or of the sub-stancyall and sad commoners or head parisheners of the same Cyte in the open stretes of the seid Cyte as in tymes past it hathe been used and accustomed or in the common halls of the companies.

Now, in spite of the preamble with its observations on public health and morality that remind us of later Puritan objections to the stage, this proclamation is obviously directed solely against unregulated and uncontrolled plays. It is a characteristic Tudor step in the direction of centering responsibility for an activity at which the king looked with one auspicious and one dropping eye, and is in line with developments later in the century. When Elizabeth issued her licensing order of 1559, the proclamation of May 16 charged the "nobility and gentlemen, as they profess to obey her Majesty . . . with their servants being players, that this commandment may be duly kept and obeyed."⁹ The statute of

⁷ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R. H. Brodie (London, 1862-1910), vol. xxi, pt 1, p 373, no. 748.

⁸ Described by Arthur W Reed in *The Beginnings of the English Secular and Romantic Drama*, Shakespeare Association Papers, No. 7 (London, 1922), p. 22. Quotations below are taken from Reed's report.

⁹ Reprinted in *Transcripts of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London*, ed. Edward Arber (London), 1875-94, K, 564.

1572, requiring that (except when under special license) players "not belonging to any Baron of this Realme" or to some "other honorable Personage of greater Degree" should be treated as rogues and vagabonds, is well known,¹⁰ as is the proclamation against unlawful retainers which was published on January 3 in the same year.¹¹ The final development under Elizabeth was the attempt to limit the acting companies to those under the aegis of the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Admiral, thus bringing (theoretically at least) all players under the surveillance of members of the Privy Council.¹² The natural sequence under James I was the granting of patents only to companies directly responsible to the king or a member of the royal family.

The recently discovered proclamation of 1545 may throw light upon the interpretation of another royal pronouncement of May 26 in the same year. This latter document is an order for the punishment of vagabonds, ruffians, and idle persons which mentions specifically "common players and masterless men" among those who are to be impressed for service in the galleys.¹³ Chambers hesitates to admit that "common players" refers to actors, and prefers to suppose that the term is applied to gamblers.¹⁴ But since we have a contemporaneous order setting forth the inconvenience feared from unregulated drama, and attempting to eliminate such "interludes" as were not under the control of a responsible person, Chambers' doubts as to the significance of the phrase would appear to be unfounded. It is likely that the term "common players" (appearing as it does in juxtaposition with "masterless men") was used in reference to precisely those free lance companies of actors which the government considered dangerous or "inconvenient."

It is worth while remembering that in 1545 the prosecution of Ann Askew was in progress,¹⁵ the king's councillors were extraordi-

¹⁰ *Statutes of the Realm* (London, 1810-28), vol. iv, pt. 1, p. 590. See also Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iv, 270.

¹¹ *Cal. of State Papers, Dom., Eliz., LXXXIII*, no. 38. See also Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iv, 268.

¹² See *Acts of the Privy Council*, New Series, ed. J. C. Dasent (London, 1890-1907), xxviii, 327-8. Cf. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iv, 325.

¹³ Reprinted in *English Drama and Stage*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt (London, 1896), p. 6.

¹⁴ *Medieval Stage*, II, 222 n. Gildersleeve (*op. cit.*, p. 25) accepts Chambers' interpretation.

¹⁵ See *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. xx, pt. 1, p. 175, no. 390.

narily worried about "naughty books" "covertly thrown abroad,"¹⁶ and the Articles of 1543 against unorthodox expressions in "printed books, printed ballads, plays, rhymes, songs and other fantasies" were being enforced. In connection with the proclamation against "common player," Chambers remarks, "In any case the protected players were not suppressed." But what the other order of 1545, herein described, makes clear is that it was the unprotected, and hence uncontrolled and irresponsible, stage plays that the government wished to eradicate.

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THE FINAL PROTEST AGAINST THE ELIZABETH- ALENÇON MARRIAGE PROPOSAL

It has been assumed that Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, the leaders of the opposition to the proposed marriage of Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Alençon, roused to action by the dangerous crisis in the affair in the autumn of 1579, voiced their final protest through Sir Philip Sidney's famous letter to the Queen, and that consequently they withdrew completely from further attempts to oppose the marriage negotiations as too dangerous an enterprise to be continued.¹ The purpose of this paper is to show that, although open attacks on the marriage ceased with Sidney's letter, the opposition of the court group was merely driven underground to reappear in a subtler form in the spring of 1581, when there was a new crisis in the conduct of the negotiations.

French ambassadors who were to complete arrangements for the marriage arrived at Dover on April 17. Extensive preparations had been made for their reception. Shortly after their arrival they were given audience by the Queen and were entertained by several of her greatest courtiers with lavish banquets.² But before the ambassadors reached England Sidney and his friends had already

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pt ii, p. 366, no. 769; p. 490, no. 995.

¹ See Edwin Greenlaw, *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory* (Baltimore, 1932), pp. 125-128; W. Gordon Zeeveld, "The Uprising of the Commons in Sidney's *Arcadia*," *MLN.*, XLVIII (1933), 209-217.

² *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1838), II, 134.

planned another kind of entertainment—a tournament, with unusual pageantry, set for April 24. The symbolism of this tournament, rather than Sidney's letter of 1579, marks the final stroke of Leicester's party against the proposed marriage.

The tournament "device" provided that Sidney, the Earl of Arundel, Lord Windsor, and Fulk Greville, representing the Four Foster Children of Desire, would attack the Fortress of Beauty, which would be defended by the faithful knights of the Queen.⁸ Of course, Elizabeth and her retinue would occupy the fortress, really the platform from which she would watch the show. A formal challenge was presented to the Queen on April 16, bidding her defiance and calling on her to find suitable defenders. For one reason and another the tournament was postponed several times and finally occurred on May 15 and 16 in the tiltyard at Whitehall.

On the morning of May 15 the challengers and their attendants entered the tiltyard in a blaze of engraved jousting armor and colorful liveries. After they had summoned the Fortress of Beauty to surrender and had been roundly defied, they began the siege by shooting off two cannons loaded with "sweet powder" and "sweet water," and by throwing flowers against the walls, "with all such devises as might seeme fit shot for Desire." Then the defenders, some twenty-two strong, entered. Two of them, Sir Thomas Perot and Anthonie Cooke, representing Adam and Eve, made a long, complimentary speech to the Queen to the effect that since the Sun (Elizabeth) is about to be besieged, the gods have sent an angel to summon Adam and Eve to correct their offspring, the Foster Children. The angel then appeared in behalf of Adam and Eve, and, in a speech more fulsome than the preceding one in its compliments to the Queen, tried to convince the challengers of their foolhardiness in besieging the Sun. At the very close of these preliminary parleyings a page of four of the defenders again referred to Elizabeth as the Sun and as Beauty that cannot be taken by force.

The real tilting then began and continued through the rest of the day. At the close of the day's sport the Fortress of Beauty

⁸ It would be interesting to know whether Sidney himself was the author of the pageantry and speeches used in the tournament. Malcolm W. Wallace [*The Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 264] believes that he was responsible for the whole "device." See Holinshed, *Chronicles* (London, 1807-8), iv, 883, for Sidney's notable "inventions" in court tournaments.

was still untaken; but the challengers, in a speech commending Elizabeth, promised to renew the assault on the following morning.

Next morning a herald of the challengers reopened the show with a speech on the shaken hopes of the Four Foster Children, who, he said, were renewing the fight only because "their soules shall leave their bodies [sooner] than Desire shall leave their soules." The tilting was similar to that of the first day, and with a like outcome. To close the tournament a boy, "clothed in ash-coloured garments in token of humble submission," and bearing an olive branch in his hand, made a speech of "peaceable servitude" in which the four challengers

acknowledge this fortresse to be reserved for the eie of the whole world, faire lifted up from the compasse of their destinie . . . They acknowledge noble Desire should have desired nothing so much, as the flourishing of that fortresse, which was to be esteemed according to itselfes liking. They acknowledge the least determination of Vertue (which stands for the gard of this fortresse) to be too strong for the strongest Desire; and therefore they doo acknowledge themselves overcome, as to be slaves to this fortresse for ever, which title they will beare in their foreheads, as their other name is ingraven on their hearts.⁴

In June the French ambassadors went home empty-handed. In the fall Alençon himself came over and stirred a new fear in the opposition. But after a few love scenes, planned and played in the Queen's most disarming manner, Elizabeth shuffled the Duke out of England for the last time.

In the past this tournament of the Four Foster Children has been considered a conventional show typical of the childish and costly chivalrous sports of Elizabeth's court. True, the tournament "device," the attack on the castle, is clearly conventional. But the symbolism of the pageantry, particularly of those speeches in which Elizabeth is addressed as the "Sun," is equally clear. By this pseudonym Alençon's faithful ambassador Simier addressed the Queen from 1579 to 1581 in his letters to her in cipher.⁵ In all likelihood only Walsingham and, possibly, Leicester could have conveyed knowledge of this pseudonym to the author of the tournament, Sidney or another. Driven to resort to the method of Lyly,

⁴ For complete account of tournament see John Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1823), II, 312-329.

⁵ *Hatfield House Mss.* (London, 1888), Part 2, p. 488. Simier used three of these pseudonyms: "Le souleil," "la perle," "le diamant."

Spenser, and many another who stepped on dangerous ground, the leaders of the opposition employed a tournament in its intention as symbolic as the series of masques prepared for the proposed meeting of Elizabeth and Mary Stuart in 1562, or as the famous Kenilworth pageants of 1575. It warned the French ambassadors that their mission must end in failure.

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A NOTE ON SPENSER AND PAINTING

The influence of the plastic arts upon the poetic imagery of Edmund Spenser is emphasized again by passages in two seventeenth century manuals. The first, a treatise on drawing alludes to Spenser's verse to point out a model for an artist's drawing. Henry Peacham the younger in *The Gentlemans Exercise* (London, 1612), in "The Second Book of Drawing and Limning," gives (pp. 134-5) the following instructions for a design:

August shall beare the forme of a young man of a fierce and cholericke aspect in a flame colored garment, upon his head a garland of wheat and Rie, upon his arme a basket of all manner of ripe fruites, as peares, plummes, apples, gooseberries: at his belt (as our Spencer describeth him) a sickle, bearing the sign Virgo.

It is no matter that Peacham, relying upon his memory, says *August*, whereas Spenser's description of *July* contains the sickle line.¹ Spenser's *August* himself wears no crown, but he leads a maiden crowned with *corn*. The interesting thing is that Spenser's vivid pictures have hovered in the memory of a drawing master and become in his pages a model for imitation by aspiring young gentlemen. And so the mutual dependence of the various arts is again asserted.

The second manual, *Academy of Armoury*,² by the heraldic painter, Randle Holme, describes certain conventions for the plastic treatment of heraldic subjects. That poet and painter are in close accord in their treatment of many subjects is suggested by the resemblance between Spenser's portraits of Fidelia, Speranza, and

¹ *Faerie Queene*, VII, vii, 36.

² Pt. I, Chester, 1688 (written ca. 1640).

Charissa and the rules laid down by Holme for portraying the virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity. Of Faith Holme says (Book III, p. 205): "Faith is Painted in white Garments in one hand a Cross, and in the other hand a Golden Cup or Chalice, and sometimes a Book." Spenser's Fidelity is "Araied all in lilly white, And in her right hand bore a cup of gold. . . . And in her other hand she fast did hold A booke."³ Of Hope, Holme wrote: "Hope is a Woman in Blew Garments, with Mantle or Vail red, holding or Supporting a Silver Anchor." Speranza too "Was clad in blew" and "upon her arme a silver anchor lay, whereon she leaned ever"⁴ For Charity Holme prescribes "a person in Yellow or Crimson Robes and Vail with a Child in her Arme, and one in her hand by her side; or an enflamed heart in the other hand, with a tyre of Gold and Precious Stones on her head."⁵ Spenser's Charissa "was all in yellow robes arayed . . . A multitude of babes about her hong. . . . And on her head she wore a tyre of gold, Adorned with gemmes and owches wondrous faire."⁶ Holme's "Tyre of Gold" is Spenser's own phrase, but not necessarily an allusion, for it seems a commonplace phrase that both may have borrowed.

Spenser's eclecticism is again demonstrated in his use of those elements of his source materials which served his purpose. But also demonstrated are his deference for traditions, and his accuracy in observing them, his awareness of the conventions of pictorial design (including color), and the inter-dependence of literary and plastic portraiture.

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HOW LONG WAS GOTHIC FICTION IN VOGUE?

There is considerable difference of opinion regarding the duration of the vogue for Gothic literature in England. Some commentators, seeing in Mrs. Radcliffe's work the finest flowering of the school of terror, have traced the falling away of the general interest in Gothic fiction from the day she laid down her pen in 1797 and have termed later novelists in the tradition like Lewis

³ *F. Q.*, I, x, 13, 1-8.

⁴ *F. Q.*, I, x, 14, 2-7.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ *F. Q.*, I, x, 30, 9-31, 1-7.

and Maturin "belated advocates" of an outmoded genre.¹ In other eyes, however, the vogue for sentimental terror continued unabated through the second decade of the nineteenth century, or until *The Heroine* (1813), *Waverley* (1814), or *Northanger Abbey* (1818) turned the tide of popular favor elsewhere.

The answer to this question, certainly, cannot be found either by equating popular success with artistic excellence or by citing the judgments of hostile reviewers. If we consider popularity, as we properly should, in terms of the actual interest of the reading public, a solution would seem to await the publication of an annual register of Gothic fiction, in which we might trace the rise and decline of the general taste. Neither of the present bibliographies, however, provides a satisfactory measure of this sort. Brauchli's list of English *schauerromane* is both incomplete and inaccurate.² And Mr. Montague Summers' ³ recent omnium-gatherum of Gothic romances is, in his own words, too "elastic in every direction." Besides being too inclusive, his bibliography is not chronological; and, naturally, it lists many items which exist only as titles or which cannot be dated.

In lieu of a full register of Gothic fiction a dependable index to the taste for terror, and one which is free from the limitations which embarrass the bibliographer, is afforded by the *Lady's Magazine*, in whose columns the student may follow the shifting tastes of a representative reading audience. Here he has access to the works of fiction themselves, and can assign definite dates of publication to all. The magazine was published without radical change in form or policy for nearly fifty years after 1770, thus providing a more or less fixed "frame of reference"; during this time it included fiction as a regular part of its monthly offerings, and published more of it than any magazine of equal popularity; it enjoyed a large circulation among the middle-class feminine audi-

¹ K. K. Mehrotra, *Horace Walpole and the English Novel* (Oxford, 1934), 162

² Jakob Brauchli, *Der englische Schauerroman um 1800* (Weida i. Thur., 1928), 196-260. For a criticism of Brauchli's compilation see Montague Summers, *The Gothic Quest* (London, 1939), 239-41. Brauchli's incompleteness is evidenced by the fact that he assigns 18 Gothic romances to 1805, as against 32 named by Montague Summers in what he asserts is not "a complete or exhaustive list." (*Ibid.*, 85-6.)

³ Montague Summers, *A Gothic Bibliography* (London, 1940).

ence, the mainstay of the fiction reading public in this period;⁴ and owing to its practice of depending upon readers for contributions it affords a sensitive barometer for the taste of its audience at any particular time.

The regular fare served up to readers of the *Lady's Magazine* was the usual *mélange* of the eighteenth century miscellany, but fiction was a constant and important ingredient. About a fourth of every issue—that is, twelve to fourteen pages, double-columns—was devoted to short stories (or “tales”) and novels in installment form, of which there were usually three to five running at any one time. Although most of this fiction was highly ephemeral, it faithfully reflects the prevailing interests and literary forms of the day. Among the continued stories during the pre-Gothic years, as one might expect, the influence of Richardson and the French masters of sensibility is supreme, but in the shorter “tales” there is a pronounced undercurrent of romance which shows the direction in which taste is ultimately to flow—settings remote in time and space, idealized characters, and romantic and often violent actions in an atmosphere of sensibility. The first story in the *Lady's Magazine* to include sustained scenes of sentimental terror, however, was a full-length novel, “Alexis, or the Cottage in the Wood,” a translation from the French of Ducray-Duminil. Although “Alexis” is not, strictly speaking, a Gothic romance, but a *roman noir*, it exhibits narrative methods which are quite Radcliffean, and its publication, commencing in March, 1791, marks the real emergence of Gothicism in the *Lady's Magazine*. In 1792 “Alexis” was supplemented with a second novel of terror, “The Friar's Tale,” and in March, 1793, “Grasville Abbey,” a romance after the manner of Mrs. Radcliffe, was added to the growing assemblage of Gothic stories. Thenceforth, for two decades, tales of crime, mystery, and terror became a regular ingredient of the *Lady's Magazine*, every volume of which until 1813 was to feed in some form or other the general taste for imaginative horrors.

⁴ According to one authority (W. C. Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*, New York, 1892, II, 137), the *Lady's Magazine* at one time enjoyed a circulation of 16,000—the size of which can be gauged by comparing it with the total sale of all editions of *Waverley* (1814) previous to 1829, amounting to 11,000 copies. However inferior in quality the short stories and novels of the *Lady's Magazine*, they were probably as widely read as much of the popular fiction of the day.

A fair measure of the distribution of readers' interest between Gothic and non-Gothic stories at various times may be obtained by comparing the relative amount of space occupied by each variety during the course of any year's run. If we concern ourselves with serial stories only,⁵ and if we take the individual installments as units, we are provided with a rough but effective standard by which we can gauge the relative popularity of Gothic and non-Gothic. Volume XXVI (1795) of the *Lady's Magazine*, for example, offered three continued stories of a Gothic character⁶—totalling twenty installments, against the nineteen installments of non-Gothic continued stories in the same volume. In 1795, therefore, we may judge that about one half of the readers' attention was being directed towards Gothic fiction. By itself, no doubt, this proportion signifies little, but comparative averages for three years or five together, over the course of several decades, should be fairly indicative of the progress of the general interest.

Adopting for longer intervals the same method of computation, we find that in the period from 1791 to 1798, for the seven years subsequent to the appearance of "Alexis," about fifty-two percent, a good half of the continued stories in terms of sheer bulk, were Gothic. During the next four years, 1799-1802, no less than sixty-two percent, or more than three-fifths, of the serial stories make an appeal to terror. 1803 is a low year, with a twenty-three percent score but the years 1804 to 1806 reach an average of seventy-two percent. In this three-year period approximately three-quarters of the serial stories offered to readers of the *Lady's Magazine* come under the designation "Gothic." In 1805, in fact, the high-water year for Gothic fiction in the *Lady's Magazine*, three of the four continued stories offered (or eighty-four percent in quantitative terms) are tales of terror. After 1806 a period of decline for this

⁵Serial stories seem more frequently to be contributed by readers than do the short tales; readers were more likely to express their opinions on them to the editor; and, most important, the installments of continued stories were fairly regular in length, whereas short stories ranged from 500 to 5000 words.

⁶A story will be termed *Gothic* if it includes one or more scenes of terror in the conventional mode—employing, that is, the traditional apparatus of gloomy castles, dark forests, storms, banditti, etc. Not everything in stories thus labelled, of course, is concerned with the appeal to fear, nor is this always the dominant interest.

type of fiction appears to have set in. From 1807 to 1809 the proportion drops to forty-four percent; from 1810 to 1812, nineteen percent; and during 1813 and 1814 Gothic stories disappear entirely.⁷

If we take the *Lady's Magazine* to be representative, therefore, we may conclude that Gothic romance gained its first firm hold on readers' interest about 1791, the year in which Mrs. Radcliffe attained her first outstanding success. Thenceforth, for a number of years, this species of fiction enjoyed great popularity and fully maintained, if it did not increase, its audience for about a decade after Mrs. Radcliffe's last novel. When the vogue did show signs of abatement in 1807 (in 1808, according to Brauchli's list), it was yet half a dozen years before interest may be said to have generally lapsed. The continuing minority interest, which found expression outside in the romances of Mrs. Roche, Francis Lathom, Louisa Stanhope, and a score of other writers, was marked in the *Lady's Magazine* by the occasional reappearance after 1814 of stories in the Gothic mode. But measured against the great majority of non-Gothic tales during this period, these occupied only a subordinate place in readers' interest.

Against this background of shifting popular taste, the work of writers like Lewis, Maturin, Eaton Stannard Barrett, and Scott must be placed if it is to be seen in its proper historical perspective. Far from being a "belated advocate" of Gothic romance, resisting the general taste in a vain attempt to repeat the sensational success of *The Monk*, Lewis is seen to be swimming briskly with the popular current. His writing career (1795 to 1811) spans, but does not extend beyond, the vogue for imaginative terror; *The Bravo of Venice* (1804) and *Feudal Tyrants* (1806), in fact, were published in what we have seen to be the years of greatest activity among the Gothicists. Maturin's *Melmoth*, appearing in 1820, may be correctly termed a revival in its relation

⁷ These results are, in general, supported by Brauchli's bibliography. If we eliminate those novels to which he cannot assign a definite date, 1805 and 1807 become the peak years with eighteen *schauerromane* each; 1802 next with sixteen, 1806 third, with fifteen. The three-year period from 1805 to 1807, in Brauchli, surpasses by thirty percent the production from 1802 to 1804, and by fifty percent or more the production of any other three year period. After 1807 the number of published romances which he records declines fairly steadily.

to primary trends in the popular fiction of its day; but this description cannot be justly applied to work previous to 1812, and surely it is misleading to term *The Fatal Revenge* (1807), published at the zenith of the general interest in Gothic, "a late survivor of the Radcliffian species."⁸ True, it attempted nothing which Mrs. Radcliffe had not already done, and done better. But in its relation to the great English reading audience of the time, the audience of the circulating libraries and monthlies like the *Lady's Magazine*, it was not an untimely work. *The Heroine* (1813), on the other hand, appeared at the end of the vogue, at a time when the general atmosphere had been cleared of Gothic sensibility. That this satire "killed" Gothic romance is a time-honoured legend with no basis in fact.⁹ Similarly, *Northanger Abbey* (1818), completed in 1803, when Mrs. Radcliffe's popular dominion was still unchallenged, was published at least half a dozen years too late to affect the general taste.

It is equally erroneous to assert that *Waverley* either "ousted" Gothic romance from public favor or "rendered it obsolete."¹⁰ Twenty years of unimaginative repetition had already broken the hold of the tale of terror on the general reading public beyond Scott's power to weaken it further. This is not to deny that there is a close relation between the Scottish novels and Gothic fiction. *Waverley* and its successors had deep roots in the old romance of terror, and there is undoubtedly an organic relation between the sensational success of the one during the years from 1791 to 1812 and the tremendous popularity of the other following so hard upon it. The first phenomenon accounts in a great measure for the second. For the outworn motifs and machinery of the romance of sentimental adventure, Scott offered equivalents which afforded the reader the same excitement while they carried all the conviction of real life. The wicked marquis's, the scheming monks, the savage banditti, and phantoms of the Gothicists were transformed by the Wizard of the North into the genuine outlaws, clerics, border

⁸ Cf. Oliver Elton, *A Survey of English Literature, 1870-1830* (New York, 1924), I, 218.

⁹ Cf. Walter Raleigh, "Introduction," *The Heroine* (London, 1909), p. xiv.

¹⁰ Cf. Michael Sadleir, *The Northanger Novels: A Footnote to Jane Austen* (The English Association, 1927), 20; N. H. Clement, *Romanticism in France* (New York, 1939), 117.

barons, and ghosts of Highland tradition; the operatic landscapes with castles and ruins metamorphosed into the actual mountains, forests, glens, caverns, and impregnable fortresses of the North country. The popular vogue for romances of terror was over in 1814, but their appeal was still fresh in the public mind. When Scott breathed new life into the old forms, the general audience returned with the same eagerness. It was not mere whimsicality which made Crabb Robinson on reading *Waverley* in 1815 associate the new romance with Mrs. Radcliffe's work.

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GÉRANDO:¹ A SOURCE FOR EMERSON

On p. 49 of Emerson's MS. Verse Book *P* occurs a pencil copy of the poem beginning, "The brave Empedocles, defying fools."² Except for the general absence of punctuation the poem stands exactly as published in the Centenary Edition.³ Immediately below the MS. copy is a brief note, also in pencil and in Emerson's hand: *Degerando vol 2 p 36*. This is a clue to the source of the poem.

The edition of Gérando's *Histoire Comparée des Systèmes de Philosophie* which Emerson used was that of 1822-3. In this edition the discussion of Empedocles occurs in II, 4-9. Note A, expanding the discussion, covers pages 34-36. Emerson was, evidently, most interested in pages 35-36, for the poem, excepting the first two lines, is a faithful versification of the prose of Gérando's note. I give here in parallel columns the lines of the poem and the prose passages to show Emerson's dependence on the original:

<p>The brave Empedocles, defying fools, Pronounced the word that mortals hate to hear—</p>	<p>On accuse Empédocle de l'orgueil le plus ridicule,</p>
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¹ Joseph Marie, Baron de Gérando (1772-1842), French philosophical writer.

² I wish to thank the Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association through Edward Waldo Forbes for permission to refer to this Verse Book and to use the note appended to the poem

³ *Complete Works*, IX, 353.

"I am divine, I am not mortal made;	parce qu'il s'était lui-même comparé à un Dieu: "Je suis un dieu, dit-il dans les vers conservés par Sextus; Je ne suis point sujet à la mort,
I am superior to my human weeds."	je suis supérieur aux choses humaines. . . ."
Not Sense but Reason is the Judge of truth;	"Suivant le témoignage de plusieurs," dit ailleurs Sextus . . . , "Empédocle attribuait non aux sens, mais à la droite raison, la prérogative de juger de la vérité.
Reason's twofold, part human, part divine;	La droite raison est en partie divine, en partie humaine;
That human part may be described and taught,	la seconde peut être exprimée,
The other portion language cannot speak.	mais aucun langage ne peut traduire la première." ⁴

This versification of Gérando's prose is a particularly good illustration of Emerson's reading for what he called the lustrés.⁵ Notice how Emerson changed the tone of the beginning of the original, which states simply that Empedocles was accused of the most ridiculous vanity. Since Emerson was searching for confirmation of ideas which he himself entertained, the vanity of Empedocles became, in the poem, an Emersonian bravery and defiance of fools. From this point onward the poem is an exact reproduction of the prose without any change in the order of ideas. If further proof were needed that this poem shows Emerson's reading for lustrés, it could be found in his significant disregard of a passage in which Empedocles is said to have modified his repudiation of the senses as a judge of truth. The passage, which I give here, follows immediately the part of Gérando which Emerson versified:

Cependant, dans un passage subséquent, Empédocle rend aux sens une partie de cette confiance qu'il leur avait retirée, et accorde à chaque sens

⁴ *Histoire Comparée* (Paris, 1822), II, 35-36. Emerson's copy of this edition is in the Emerson house at Concord. I wish to thank the RWEMA for permission to examine the volumes. The passages which are the sources for lines 3, 4, 7, and 8 Emerson has marked in the margin with pencil lines.

⁵ *Complete Works*, III, 233.

le pouvoir de rendre un témoignage fidèle, pourvu qu'il soit dirigé par la raison.⁶

The volumes of Gérando's *Histoire* which Emerson borrowed from the Boston Athenaeum during January and February of 1830 could not have supplied the source of the poem, for they belong to the first edition of 1804, which does not contain Note A on Empedocles.⁷ Furthermore, the discussion of Empedocles occurs in I, 125-27, in the first edition, and therefore, Emerson's pencil note, *Degerando vol 2 p 36*, would not apply.⁸ However, since Emerson first read Gérando early in 1830⁹ he must have composed this poem somewhat later, although it is impossible to say just when.

It is possible that the reading of Gérando from January to March, 1830, inspired Emerson to buy the *Histoire*, and naturally he secured the second and augmented edition. If this supposition is correct then Emerson probably owned the work in July of the same year, for in a letter to William and Edward Emerson, he speaks of Gérando lying on his table.¹⁰ Extensive entries in the *Journals* from Gérando occur under the date, October 27, 1830, when Emerson says, "I begin the *Histoire Comparée*."¹¹ He had already,

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36. Gérando is still quoting Sextus Empiricus.

⁷ Arthur Christy's *The Orient in American Transcendentalism* (New York, 1932) has a valuable appendix which gives a list of books borrowed by Emerson from the Boston Athenaeum. Professor Christy's entry for Gérando (p. 278) errs in several respects since he confuses the first and second editions of the *Histoire* and misreads several entries in the Athenaeum charging records. I have myself gone to the charging records, but for confirmation of my statement see Kenneth W. Cameron's *Ralph Waldo Emerson's Reading* (Raleigh, N. C., 1941), 17-18, 74.

⁸ Let me add further that no part of the treatment of Empedocles in the first edition could serve as the source of the poem, for Gérando does not here mention the idea of divinity in Empedocles.

⁹ *Journals*, II, 283-84. The date is January 7, 1830. See also *Letters* (Ralph L. Rusk, ed.), I, 291, for Emerson's statement on January 4 that he was beginning to read Gérando.

¹⁰ *Letters*, I, 306. The letter is dated July 30. This reference could not apply to Emerson's borrowings from the Athenaeum five to six months earlier, nor to the Harvard College Library copy, for Harvard did not acquire Gérando, in the second edition, until September 12, 1843, as the bookplates show.

¹¹ *Journals*, II, 330-45. There are no later *Journal* entries from Gérando or references to him. If, as I conjecture, Emerson bought his copy of Gérando during the spring or summer of 1830 then his borrowing of vol-

earlier in the year, read two volumes, or parts of them, of the 1804 edition, so that in this new entry he must mean a fresh start and a more thorough study, probably with his own copy. In the absence of contradictory evidence, we may reasonably conclude that Emerson wrote the poem at the time of his extensive jottings from *Gérando*, at the end of October or possibly in November, 1830. And since the poem is a faithful versification of the note in volume II, we may surmise that Emerson had the book open before him as he wrote.

This date gives to the poem an unusual importance, hitherto unsuspected, in the chronology of Emerson's poetic treatment of his large and central ideas—that of being an early verse record of his notion of the divinity of man.

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NOTES ON CARLYLE'S *JOURNEY TO GERMANY*,
AUTUMN 1858

Not long ago Professor Richard A. E. Brooks presented the students of Carlyle with an admirable annotated edition of a hitherto unknown diary of the master.¹ A few notes, which may prove helpful in amplifying Mr. Brooks's commentary, are here contributed.

On p. 9 Carlyle describes the Elbe between Cuxhaven and Hamburg: "Denmark to left hand, Hanover to right (where *Stade* and the 'Convention' was alone memorable to me)." Here 'Stade' is not, as Mr. Brooks thinks, the name of an obscure German antiquary but a town on the left bank of the Elbe, about thirty miles northwest from Hamburg. The spires of Stade are visible from the river.

Some lines below Carlyle mentions "an ornamental village" with "many ships and boats about it; shore of some noticeable height, 50 feet or more, thick-studded with Hamburg 'Country-houses.'" This place is not Altona, as Mr. Brooks surmises, but

ume 1 from the Boston Athenaeum on April 6, 1831, might have been for the purpose of comparing the first volumes of the 1804 and 1822 editions.

¹ Thomas Carlyle: *Journey to Germany, Autumn 1858*, edited by Richard Albert Edward Brooks, New Haven, 1940.

the old residential suburb of Blankenese, the only place of considerable elevation on the right bank of the Elbe below Hamburg.

Speaking of his landing at Hamburg, Carlyle describes his "captain moring [*sic*] among the natives by commanding gesture and emphatic Scotch speech (which the natives seemed to *take* quite as well as if it had been intelligible to them)." To a degree it undoubtedly was; a mixture of English and Lower German is the traditional *lingua franca* among sailors and longshoremen on the lower Elbe.

P. 11. "Grass- 'Street,' or something like it." The name of the street is 'Graskeller.'

P. 14. Hamburg: "Strange old narrow winding streets, with silent little *bays* of squares (*Wand-ruhme*, for one)." The name of this little square or rather lane, which has disappeared since, was 'Wandrahm.'

P. 15. Hamburg: "Hawker women, with amazing headgear, and covered baskets of small-trash which they carry like milkmen by apparatus from the shoulders." These are the 'Vierländerinnen,' women fruit peddlers from the 'Vierlande' near Bergedorf, often represented on Christoph Suhr's colored lithographs of Hamburg scenes and in the *Hamburger Ausruf*, a collection of street characters in the manner of the *Cri de Paris*.

P. 27, note 5. Not perhaps but certainly Wilhelm Malte, the first prince of Putbus, d. 1854. The owner of Putbus Castle in 1858 was his widow, Luise.

P. 40. Monument of Frederick William I at Gross-Stresow, Rügen:

Pillar with Friedrich Wilhelm on the top, and an absurd inscription . . . Usedom [Prussian diplomat, Carlyle's host in Rügen] told me afterwards this inscription was the work of a certain Ex-comedian whom the Junker Party had put about the poor King [Frederick William IV] seven years ago and who had ever since been gaining ground with him, 'amusing' the poor Royal evenings, &c.: sad and sordid to the mind of Usedom.

Mr. Brooks, in his note, sees no way of identifying this personage. It is one Louis Schneider (b. 1805, d. 1878), a well-known figure in the intimate history of the Prussian court. A comic actor by vocation, Schneider also specialized in Prussian hyper-royalism and since 1833 edited the arch-conservative *Soldiers' Friend*. In 1850 he was appointed Reader ('Vorleser') to the royal court; some memoirs of the time join with Usedom's report in complaining of

the shallowness of the literary amusements which Schneider arranged for royal evening parties. His memoirs (*Aus meinem Leben*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1879-80), of almost unparalleled vanity, are not devoid of interest as a source of petty information. Sketches of his life can be found in Theodor Fontane's *Von Zwanzig bis Dreissig*, book iv, chapter 6—a masterpiece of fair characterization; in G. Valbert (= Victor Cherbuliez): *Hommes et choses du temps présent* (Paris, 1883), pp. 95-117; and in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xxxii, 134-142.

P. 67, note 5. Carlyle's form 'Feldscheer' is good German and preferable to the somewhat pretentious 'Feldscherer.' See Grimm s. v.

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A HAZLITT BORROWING FROM GODWIN

"In the *Eloquence of the British Senate*," writes P. P. Howe with reference to Hazlitt's "Character of Mr. Fox," "Hazlitt's own Character has a note appended making acknowledgment to Godwin's, one passage of which, he [Hazlitt] says, 'is taken as nearly as I could recollect it.'¹ It is not easy," continues Howe, "to find the passage in question." Neither in his *Life* nor in the *Centenary Edition* does Howe point out what passage Hazlitt "borrowed," but it is undoubtedly the following:

If . . . we add the ardour and natural impetuosity of his mind, his quick sensibility, his eagerness in the defence of truth, and his impatience of every thing that looked like trick or artifice or affectation, we shall be able in some measure to account for the character of his eloquence. His thoughts came crowding in too fast for the slow and mechanical process of speech. . . . It is no wonder that this difference between the rapidity of his feelings, and the formal round-about method of communicating them, should produce some disorder in his frame . . . ; that he should express himself in hurried sentences, in involuntary exclamations, by vehement

¹ Howe, *Life of Hazlitt*, p. 98, n. 1. The above-mentioned note of Hazlitt's (see his "Character of Mr. Fox," *Works*, ed. Howe, vii, 315, n. 1), in which he acknowledges his debt to Godwin, is as follows: "See an excellent Character of Fox by a celebrated and admirable writer, which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, November, 1806, from which this passage is taken as nearly as I could recollect it."

gestures, by sudden starts and bursts of passion. Every thing shewed the agitation of his mind. His tongue faltered, his voice became almost suffocated, and his face was bathed in tears. He was lost in the magnitude of his subject. He reeled and staggered under the load of feeling which oppressed him. He rolled like the sea beaten by a tempest.²

The passage in Godwin from which this is derived is as follows:

His oratory was impetuous as the current of the river Rhone; nothing could arrest its course. His voice would insensibly rise to too high a key; he would run himself out of breath. Everything showed how little artifice there was in his eloquence. Though on all great occasions he was throughout energetic, yet it was by sudden flashes and emanations that he electrified the heart, and shot through the blood of his hearer. I have seen his countenance lighted up with more than mortal ardour and goodness; I have been present when his voice has become suffocated with the sudden bursting forth of a torrent of tears.³

That Hazlitt, however, merely recollected the gist of Godwin's eulogy upon Fox as orator is evident from a comparison of the original and Hazlitt's reconstruction of what he remembered of it. His faculty for remembering what he had read not only led him to interlard his texts with quotations, but also was partly responsible for his clinging to his first impressions. Yet his memory was not merely photographic; he was simply endowed with an extraordinary facility for recalling what was significant in what he had heard or seen. In this instance he agreed with Godwin and adopted his ideas and a few of his phrases.⁴

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² Hazlitt, "Character of Mr. Fox," *Works*, vii, 314-15.

³ Godwin, "Character of Fox," *Morning Chronicle*, Nov. 22, 1806, as quoted by C. Kegan Paul, *William Godwin: His Friends and Contemporaries* (Boston, 1876), ii, 156. Hazlitt wrote his Character in 1807.

⁴ In a letter to his father, 1807, Hazlitt says of Godwin's "Character of Fox," "It is a pretty good one. I might if I was lazy take it, and save myself the trouble of writing one myself."

REVIEWS

Eddic Lays. Selected and Edited by FREDERIC T. WOOD. 1940, pp. v, 227.

Considering the fact that this is the first separate edition of Eddic Poems to appear in any English speaking country, its appearance is an event of quite some importance. Yet the enthusiasm of the bibliophile and the scholar must be dampened by the observation, that this is not an edition of *the* Eddic Lays, but only a selection from that famous collection. But it is a generous selection, and as such, a heartening thing for friends of Old Norse and Eddic studies. It includes twenty-one of the thirty-seven lays. The editor follows the *Codex Regius* in placing the mythological poems ahead of the heroic poetry. But for pedagogical reasons he re-arranges the mythological poems, so as to turn them into graded lessons for the student, beginning with *prymskviða* and ending on the difficult *Völuspá*. In this way, the editor feels that the book may be used as a complement to a volume of prose selections such as Gordon's *Introduction to Old Norse*. For the heroic poems the editor follows the "historical" order of the original, otherwise the story would have been confused.

The editor is engagingly modest about his aims, which he defines as obviating the necessity for the American student to use German editions, the ones he considers best. A Scandinavian might tend to swear by the edition of Bugge, but that would be even less helpful to the American student than the German ones. As a matter of fact Wood's edition is most similar to Neckel's handy and popular edition. It has a concise introduction, a somewhat too meager bibliography, while the text is furnished with as little textual apparatus and the glossary is made as concise as possible.

This is as it should be, especially considering the textual apparatus. The introduction, though brief, is packed with useful and solid information. If one should quibble it is rather strange to speak of Oddi parsonage as a 'settlement' (p. 9), nor is there an obvious reason for writing *málahátt*, *ljóðahátt*, for *-hátt*. The bibliographical aids leave obviously much to be desired when there is no reference to the only existing Eddic bibliography: the *Bibliography of the Eddas* by Halldór Hermannsson (*Islandica* XIII, Cornell Univ. Library 1920), nor to the annual bibliographies in the *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* and *Acta philologica Scandinavica*.

But apart from the text, which, as far as I have sampled it, seems handled with care and circumspection, the glossary is obviously the most important part of the book. In view of his own pedagogical principles I think the editor could have done a considerably better

job here with little extra expenditure (noting how much space is left blank on most pages of the glossary). The grammatical information supplied is altogether too meager. How is the student to know whether the verb *afla* has a preterite *aflaða* or **aflða*. And how, whether *dalr* is *dalar* or *dalr* in the plural, or whether the plural of *mörk* is **markar*, *merkr*, or *markir*? This very essential information would have consumed little extra space. I also regret that there are no references to the texts in the glossary; these would have been especially useful in comments on unique or rare expressions. Reverting to the arrangement of the texts, it is deplorable from the pedagogical point of view that the editor has not printed the titles of the poems as headlines on every page instead of the useless title of the book itself. In all these things the editor could have learned from the practical arrangement of Neckel's *Edda*.

As far as my sampling of the glossary goes, I have found it quite dependable, but it must be kept in mind that, owing to the lack of references, it is difficult to test the glossary without reading the texts and thus looking up the words. In a number of crux cases the editor marks the word with an asterisk, often indicating the authority whom he follows in his exegesis, a very commendable practice. Naturally, there can be much difference of opinion concerning these cruxes, but instead of indulging in a more or less idle discussion of them, I shall confine my comments to cases where the editor gives either a wrong or at least a misleading translation.

Under *allr* we read: *allt er senn*, 'everything is quickly at an end,' which is wrong for 'everything happens at the same time,' or, more specifically, since this is a translation of *Hávamál* 17: *alt er senn, ef hann sylv um getr, uppi er þá geð guma*, 'both things happen at once: if he gets his drink, he loses his mind.' Perhaps the editor was following Neckel who makes the same mistake.

It might have been noticed that the senses attributed to *aurr*, 'drops of water,' and *aurugr*, 'wet,' are not found otherwise in Icelandic where the words always mean 'gravel, sand,' 'gravelly, sandy.' But in view of the OE *ear*, 'sea,' and Icel. *úr*, 'drizzling rain,' *úrigr*, 'wet, covered with spray or rain,' the meanings given are very plausible, though too abstract for the cases of occurrence. 'Spray, mist,' and 'misty, shrouded in spray' are undoubtedly better translations of the cases in *Vsp* 19 and 27.

When the editor translates (sub *dvelja*) *mart um dvelr (þann er um morgin sefr)* by 'one loses much,' it is a good interpretation according to the context, rather than the correct translation: 'many things hinder (delay, LET) him who (habitually) sleeps in the morning.'

If *eikinn* (as A. Jóhannesson believes, cf. *Íslenzk tunga í fornöld* 429) on the one hand is connected with Gothic *afaihan*, 'deny, repudiate,' on the other with Mod. Norwegian *eikjen*, 'trættekjar,' — 'quarrelsome' (A. Torp, *Nynorsk etym. orðbok*), then the origin from *eik/oak: oaken* suggested by the editor seems rather remote.

Even Mod. Icelandic supports the Gothic-Norwegian usage: the word is used mostly about raging bulls (cf. S. Blondal, *Isl.-dansk Ordbog, eikinn*).

The compound *spá-gandar*, *Vsp* 29, is lacking in the glossary, the editor should not have been thrown off its track by the fact that the text has *spá ganda*.

The verb *verpa* has been forgotten, and with it the troublesome passage of *Vsp* 5, *sól varp sunnan*.

To mention one more drawback: the book has no index.

But it would be unjust to leave the reader of this review with the impression that the book is a failure. On the contrary, I believe that, within the rather too narrow limits that the editor has set himself mostly for the sake of economy, he has succeeded in producing a textbook that promises to be popular in American universities. For that every teacher of Old Norse owes him a vote of thanks.

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The Middle Ages, 395-1500. By J. R. STRAYER and D. C. MUNRO.

New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1942. Pp. xii + 568.

This book was written by Professor Strayer. It replaces the Munro-Sontag volume of 1928 in the Century Historical Series, and the author has made enough use of that volume to feel justified in putting the late Professor Munro's name under his own on the title-page. The new work is well planned and well written. Its most striking weaknesses are due to deficiencies in the author's professional equipment. Like many mediaevalists, Mr. Strayer has only a limited acquaintance with the vernacular literatures. He seems to know his way about in French, but his ignorance of English, Irish and Icelandic appears to be almost complete. He lists several Icelandic sagas in his "suggestions for reading" (p. 537), but can hardly have thought of them as literature, for he tells us elsewhere that "French prose was much more highly developed than that of any other country in the middle ages" (p. 377). By way of specification he mentions the narratives of Villehardouin and Joinville, and adds, "they are masterpieces of prose, and French is the only European language which can make such a claim for a work of the thirteenth century" (*ibid.*). Here he ignores, not only the *Heimskringla* and other Icelandic masterpieces, but also an English masterpiece, the *Ancrene Riwele*. Moreover, since French prose did not develop until the thirteenth century, Mr. Strayer seems to have taken it for granted that the other vernaculars were equally late (or later) in developing this important tool. He tells us, "during the tenth and early eleventh

centuries . . . the vernacular languages . . . were so limited in vocabulary and so incoherent in syntax that they could not be used for logical thought. . . . Until the thirteenth century, no rational discussion of any problem, secular or religious, was possible without using Latin" (p. 164). Evidently Mr. Strayer is unacquainted with the writings of Ælfric. But the author's case is much worse. He seems to believe that no vernacular literature of any kind existed in Western Europe before the twelfth century. Here again he is guided by the history of French. Since French did not become a literary language until the twelfth century, the same must hold of the other vernaculars. He states, "the twelfth and thirteenth centuries . . . [saw] the beginnings of the great vernacular literatures" (p. 506; cf. p. 246). Here he ignores many important works in vernaculars of the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia, including world-famous masterpieces like *Beowulf* and the *Elder Edda*. For Mr. Strayer the first vernacular masterpiece is the *Chanson de Roland* (p. 249). A little later we learn that "English became a literary language only after the reign of John" (p. 284). The great Irish sagas, and Irish literature generally, are passed over in silence.

The author often lumps Britons and Irish under the head Celtic, making needless trouble for himself and his readers. Thus, when he writes that "the Celtic Christians were zealous missionaries . . . but they found it difficult to convert their hereditary enemies, the Anglo-Saxons" (p. 63), his first statement holds for the Irish but not for the Britons, while his second statement holds for neither, though it applies in some sort to both: the Irish evangelized the English (with no great difficulty); the Britons, because of their hereditary enmity to the English, refused to evangelize them. In the early Middle Ages, be it added, the Irish and the English were friends, not foes; their later enmity is one of the many evil legacies of the Norman Conquest, a subjugation which spread from England to Ireland during the reign of William's great-grandson. The author misrepresents this extension of Henry II's Angevin empire to Ireland when he calls it an "English conquest" (p. 106). His map of Europe in 1200 is equally remiss with its legend "English possessions in France." The English had no possessions in France or Ireland in those days; they and the Irish were fellows in subjection to French rulers.

On the whole the author neglects the vigorous and many-sided culture of early England. A small point may serve to illustrate this weakness. We are told that "by the fifteenth century a new style of manuscript illumination had been developed in which the pictures were separated from the text and occupied whole pages by themselves" (p. 450). One of the most famous of medieval MSS, Bodley, Junius xi, commonly dated *circa* 1000, has a number of full-page illustrations, but Mr. Strayer, one must suspect, has never

looked at the handsome facsimile edition of this MS in his university library; it is *English* handiwork.

Many other mistakes, more or less serious, might be pointed out if space were available. But the reader of this review must not be led to think that Mr. Strayer's book is worthless. An extraordinarily uneven piece of work, it includes many good things as well as bad. A teacher alive to its faults and careful to point them out as he comes to them may well find it handy as a textbook for his class. But it would be dangerous to put this book on a reading list in the absence of such detailed correction.

KEMP MALONE

John Philip Kemble: the Actor in His Theatre. By HERSCHEL BAKER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942. Pp. x + 414. \$4.00.

This book is not remarkably exciting, but then neither was Kemble. The writer's scholarship is sound, his organization methodical; and, if he has no great sympathy for his hero, he gives him a very full day in court. There are none of those moments, dear to biographers of actors, when the breathless author works up to a triumphant debut with the pit on its feet or, as a protagonist's fondness for the bottle grows on him, even tries to communicate a sense of doom. It is to Mr. Baker's credit that he does not invent any. Kemble was no Garrick or Kean. Poise, not fire, distinguished his efforts. Mrs. Siddons made them smell blood in the sleepwalking scene; but critics asked of her brother, as today we ask of Mr. Maurice Evans, "Why will he not give the passions fuller scope?"

This thoroughgoing study is the first of real magnitude in over a century. It is based on an impressive range of reading—of manuscripts as well as printed sources—in England as well as here—about the milieu as well as the man. Among the manuscripts is the diary in which, for the twenty-seven years that began in 1788 with his ascension of the throne at Drury Lane (unfortunately for him there was in R. B. Sheridan a power behind the throne), the head of the British theater's first family wrote the annals of his reign there and later at Covent Garden.

Any work on this subject which, as Mr. Baker's rightly does, sticks to the subject is bound to be a little maddening because the glimpses of the great Sarah must remain glimpses. One would read with more enthusiasm another though a superfluous book about the woman of genius than a needed one about the man of talent and industry. Nevertheless, he who wishes to familiarize himself with the decades between the abdication of Garrick and the revolution

of the elder Kean will be obliged to make his way through these pages—all of them. Mr. Baker has the facts. And readers over whom theatrical history has cast its curious spell will not put this volume back on the shelf till they have finished it.

This in spite of notable defects. Kemble's place in the history of the British theater rests chiefly on his revivals of Shakespeare. These are frequently mentioned; but rarely is there much account of how they differed from those of earlier managers, and sometimes we are not even told which role Kemble acted. The author writes a little awkwardly, though he is commendably spirited. One doubts the wisdom, however, even for the sake of avoiding repetition, of employing such epithets (obviously inadequate) as "that erratic gentleman" for Byron or "the good lady" for Mrs. Siddons.

The system of reference to authority is very faulty. Several titles of works consulted are often lumped in one note, while the reference number comes at the end of a long block of text. It is therefore frequently impossible to tell whence a fact or even a quotation is derived. Thus while a fragment (p. 187) from a contemporary account of Kemble's *Macbeth* carries a reference number, the note gives eleven titles. Presumably these all deal with the revival, but the reader can only guess where the quotation comes from. Another bad practice is the omission of authors' initials. Since only a few titles are repeated in the bibliography, initials as well as date and place of publication should be supplied in the first reference note. To be sure, this standard practice can be overdone: among an editor's plagues are contributors who insist on thus identifying E. K. Chambers's *Elizabethan Stage*. But unless a book is very well known, the first reference should be full. I find a good many citations in Mr. Baker's notes beyond my ken; some would require, before one could proceed to the right spot in the library, minutes with the card catalogue—minutes the author could easily have spared his reader.

Failure to put the reference number precisely next the pertinent matter in the text is sometimes actually misleading. Thus (p. 185) the account of Kemble's text for *Macbeth* ends by quoting the dying speech inserted by Garrick. At this point a reference number appears, but the note refers to a single book which contains no information about either Garrick's or Kemble's production. It is evidently cited because Mr. Baker has mentioned D'avenant's version earlier in the same paragraph.

"Decided one critic" is all we have to identify another quotation, since the note cites "*Morning Post*," "Henry Irving *Shakespeare*," "Boaden, *Mrs. Jordan*" (this author being of course readily spotted in a catalogue even without his "J"), "Kelly, *German Visitors*" (but the Kellys are a numerous tribe in almost any catalogue), "Oulton" (identified in the bibliography and in a key to the notes), and "Spencer, *Shakespeare Improved*." I can testify positively that the last of these works has contributed nothing what-

ever to the stock of Mr. Baker's information between the points at which it is previously cited (p. 185) and this (p. 186). On the contrary, the traffic is all the other way.

I hope these remonstrances will not seem ungracious or petty. The matter is of some importance, if the operations of the literary historian are not to become mere private incantations; and should this method of reference go unprotected, others might adopt it. Mr. Baker's book is a useful and interesting study, in spite of it.

HAZELTON SPENCER

The Sentinels & Other Plays. By RICHARD PENN SMITH. Edited by RALPH H. WARE and H. W. SCHOENBERGER. *Metamora & Other Plays.* By JOHN AUGUSTUS STONE, SILAS S. STEELE, CHARLES POWELL CLINCH, JOSEPH M. FIELD, H. J. CONWAY (?), JOHN H. WILKINS, JOSEPH STEVENS JONES, and JOHN BROUGHAM. Edited by EUGENE R. PAGE. *Four Plays.* By ROYALL TYLER. Edited by ARTHUR WALLACE PEACH and GEORGE FLOYD NEWBROUGH. *Monte Cristo as Played by James O'Neill & Other Plays.* By CHARLES FECHTER, JULIA WARD HOWE, GEORGE C. HAZELTON, LANGDON MITCHELL, and WILLIAM C. DE MILLE. Edited by J. B. RUSSAK. *The Plays of Henry C. De Mille written in collaboration with DAVID BELASCO.* Edited with an introductory essay by ROBERT HAMILTON BALL. *The Heart of Maryland & Other Plays.* By DAVID BELASCO. Edited by GLENN HUGHES and GEORGE SAVAGE. *The White Slave & Other Plays.* By BARTLEY CAMPBELL. Edited by NAPIER WILT. *Man and Wife & Other Plays.* By AUGUSTIN DALY. Edited with introductory notes and a play list by CATHERINE STURTEVANT. *America's Lost Plays*, edited by BARRETT H. CLARK, vols. XIII-XX. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941 (vol. XX, 1942). Pp. xii + 180, viii + 408, x + 126, vi + 362, xxvi + 346, xii + 324, lxxxii + 254, xii + 410. \$5 a volume; \$85 the set of 20 volumes.

Mr. Clark and the Princeton University Press are to be congratulated on the completion of this large and interesting undertaking, earlier volumes of which have already been noticed in this journal (LVI, 475-6, 639-40). While for the most part the contributions of the several editors have not been extensive and doubtless

need not have been, to the exceptions should be added Professor Wilt, who has done a substantial job with his assignment.

On the whole the merit of this series obviously lies in its presenting us with the texts of a hundred old (that is, pre-O'Neill and mostly unliterary) American plays, many of which it prints for the first time. I have read them all, with I hope a proper contempt for the occasional example of false pretensions to poetry or philosophy and a good deal of respect for those which obey Bernard Shaw's prescription, in one of his letters to Ellen Terry, and go straight for the fundamentals of human nature. Whether or not Mr. Shaw is right in holding that a good melodrama is harder to write than "all this clever-clever," a good one is easier to read than the kind that tries for but doesn't quite make the top bracket of the clever-clever.

If it is good *enough*, continues the sage, why, you have a *Lear* or *Macbeth*. I don't recall being reminded very much of Shakespeare in any of these volumes; but it would be nice to see some of their contents staged—if, that is, our college theaters would get to work on them and would act them, not sophomorically, for the cheap laugh at a self-consciously virtuous sentiment, but straightforwardly, for what is in them. There is something sound and fundamentally American in a surprising number of them, something that is too often missing from the current "vehicle" (Miss Katharine Hepburn's, for example) knocked together by playwrights who make believe they have something to say on a topic of the moment but are not really interested in the people they invent to do the saying smartly.

America's "lost plays" were written for a theater that certainly had its limitations, a theater out of which came not a single masterpiece; but it was a theater that was very sure of itself, a theater that knew it had an audience which relished what it had to offer and was as appreciative of the fine points of playing as a baseball crowd is today and no less accustomed to making comparisons between players and to taking pride in a simple kind of connoisseurship. It was a theater that was not afraid of scoring "points," and that acted Shakespeare fullbloodedly, not gingerly.

Ill fares the land, to hordes of hastening ills an easy prey,
Where honest melodrama fades and wisecracks make a play.

HAZELTON SPENCER

Le Classicisme français. Par HENRI PEYRE. New York: Editions de la Maison Française, 1942. Pp. 281.

This is an altered and enlarged edition of the author's *Qu'est-ce que le Classicisme?*, which appeared in 1933.¹ M. Peyre brings to

¹ It is dated 1935 in the preliminary "ouvrages du même auteur," but on p. 9 the date of publication is given as 1933.

his problem the tastes of one nurtured on the classics of France, but acquainted at first hand with the literatures of other countries and with points of view very different from those prevalent in the seventeenth century. He has an extensive knowledge of critical opinion and writes with keenness and charm. His book is not a study of general seventeenth-century characteristics, many of which do not fit into any definition of classicism, but rather an exposition of the main qualities found in the leading seventeenth-century authors, among whom he includes Descartes and Corneille as well as those who flourished in 1660-85, though he lays special emphasis upon these last.

He stresses the interest these authors showed in psychological analysis, their sense of form, their clarity, serenity, impersonality, universality, their cult of the "art de plaire." He adds interesting chapters on their relationship to contemporary artists, to the ancients, to neo-classicism, on the reception they met in various countries. His contention that they were primarily artists rather than moralists is excellently presented, but could have been strengthened in the case of Molière if, instead of saying (p. 105), "Molière ne cesse d'affirmer qu'il cherche à corriger les hommes," he had reminded his readers that Molière first made this claim when he was defending himself against critics of *Tartuffe*. I am somewhat surprised that M. Peyre fails to mention among the characteristics of French classicists their abounding wit, so obvious in Corneille, Pascal, La Fontaine, Molière, and Racine, if not in Descartes and Bossuet. There are a few corrections that may easily be made in a third edition.² In spite of these facts the book is an eloquent apology for the writers discussed, one that should be appreciated by all who have labored in the same vineyard, by "tous ceux qui ont foi en la France."

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² P. 37, "L'auditoire restreint de ces écrivains classiques." In 1677, the year of *Phèdre*, over forty thousand tickets of admission to the Guénégaud theater were purchased, a fact that shows that dramatists, at least, were not writing for an "auditoire restreint." P. 42, "Il [the classical author] pouvait se dispenser d'attaquer ses prédécesseurs." He could, but did he? Descartes wanted to make "table rase" of his. Pascal fell upon the Jesuits. Corneille attacked Mairet; Racine, Corneille and Boyer; Molière, the actors of the Hôtel de Bourgogne. P. 60, Pradon is said to have been born in 1632 and is consequently grouped with Boileau and Racine, neither of whom would have appreciated the association; as a matter of fact, he was born in 1644, which puts him with La Bruyère and Bayle, though I fail to see any significance in this fact. P. 101, n. 37, the novel is placed among genres "que ne régentaient nulle règle," though this was the opinion neither of La Calprenède nor of Huet. P. 182, n. 11, "un professeur d'histoire de la médecine à Leipzig, Sigerist"; as he has been my colleague at the Johns Hopkins since 1931 and is not a German, to refer to him as a professor at Leipzig is unnecessary, not to say unkind.

Motif-Index of the Italian Novella in Prose. By D. P. ROTUNDA. Bloomington, Ind., 1942. Pp. ix + 216. \$2. (Indiana University Publications, Folklore Series, no. 2.)

"Principally, this Motif-Index aims to give a quick and easy reference to the subject matter handled by the *novellieri* in prose of three centuries." It follows the plan and classification of Stith Thompson's well-known *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (1932), indicating with asterisks all entries not found in the latter work. It is thus one further step toward Prof. Thompson's announced purpose "to reduce the traditional narrative material of the whole earth to order." Three centuries of the Italian novella from earliest times through the Cinquecento is indeed a large field. Folklorists professional and amateur, and source hunters of many modern literatures cannot fail to be grateful to Prof. Rotunda for accomplishing this huge task. In fact, it is so huge that one hesitates to wish that he had done more. Still, at least the amateur in folklore methods is certain to wish that an index of the novelle catalogued had been given. This could have been done in an appendix in very little space, showing by number what entry was given to this or that novella of each collection (Decameron I, 1, etc.). Without this, for instance, if he is interested in the sources or analogues of, say, Decameron VI, 1, he can only guess that it is to be found under the very large heading of *Cleverness*. He is obliged to begin at the beginning reading through hundreds of titles. And when he fails to find it at J 1223 under: *Rebuke for telling a poor and long-winded story*, he is bound to be discouraged.

Even professional folklorists are likely to complain at Rotunda's omission of obscene motifs. Space is left for them in the number system under the entry "Humor concerning Sex" and it is not clear on just what *scientific* basis they are excluded; whereas, if they are omitted for moral reasons, one would like more frankness of statement to that effect (p. 214, n. 1). After all, the rejection of obscene motifs from three centuries of Italian novelle is no small rejection.

If nowhere else, concessions to the amateur should have been made in the way of a longer introduction to the Index. He is bound to wonder if all these novelle, many of them complex forms of individual art, can really be considered *folklore*. Likewise he is sure to have serious objection to the statement that "the novellieri, then, become important in that they generally present motifs already known in folklore in their most artistic and vivid form, and they in turn are imitated by writers in other lands." It is not clear even in context that Prof. Rotunda remembers that this means that they become important for this reason *for the folklorist*. For one studying their art, this may well be their *least* important aspect.

Such matters of theory will probably not trouble the hunter of

sources and analogues. He knows how often he has to return to the Italian novelle in his hunt. From now on he will not forget Rotunda's work.

C. S. S.

La Dorotea di Lope di Vega. By ALDA CROCE. Bari: Laterza, 1940. (Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna.) Pp. 352. L. 25.

Miss Croce's study of Lope's *Dorotea* is based upon her dissatisfaction with the conclusions of her predecessors, and her conviction that a more stable basis of criticism may be found than that offered either by Karl Vossler or Leo Spitzer. According to Vossler, Lope had created his "sick" characters and extravagant style only to condemn both. Spitzer, on the other hand, has maintained that the "literature" is the core, the unity, of its artistic existence; that such is the purpose of the baroque writer.

Miss Croce finds unity in the work as an "obra de vejez," in which Lope plays a dual rôle: the poet familiar with youthful passions, and the aged philosopher who intervenes with cryptic criticism and reflections upon the vanity of pleasure. Biographical data of Lope's late years seem to support her hypothesis, although she warns against reading the *Dorotea* as autobiography. Miss Croce cannot avoid the conclusion that the *Dorotea* is essentially a treatise on love, which fact she finds quite in accordance with the moral character of the work. The passionate characters are sick; their cure is *desengaño*. In this sense we may think of the play as an expiation drama.

The artistic core of the work, according to Miss Croce, is lyrical. All else is but digression, including therein both the didacticism and the verse. Somewhat later she assigns to the verse the function of creating atmosphere and giving direct expression to the love of the characters.

The feature of Miss Croce's study probably most open to criticism is her analysis and attempted solution of the stylistic problem. She seeks no artistic unity within the text, but rather a biographical-biological explanation, supported historically, which cleaves the style of the *Dorotea* into a sort of antiphonal game between character and comment. After such an analysis, her insistence that we cannot separate the "artistic" (for her the lyrical) from the discursive seems an unsuccessful attempt to reunite irreconcilable elements. Miss Croce has found an explanation for the stylistic dichotomy without in any way resolving the breach.

Another schism appears in Miss Croce's analysis. In view of her well constructed examination of the moral purpose of the play, it is a bit surprising that she should insist upon a lyric core. Why not a didactic core? Yet this didactic character she prefers to

explain by the contrapuntal character of Lope himself. Evidently she gives predominance to the "youthful Lope." How then can she characterize the *Dorotea* as a treatise? By assuming that art must be lyrical, Miss Croce has caught herself on the horns of a dilemma.

In general, it does not seem that Miss Croce has made any considerable contribution to a greater *aesthetic* appreciation of the play. She has offered no resolution of the great problem—the stylistic problem—only an explanation for its existence brought from without the text. We feel that Miss Croce's interpretations must fall before the more synthetic treatment of her predecessors.

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BRIEF MENTION

Writers of the Western World. Edited by ADDISON HIBBARD. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942. Pp. xxii + 1261. \$4.75. A large book in double columns of selections first written in English, or now translated into it. They range from Homer to Hemingway, from Genesis to *The Hairy Ape*. Realizing that "le temps est un songe," that Ovid may be considered a romanticist, the author of the nineteenth Psalm an impressionist, Mr. H. has grouped his material, not chronologically, but according to the "temper" of the authors, as exemplifying classicism, romanticism—including symbolism,—or realism—including naturalism, impressionism, and expressionism. Each group of selections is preceded by a brief account of the leading characteristics of each "temper"; the work of each author, by a biographical sketch. Three groups of illustrations that reproduce masterpieces of painting, sculpture, or architecture help to emphasize the unity of the arts. Although many authors are represented, many of importance have been left out: Sappho, Plautus, Petrarch, Ariosto, Ronsard, Corneille, La Fontaine, Addison, Scott, Schiller, Musset, Dickens, Thackeray, Meredith, Maeterlinck, Anatole France, Shaw, etc. One may criticize, too, some of the classifications, for great writers do not fit snugly in such compartments. However, it should be remembered that the book is intended as an introduction to European and American literature rather than as a contribution to knowledge. Mr. H. should be congratulated on the catholicity of his own temper and the care with which he has reproduced the selections. He has provided American undergraduates with a substantial library shelf, if not with a library.

H. C. L.

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WAS GEORG HAGER SENIOR A MASTERSINGER?

Although one finds mention of the Nürnberg *Meistersinger* Georg Hager (Jr.) in most general discussions of German *Meistergesang*, nothing has been known to date about his father, Georg Hager Sr., other than the scant facts that he enjoyed an intimate friendship with Hans Sachs, from whom he learned his trade and the art of mastersinging; and that he passed on this instruction to his more gifted son, Georg Hager Jr. It is the son who tells us, in the preface to his *Liederbuch*, *Dresden M 6*:

Vnd Ob ich mein singen vnd dise lobliche Kunst von meinem vatter seligen gelernet hab, jst sie doch vom Sachsen her kumen. dann Mein vatter Hat sein handwerck, das schuhmachen, vom ge melten Hans sachsen gelernet, So wol auch das singen.

Since it is thus established fact that the father as well as the son occupied himself with *Meistergesang*, it follows that their identity of name involves difficulty in the ascription of *Meisterlieder* or *Meistertone* to either of them, and makes an accurate determination of their chronological relationship of prime importance.

George Hager Jr. is the highly productive one of the two men, and played the more prominent rôle. Printed references to him are frequent. Some ten or twelve of his poems have been printed in scattered places, and the known facts of his life have been published. Thus Schnorr von Carolsfeld furnishes a page and a half concerning his life in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (x, 1879, pp. 352-3), and Johannes Bolte gives a brief biographical paragraph in his article: "Sechs Meisterlieder Georg Hagers" (*Alemannia* xxii, 1894, pp. 159-184.) The dates of birth and death as published in both these accounts are erroneous and must first be corrected.¹

¹ Schnorr sets the birth as "vor 1560" and the death as "um 1645." Bolte repeats these same dates.

In his manuscript *Wien 13512* (fol. 450 r) Hager gives us, himself, the date of his birth. He writes:

Als man schrib zwey vnd funfzig jar
jn Dem winder monat fur war,
Den sechs vnd zwanzigsten tag weit
wur ich, Georg hager, Dise zeit
Geboren in Nurnberck der stat

His statement is confirmed by the baptismal records in the *Landeskirchliches Archw* in Nurnberg.² Meanwhile, more accurate information has likewise become available concerning the death date. There is, for instance, an entry in the *Meistersinger-Protokolle*, written in the hand of Georg Hager Jr.'s son Philipp, announcing his father's death in 1634.³ And again, the burial records of the church of St. Sebald afford confirmation.⁴

Turning our attention to the father, concerning whose life no dates have yet been published, we find that it is possible to set these with equal definiteness and accuracy. In the *Meisterlied* cited above, composed in his *Gruenen Hag Weise*, in which he traces the family tree for the benefit of his children (*Wien 13512*, fol. 450 r), Georg Hager Jr. reports that his father was one of a family of nine children, born in Nurnberg, and continues:

vnder Disen sinen be kant
war einer, Georg hager ge nant.
Der war geboren an Der stet
gleich als man zwelf jar zellen det.
Bey dem hans sachsen lernet er
Das schuh machen Da mit be ger.

Thus we have the year 1512 definitely established as the father's birth year. The Nurnberg archives come to our assistance again in determining the date of his death as 1571.⁵

² *Taufbuch St. Sebald Archw Nr S 2*, 1544-1555, (under G): Georg Hager, ein son Georg. 26 Nouember 1552.

³ Karl Drescher (ed.), *Nurnberger Meistersinger-Protokolle von 1575-1689* ("Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart," CCXIII-IV; Tubingen, 1897), II, 1

⁴ *Leichenbuch St. Sebald S 37*, Anno 1634. p. 77 b: Der Ersam Georg Hager, Schuchmacher vnd Maistersinger in der Schustergaßen, den 10. Octob.

⁵ *Beerdigungsbuch St. Sebald, Archiv Nr 34*. Anno 1571: 3150. Georg Hager, Schuster, am Weinmarckt. 18. Februarus. (The Schustergasse, on which the Hagers lived, adjoins the Weinmarkt.)

With these essential dates thus definitely fixed for father and son, it should prove possible hereafter to distinguish easily between the two singers, particularly since the son's creative activities did not begin until the eighties, at least ten years after the death of his father.

Georg Hager Jr. was not only a prolific composer, but also an inveterate collector of *Meisterlieder*. Five of the *Singebücher* which he gathered are extant; the whereabouts of the eight others is unknown. Of the five known manuscripts, *Wien 13512* contains only Georg Hager Jr.'s own poems; *Dresden M 195*, *Berlin 533*, *Weimar Q 571*, and *Dresden M 6*, on the other hand, are general anthologies.

Now it would be natural to expect that in these great collections, which he sought to make as extensive and as representative as possible, the son would preserve some of his father's compositions. But this, as far as we know, he failed to do; at least the father is not mentioned in any of the indices to these volumes which Georg Hager Jr. prepared, nor (except in a few dubious cases which we shall discuss) have any songs been identified as his by any one else. The only motivation the son could have had in obliterating records of his father's compositions would be plagiarism. But although the standards for originality in the texts of *Meisterlieder* were not then high, it would be out of place to level a charge of systematic plagiarism against the son without supporting evidence.

We feel safe in inferring that the father, too, collected songs, and that many leaves of the father's collection are preserved in the son's anthologies, the more so since there are so many *Meisterlieder* in the son's collections which are in the hand of Hans Sachs. The latter had most likely presented these to his friend, Georg Hager Sr. In *Weimar Q 571* there are fifteen songs in Sachs's script, grouped from fol. 71 r to 99 r. In *Dresden M 6* there are some seventy songs in the hand of Sachs, again grouped together, from fol. 40 r to 104 r. But in *Dresden M 195* and in *Berlin 533* the Sachs songs, mostly of two pages each, are scattered generously through the manuscript at intervals, interlarded with songs by other hands, as if still in the sequence in which these songs had been presented from time to time to the father by Sachs.

The biographical facts that can be gleaned from these manuscripts and from the archives of Nürnberg shed no light upon the mystery that shrouds the mastersinging activity of Georg Hager

Sr. Friend and pupil of the renowned Sachs, and instructor in turn of his son who became so prominent, it seems astonishing that he should receive no mention in the carefully kept *Protokolle* of the Nürnberg *Singschule*, where the first mention of a Hager is the recording of Georg Jr. as singer on the program of Easter Sunday in 1587. And it seems more amazing still that he is given no mention in the School records kept for the years 1555-1561 by his friend Sachs, while the latter was *Merker* of the School.⁶ The last mentioned year reminds of a chance note by Georg Hager Jr. in the *Register* of his *Laederbuch M 6*, which informs us that the father had a disciple, as late as 1562, in Mathas Schneider, *Schuhmacher* and *Meistersinger* at Steyer.⁷ That this disciple was musically gifted is attested by G. Münzer, who declares, on the basis of his musical studies, that he was "einer der besten Musker unter allen!"⁸

One feels inclined to suspect that Georg Hager Sr. was an uneducated man and not of any great talent; that the only education he ever received was his training in *Meistergesang* by his friend Sachs; that he composed no original *Meistertöne*, and thus had not risen to *Meisterschaft* and a place of recognition within the School; and that some of the difficult and rather illiterate script in *Berlin 583*, though bearing considerable resemblance to the unformed script of the son in his earliest writings, may be the father's. However, it has not proven possible, with the few *Meisterliederhandschriften* at hand (in reproduction) in America, to determine the matter. If his script can once be identified, much of the mystery that shrouds Georg Hager Sr. can be lifted. The greatest difficulty arises from the fact that most of the *Meisterlieder* in these collections, although dated, remain unsigned. There is not,

⁶ These records by Sachs have been edited by Karl Drescher, *Das Gemarkbüchlein des Hans Sachs* ("Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," CXLIX-LII; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1898).

⁷ The entry, in the first *Register* of *M 6*, reads: Volget Der Mathas schneider, ein schuhmacher zu steyer. War meins vatters s[ch]u knecht Anno 1562 jar.

"Mathas," (twice thus spelled in the manuscript,) = Mathias? Keinze (*Hans Sachs Forschungen. Festschrift*; Nurnberg: Joh. Phil. Raw'sche Buchhandlung, 1894, p. 343) gives Matheus. G. Münzer (p. 21) reads: Mates.

⁸ G. Münzer, (ed.), *Das Singebuch des Adam Puschman* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel [1906]), p. 21.

in all the huge number of pages of *Meistergesang* gathered by son Georg, a single song that may be ascribed to the father with assurance and finality. There are, to be sure, two poems in *Berlin 583* ascribed to Georg Hager and so dated that they would fall of necessity to the father. These are: "*Der Blutig waben rog* (Wap-penrock)," *Im abgeschiden don lienhart Nunnenbeck* (fol. 15v), dated 1536, and "*Das 21. kapitel aus den ersten Buch der kunig*," *In den un Be nanden don fricz Zorn*, dated 1537 (fol. 9r). Ascription to Georg Hager Sr. may be correct, but in each instance there is room for doubt. In the case of the first of these poems the ascription is on a slip of paper that was pasted over the original signature line, and this slip is written upon by the hand of an unidentified seventeenth century scribe, who went through the entire manuscript with heavy touch, altering and revising according to his fancy. Some of his recordings can be proven to be inaccurate, others dubious. For instance, his statement (fol. 250r) that Hans Sachs was a "Fechter" has been challenged as sensational and improbable; and his statement (fol. 322*v) that Georg Hager wrote "das alte Lied zur Buchenklänge" in 1515 is a patent absurdity, since in that year Georg Hager Sr. was a three year old baby. And so, when this hand ascribes to Georg Hager the second of the above-mentioned poems, composed in 1537, adding the note that this Georg Hager was "ein mercker vnd sing meister in Nürnberg," (fol. 9r ff.), we lose faith in his statement. 1) If the father had risen to the office of *Merker* in the School, his name would be mentioned in the records. 2) We doubt if the late seventeenth century scribe was possessed of sufficient knowledge to discriminate chronologically between father and son. And 3) there are many instances in the pages of this same manuscript where it is obvious that the date recorded in the signature line is the date of the original composition of the poem, while the name recorded is not that of the composer but merely that of the copyist.

If by any means the script in the two songs ascribed to Georg Hager could be identified as in the hand of Georg Hager Sr., we should be able to say at once that numerous other poems in the collection are by his hand, but rather, it seems to be the early hand of Georg Hager Jr. in which both these songs are recorded.

The above considerations make all the more interesting and important, if true, certain information published by Curt Mey in his book: *Der Meistergesang in Geschichte und Kunst*, which first

appeared at Leipzig in 1892, and reached a second and improved edition nine years later.⁹

Among the numerous manuscripts of *Meistergesang* in the *Sächsische Landesbibliothek* at Dresden which Mey studied in preparation of his book, and upon which he undertakes to report, is *M 6*. This manuscript is doubtless the best-known of the various *Meisterliedersammlungen* of Georg Hager Jr., and appears to be his thirteenth and last *Liederbuch*. Hager had the volume bound in 1600, and completed his entries in it in 1604. The greatest value of the manuscript is perhaps for those interested in the music of *Meistergesang*; for the latter portion of the manuscript (fol. 314r-489r) is devoted to the musical notation of some 135 *Meisterlieder*, by different composers, with the texts. Of this more later in a different connection.

Although Hager provided the manuscript with a complete register at the beginning,¹⁰ he furnishes as well a special *Register* (fol. 335 ff.) for the songs with musical notation, explaining:

ob ich Gleich dise heder vorn in das Register gesezt hab, wil ich in doch von den Notten wegen jr eigens Register Besunder auch seczen. Da mit man sehen kan, welches die ge nottierten lieder sein.

This second index Curt Mey publishes (pp. 176 ff.), carrying his entries in five columns: *Titel, Ton, Verfasser des Tones, Verfasser des Gedichtes, Jahr*. The last seventeen entries in this index list the seventeen *Meistertöne* of Hager (this is of course Georg Hager Jr.). One notices at once that the dates, as published by Mey, are unreliable, and in need of checking. For instance, the *Liebliche Harpfenklangweise*, which he dates 1591 and thus places among the earliest of Hager's *Töne*, we know to be his last-composed melody, dating 1615!¹¹ All of Hager's *Töne*, with the exception of the *Liebliche Harpfenklangweise*, were composed in the 1590's. But we observe with interest seventeen further entries of *Meisterlieder* in Mey's index, ascribed to Georg Hager, and with a much earlier dating, ranging from 1529 to 1559. And since the son was not born until 1552, we would thus seem to have found evidence, at

⁹ Zweite, auf Grund handschriftlicher Quellenforschung und anderer Studien gänzlich umgearbeitete und wesentlich vermehrte Auflage (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger 1901), p. 176 ff.

¹⁰ On unnumbered pages, which I number 074 to 0116.

¹¹ Cf. the dates given by Hager at the beginning and end of the *Meisterlied* in this *Ton* in Dresden *M 6*, fol. 485r ff.

WAS GEORG HAGER SENIOR A MASTERSINGER? 89

Curt Mey: Verzeichnis der in M 6 zu Dresden enthaltenen Meistersinger-Melodien					
Titel	Ton	Verfasser des Tones	Verfasser des Gedichts, Jahr	Beil.: Reproduction of date-line from M6	
2. "Der Ehebrecher Rohpfer" (read: Erogpfer) Num. 5.	Langer Ton	Heinrich Bartels (read: Bartes)	Georg Hager 1558	1. Nov. 32. Octob. 3. 58.	
5. "Der Schulgang Christi" Weihnachtslied. Luc. 2.	Heller Ton	Kaspar Singer	Georg Hager 1558	1. Nov. 31. Sept. 14. 58.	
7. "Die geistliche Gespons" Hohe Lied 3.	Gekrünter Ton	Frauenlob	Georg Hager 1558	Ann. 31. Decem. 17. 58.	
8. "Eine schreckliche Prophe- tei Esaus", Esaus 11.	Neuer Ton	Frauenlob	Georg Hager 1552	Ann. 9. 2. 58	
9. "Der Sabbathbrecher" 4. Mos. 15.	Traumweise	Migling	Georg Hager 1555	Ann. 33. Decem. 6. 58	
10. "Die sieben gefangenen Krieger", 2. Kön. 21.	Hoher Ton	Hans Folts	Georg Hager 1554	Ann. 15. 4. 58. Febr. 11. 58.	
11. "Ein Gebet Mose" Ps. 40 (read: Ps. 90).	Zehrweise	Lienhart Humenbeck	Georg Hager 1545	Ann. 25. Sept. 2. 58	
12. "Die beiden Söhne Zebadai", Matth. 20.	Bauer(n)-ton	Paul Ringagant	Georg Hager 1547	Ann. 4. 7. July 27. 58.	
13. "Gute Lehre Sirachs" Sir. 4.	In dem deut- schen Dis- coubuit	Michel Gerbrecht (read: Herbertt)	Georg Hager 1539	Ann. 39. Aug. 19. 58.	
14. "Der englische Gruß" Luc. 1 (read: 2).	Sauerweise	Hans Vogel	Georg Hager 1538	Ann. 38. Octob. 15. 58	
16. "Die Strafe Elis wegen seiner Kinder" 1. Kön. 5	Blumenweise	Michel Lorenz	Georg Hager 1540	Ann. 45. Octob. 19. 58.	
33. "Warum man eifern oder nicht eifern soll" Esaus 9. (Read: Sirach 9)	Goldne Kreuzweise	Michael Franken	Georg Hager 1559	Ann. 50. Novemb. 14. 58.	
35. "Ein Bet- Lob und Buß- (read: Preis-lysaln) Ps. 102 (read: 103)	Überlanger Ton	Sebastian Wild	Georg Hager 1555	Ann. 55. July 25. 58.	
37. "Das Lob guter Weis- heit", Sprüche 8.	Langer Ton	Hermann Urtel	Georg Hager 1547	Ann. 47. Octob. 18. 58	
38. "Die Liebe Gottes und des Nächsten". 1. Ep. Joh. 3.	Neuer Ton	Sixt Beckmesser	Georg Hager 1546	Ann. 46. May 22. 58.	
39. "Der Abschied Pauli" Ap. 20	Langer Ton	Hans Folts	Georg Hager 1529	Ann. 29. Apr. 29. 58.	
57. "Die christliche Kirche" Ap. 21.	Überlanger Ton	Ulrich Eislinger	Georg Hager 1555	Ann. 57. July 1. 58	

last, of seventeen *Meisterlieder* by the father, whose work we have been seeking to distinguish.

But a check of each of Mey's entries against the photographic reproduction of the manuscript, which has recently been obtained from Germany, leads to disappointment again. Mey's table is reprinted herewith. Miscellaneous corrections of his readings have been made in parentheses. We furnish also a photographic reproduction (from the manuscript) of the signature and date lines of the seventeen *Meisterlieder* in question. The reader will find it interesting to compare Mey's rendition of each of the dates with the dates of the manuscript originals—and to draw his own conclusions! Last but not least, he is requested to observe the initials H. S. which are written under each of the seventeen poems in the manuscript. Now Mey had instances of capital H and capital S, written in this same hand, on the very first folio of the music, and in countless instances on the following folios. Furthermore, he had numerous occurrences of these capitals, in the identical script, in names that he successfully transcribed; e. g. *Heinrich Endres*, *Onof-ferus Schwarzenbach*. And yet—he interpreted these letters in each of the seventeen instances as G. H., and expanded them into *Georg Hager*. He was unable to make out the initials of the famed *Hans Sachs*! ¹²

Thus vanishes what had on the surface appeared to be the most promising clue to the writings of *Georg Hager Sr.* Mey's erroneous reading has had the effect not only of a false attribution of seventeen *Meisterlieder* to *George Hager*, but of hiding from any reader, depending upon his table, the existence of an equal number of poems by *Hans Sachs*, with musical notation, in *M 6*. Fortunately, however, all of the poems in question, except the fourth and the last one, may be found listed in the *Keller-Goetze indices of Hans Sachs' Meisterlieder*, in volumes 225 and 250 of the "Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart" (1902 and 1908).¹³

This leaves us without a single *Meisterlied* which can be attributed with assurance to *Georg Hager Senior*.

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¹² The handwriting, to be sure, is not that of *Hans Sachs* himself, but of *Adam Puschman* of *Breslau*.

¹³ They are the *Hans Sachs* numbers (in sequence): 592, 3439, 3721, 626, 1430, 1802, 2376, 869, 859, 3016, 5406, 4717, 2499, 2752, 312.

1. English *osprey*

The osprey or fish-hawk (*Pandion Haliaetus*) is well known in England and America because of its striking brown and white plumage and its quick action. The origin of its name *osprey* is, however, obscure. The etymological dictionaries represent a tradition of uncertainty as regards its etymon and propose with caution and reserve L. *ossifraga*, the 'bone-breaker' of the *Historia Naturalis* (x, 3) of the elder Pliny. Ernest Weekley says of *osprey*:¹ "Neither the late appearance (15th c.) in England and France (he considers *osprey* to be the same word as French *orfraie*) nor the forms are at present explained." Sir James Murray remarks² that *osprey* "app. rep. L. *ossifraga*," but expresses the same uncertainty as Weekley and for the same reasons. Webster³ notes without conviction: "Prob. through OF. FR. L. *ossifraga*."

There have been two objections to the etymon *ossifraga* for *osprey*: 1) *ossifraga* could not give by regular phonological development *osprey*, although it might be the origin of French *orfraie*; ⁴ 2) the *ossifraga* was not a fish-hawk but has been identified by modern ornithologists with the Lämmergeyer or Bearded Vulture, resembling the eagle and sometimes called Geir Eagle.⁵ The second objection is not as strong as the first.

¹ *An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, London, 1921, 1017.

² *A New English Dictionary (NED)*, 1888—, VII, 221a.

³ *New International Dictionary*, 2nd ed, 1727a.

⁴ Cf. H. Suchier, *Zeits. f. Rom. Phil.*, I, 432 "*osprey* welches Diez, *Et. W.*, 389, von *ossifraga* herleitet—wie ich glaube mit Unrecht denn *f* wird weder im Französischen noch im Englischen zu *p*." W. Meyer-Lubke, *REW*, 6113, also rejects this etymology on phonological grounds.

⁵ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed), XX, 353a: "The *ossifraga* of Pliny (*H. N.*, x, 3) and some other classical writers seems to have been the Lämmergeyer but the name, not inapplicable in that case, has been transferred to another bird (the osprey) which is no breaker of bones save incidentally those of the fishes it devours." Pierre Belon, the eminent 16th century naturalist, in his *Histoire de la nature des oiseaux* (1555), demonstrates (Book II, Chap. 7) that the *orfraie* (or osprey) cannot be the same bird as the *ossifraga*. *Ossifrage*, a late word borrowed from Latin and employed to name the bird held to be meant by Pliny, is sometimes used as a synonym of *osprey* or fish-hawk, but in its early uses (17th c.) it means a kind of eagle and is differentiated from the osprey. Cf. *NED*, VII, 222c, and the

The earliest example of English *osprey* (*ospray*) is found in a text of about 1460. However, a continental form *orpres*, which is surely the same word as *osprey*, occurs in the 14th century allegorical hunting treatise *Les deduïts da la chasse* of Gace de la Bigne, a Norman and native of what is now the Department of the Calvados,⁶ who completed his work about 1373:

Un oysel qu'on appelle *orpres*,
Qui a l'aigle appartient de pres,
En ung estang pesché avoit
Le poisson, si l'emportoit.⁷

It is evident that *orpres* is here a fish-hawk resembling the eagle.

In spite of the efforts of etymologists to attach *osprey* at any cost to *ossifraga*,⁸ its etymon seems to me to lie in another direction: Latin *avis praedae* (V. L. 'avisprede'). *Avis praedae* does not seem to figure in Classic Latin texts nor in medieval natural histories where *avis rapax* is the general name for 'bird of prey.' In medieval books the usual name for the fish-hawk is *nisus* or *aquila maritima*. The medieval glosses treat *nisus* as a substantive use of *niscus*, *niscus* from *niti* 'strive, make an effort,' and explain it by *conamen* 'effort, struggle, exertion.'⁹ Albertus Magnus in his

example (1610): The Eagle and the Ossifrage and the Ospray (*Bible, Lev.*, 13). *Ossifrage* is of no importance for the history of *osprey*.

⁶ *Grande Encyclopédie*, XII, 803a; Théodore Le Breton, *Bibliographie normande*, 1858, II, 313.

⁷ Text from Godefroy, *Dict. de l'anc. franç.*, v, 644c, who cites it from one of the MSS. More lengthy extracts of the poem containing the passage, in La Curne, *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie*, III, 253 f, and in August, *Poètes français depuis le XII^e siècle jusqu'à Malherbe*, II, 139, which publish them from early 16th c. printed editions. *Orpres* occurs in all and cannot be an error as Godefroy, *op. cit.*, x, 241a, later supposes *Les deduïts de la chasse* has been erroneously ascribed to Gaston Comte de Foix because his works precede it in the printed editions. The latter are extremely rare and have not been available for consultation.

⁸ An explanation of H. Suchier, *loc. cit.*, is pure fantasy. According to him *orpres* (Gace de la Bigne) < **orpraus* < **oriperargus* < *oripelargus*. He imagines a confusion between forms derived from *ossifraga* and *oripelargus*. In English *osprey*, he says, *s* is due to *ossifraga* and *p* to *oripelargus* and in French *orfrase*, *r* points to *oripelargus* and *f* to *ossifraga*. But neither the *ossifraga* nor the *oripelargus* are fish-hawks and an etymological cross between the two could hardly produce one. Meyer-Lübke, *loc. cit.*, finds this explanation impossible.

⁹ Mario Roques, *Recueil général des lexicques français du moyen âge*, I,

volucrary¹⁰ is a bit more explicit: *Nisus avis est quae et sparvarius vocatur, accipitre multo minor sed colore similis; a nisu hoc conamine praedae sic vocatur quia nititur capere aves se fortiores sicut columbam, anatem et corniculam.* The words in italics which explain *nisu*, specifically indicate the struggle or effort after prey, a characteristic considered to be typical of the *nisus*. It makes little difference if Albertus Magnus in the passage appears to have in mind the *sparvarius*, another courageous and rapacious hawk, when he defines *nisus*. The confusion between *sparvarius* and *nisus* is often noted in medieval texts,¹¹ and even much later Linnaeus classed the osprey with the *falconidae*. But the fact remains that *nisus* was the common medieval Latin name of the fish-hawk and that it was only occasionally applied to the *sparvarius*. The *nisus* was then a hawk characterized by its exertion to secure its prey.

The expression *oiseau de proie* 'hawk' is found in medieval texts (Rutebeuf, cf. Littré; *oiseau de proie* in mod. French). It might well represent a vernacular adaptation of an original *avis praedae*; cf. *avis maris* (*C. Gl. L.*, v, 297, 31) = *oiseau de mer*. The ordinary man doubtless had in the past, as he has today, a confused notion of hawks and their variety. It is entirely probable, however, that the *nisus*, the predatory fish-hawk, was early given the expressive and appropriate, although general, popular name **avis-prede* (= *avis praedae*) in a region frequented by it and where people were familiar with it and its habits and could distinguish it. This would also explain the absence of the term from the medieval volucraries which carry on the learned tradition. *Nisus* is not represented in the Romance Languages.

406: *Nisus avis nixus conamen*; *C. Gl. L.*, iv, 124, 454; —v, 437 I am indebted to Professor Leo Spitzer for calling my attention to these glosses which have also aided in the interpretation of the text of Albertus Magnus.

¹⁰ *De animalibus libri XXVI*, ed. by Herman Stadler, Munster, 1920, Lib. xxiii, 40, p. 1504.

¹¹ Du Cange, *Glossarium*, v, 594. *Nisus*. *Avis nota*. *Haliaetus seu aquila maritima*. Numeratur cum sparveriiis seu austoribus inter feras bestias quae ad majus dominium spectare noscantur. Du Cange adds that *nisus* is used *minus recte* of certain varieties of falcons. An earlier confusion of terms in inverse sense may be seen in the *asperellus* cited by Du Cange (*op. cit.*, i, 425c) from a 5th century *Vita S. Geraldii* where fish-hawk is clearly meant. Illis vero sermocinantibus, pieque alternatim contententibus, ecce ales cognomine *asperellus* in eadem arbore suos confovens foetus piscem non modicum projectit ad pedes ejus. Here *asperellus* seems to represent an early adaptation of a vernacular form from *sparvarius*.

The type of compound which we have in *avis praedae*, made up of two nouns of which the second is in the genitive, is not rare in V.L. and has formed numerous words in Romance, including French.¹² The nominative *avis* is retained in *avis praedae* (V. L. * *avisprede*), early regarded as a single word, as also in *avistruhius* > OF. *ostruce*, *ostruche*, Fr. *autruche*, Eng. *ostrich*, and in *avistarda* > OF. *ostarde*, Fr. *outarde*, O. Pr. *austarda*, Eng. *bustard*.¹³ The *Glasgow Glosses* contain an unedited item also referring to a hawk: *avis pulta* (= *esmerillon*), which is not represented in Romance.¹⁴ The expression *avis maris* found in the glosses (cf. above) is exactly like *avis praedae*. Furthermore bird names from Latin fem. adjectives (cf. *praesaga* > *fresate*) suppose an older combination with *avis*.

Avis praedae (V. L. * *avisprede*) would have given quite regularly * *ospreit* in Old French before the Conquest, since the *e* of the accented syllable in *prede* is *e* (cf. Fr. *proie*),¹⁵ and later *osprei*, *osprey*. The variations in spelling in the earliest English examples (15 & 16 c.): *ospray(e)*, *aspray*, *osperaye*, *ospraie*, *osprei(e)*, *osprey* point to orthographical fluctuations typical of the older Anglo-Norman and Mid. English periods and reflect phonological phenomena.¹⁶ Further evidence of the existence of *osprey* a century before the first attested example (15 c.) may be seen in M.E. *ostrey* (14 c.), variant of *ostour* 'goshawk,' apparently a corruption of the latter due to *osprey*.¹⁷

¹² W Meyer-Lubke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, Paris, 1895, II, 629-630.

¹³ W Meyer-Lubke, *REW.*, 831, 832, 833. Spanish has in addition *avucasta* (*ave* + *casta*) 'bustard' where accusative *ave* entered into the compound because Spanish has preserved independently the simplex *ave*; cf. also Sp *avutarda* (*ave* + *tarda*).

¹⁴ The *pulta* of *avis pulta* is doubtless an adjective formed on the stem of the verb *pultare* 'beat, strike'; cf. *abundus* (*abundare*), *adulter* (*adulterare*), *truncus* (*truncare*) etc. The compound is therefore of the same type as *avis tarda*.

¹⁵ Schwan-Behrens, *Gramm. de l'anc. franç.*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 26.

¹⁶ Angl.-Norm. has a liking for *a* in initial unaccented syllable especially before *s*, *ei* and *ai* represent the same sound and are interchangeable in Angl.-Norm. and M. E., *e* at the end of these forms may have been added under the influence of feminines in which *-aie*, *-ée* were interchangeable with *-ai*, *-ei* (cf. *praeda* > *praie*, *pray*, *prei*). In *osperaye* the intercalation of *e* between labial + *r* is not at all unusual in OF dialects and Angl.-Norm.; cf. *chamberiere*.

¹⁷ *NED*, VII, 226c.

In the case of Middle Fr. *orpres* (: *pres*), *ē* for *ei* < *ēi* < V. L. *e*, is not surprising in a Norman text after the middle of the 14th century.¹⁸ The *s* in *orpres* is a remnant of the old two case declension system, employed correctly here in the pred. nom. after appeler.¹⁹ The *r* in place of preconsonantal *s*, which had long been mute, may be due to 'assimilation régressive' or perhaps to analogy with *orfraie* where it has been explained for phonological reasons.²⁰ In short it is impossible not to see in 14th c. *orpres* 'fish-hawk resembling an eagle,' the same word as English *osprey*.²¹ The early English variant (16 c.) *ospringe* (*NED.*) may reflect the influence of the verb *spring*.

What is the relationship, if any, between Eng. *osprey* and Fr. *orfraie* 'osprey'? The etymon L. *ossifraga* for *orfraie* (*orfraye*, *offraye*) is phonologically acceptable,²² but *ossifraga* in the Latin authors did not mean 'fish-hawk.' Pierre Belon maintained this point in his *Histoire de la nature des oiseaux* (1555) in which we have the earliest occurrence of *orfraye* and its variant *offraye*. In chapter VII of that work, he says: "Ceste diction Francoyse (*orfraye*) semble se ressentir quelque peu l'antique *Ossifragus* mais pour Orfraye voulons entendre *Haliaetus*: parquoy sommes en esmoy de sçavoir qui a appris à diverses contrées Francoyses d'exprimer ce nom d'Orfraye pour nous signifier l'oyseau de rapine, qui fut anciennement nommé *Aquila marina*, c'est à dire Aigle de Mer qui toutesfois est différent à l'*Ossifragus*." The passage is interesting because it shows that *orfraie* in the 16th c. was a term widely used and that it must have been old. It was probably *orfraie*

¹⁸ Schwan-Behrens, *op. cit.*, 136: "Dans les dialectes normands et dans les autres dialectes de l'ouest, *ēi* a donné non pas *oi* mais *ēi*, *ē*."

¹⁹ Although the declension no longer existed in the language in the 14th century, authors familiar with the older literature often respected it (Machaut, Deschamps). There are still remnants of it in *Les Cent Ballades* at the end of the century. The nom case is often used incorrectly in the texts for the sake of the rhyme.

²⁰ Cf. our discussion of *orfraie* below.

²¹ Both Suchier, *loc. cit.*, and Meyer-Lübke, *REW.*, 6113, admit the identity without explanation.

²² *r* for preconsonantal voiceless *s* (*ss*) may appear as an irregularity; cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, xv (1886), 620. Diez, *Gramm.* I, 274, explains it as follows. "*Ossifraga* und *vassellettus* (> *varlet*) wurden, weil die Doppelconsonanz den Ausfall eines folgenden Vocales nicht hindern konnte, zu *ossifraga* und *vasslettus*, was phonetisch gleichbedeutend ist mit *osf.* und *vasl* so dass also *r* aus einfachen *s* entstand."

'osprey' which finally displaced dialectal *orpres* 'osprey.' Belon's own attempts to find an equivalent for the *ossifraga* of Pliny among French birds, were unavailing, although he thought it might be a kind of vulture. Modern naturalists, as we have said above, have identified the *ossifraga* with the Lämmergeyer or Bearded Vulture.

Under these circumstances etymologists who attach *orfraie* (variant *offraye* in Belon) to *ossifraga* have postulated a transferal of the later term from a kind of eagle to the *haliaetus* or osprey at an early date without explaining how it might have come about. I think the reason is given by Pliny himself, who, in his chapters on birds in the *Historia Naturalis*, follows the plan of Aristotle, but introduces strange lore which must reflect popular belief. In Book x, 3, he says: "haliaeti suum genus non habent, sed ex diverso aquilarum coitu nascuntur; id quidem, quod ex his natum, in ossifragis genus habet," in other words that the *haliaetus* or osprey had no race of its own, but was a kind of bastard brood which ultimately came to be identified with the *ossifraga*. We do not need more than this statement to explain the confusion between the *haliaetus* and the *ossifraga*, perhaps, as early as the time of Pliny, and the gradual transferal in Vulgar Latin of the term *ossifraga* to the *haliaetus* or osprey.²³

The apparent similarity in form between English *osprey* (Mid. Fr. *orpres*) < *avis praedae* (V. L. **avisprede*) and French *orfraie* < *ossifraga* is due therefore to the coincidental results of the regular and independent phonological evolution of the two words from different sources.

2. Norfolk *ostril* 'osprey'

Ostril is the popular name for the osprey or fish-hawk (*Pandion Haliaetus*) in Norfolk and East Anglia,²⁴ and it is apparently localized today in that southeastern section of the British Isles,

²³ The *haliaetus* undoubtedly bore a fairly close general resemblance to the *ossifraga* and this may have given rise to the story cited by Pliny. The osprey is now popularly called 'sea-eagle,' 'fishing eagle' (*NED.*). Along the Maine coast to-day it is referred to simply as 'eagle.' Cf. also the older names *aquila marina* (P. Belon), *aigle de mer* (P. Belon), *aquila maritima* (Du Cange).

²⁴ It is to be found in a list of common popular names of birds compiled by M. C. H. Bird and published in *Broad Norfolk* by S. Cozens-Hardy, Norwich, 1893, 46.

since Wright²⁵ has no record of its occurrence elsewhere. It does not seem to have aroused the curiosity of the etymologists.

Bird, who first calls attention to *ostril*, says that it is "clearly a corruption of *osprey*," but that is disposing of it too easily. *Ostril* has a history of its own and is an old word. I have no hesitation in connecting it with OF. *ostor* (ME. *ostour*) 'goshawk,' a word appearing in the *Chanson de Roland* and commonly occurring in OF. texts down through the hey-day of falconry.²⁶ *Ostor* came to England early as is shown by retention of its preconsonantal *s* (*ostour*) in Middle English texts. It is found frequently in Anglo-Norm. literature. In the course of the Middle Ages, with the decline of the art of falconry, *ostour* was eliminated by Germ. *falcon* in England, and *ostor* by Germ. *espervier* in northern France.²⁷

Ostor and its O. Pr. equivalent *austor* had several derivatives: OF. *ostorier* 'falconer'; O. Pr. *austoret* 'small falcon'; in modern patois, Gascon *asturet*, Béarn *esturet*, Gers *estouralket*; O. Pr. *austores*, *austoreza*, adj. 'relating to the *austor*.' To these we can now add Norfolk *ostril* which represents OF. *ostor* with nominal diminutive suffix *-il* (L. *-iculum*) which is found also in *connil* 'rabbit,' *goupil* 'fox,' *chevril* 'goat,' *vermil* 'worm,' etc.²⁸ It was an active suffix in Old French²⁹ and its use with *ostor* is explicable in that the osprey resembles the goshawk but is slightly smaller. Anglo-French **ostoril* > **ostril* without difficulty in Mid. Eng., due to the shift of accent to the initial syllable and resulting loss of the vowel in the intertonic syllable.³⁰ A variant *orstril* of *ostril*, noted by Bird, has an unetymological *r* in the first syllable, probably

²⁵ Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, London, 1903, iv, 362b.

²⁶ The etymology of *ostor* given by Sir James Murray (*NED.*, vii, 226c) has been rendered obsolete by Antoine Thomas (*Romana*, 40, 104). The Romance derivatives and full bibliography are given by W. v. Wartburg, *Franz. Etym. Wörterb.*, I, 13a. V. L. *aqceptor* (variant of C. L. *accipiter*), which is the etymon of O. Sp. *aztor*, Cat. *astor*, Ital. *astore*, was altered in Gaul to *auceptor* (cf. *aucupius*), having been associated by popular etymology with *avis* and *-cipere*.

²⁷ Mod. Fr. *autour* is no longer in common use but is restricted to the language of poetry and to the vocabulary of the naturalist.

²⁸ Cf. W. Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm.* II, p. 511-513.

²⁹ K. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique*, III, 256.

³⁰ D. Behrens, *Zur Lautlehre der französischen Lehnwörter im mittelhochdeutschen* (*Französische Studien*, v.), Heilbronn, 1886, p. 66.

due to the anticipation of the *r* that follows, a phenomenon often remarked in popular speech. (Cf. *orsters* = *oysters* and Fr. *lâ-dédans* often pronounced with *â* in the first syllable.)

How did *ostrul*, a derivative of *ostor*, *ostour*, 'goshawk,' come to be applied to the fish-hawk or osprey? I have already pointed out the confusion between the *osprey* and members of the eagle (*ossifraga*) and hawk (*sparvarius*) families at times in the past. Du Cange (*Glossarium* v, 594) notes that the *nisus* or *aquila maritima*, the osprey, was classed with the *austores* as well because of their common rapacious habits. In the variant *ostrey* (*ostreyes*) of *ostour* in a text of the 14th c. (*NED.* vii, 226c) I can see only a corruption of *ostour* under the influence of *osprey*, due probably to uncertainty of distinction between the osprey and the goshawk which were birds of prey of nearly the same size and outward appearance at a distance, and of somewhat similar coloration.

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THE "SECREE OF SECREES" OF CHAUCER'S CANON'S YEOMAN

After concluding his account of the swindling of a priest by the crafty canon, Chaucer's Canon's Yeoman ends his tale with a general denunciation of the practice of alchemy, and with a particular warning to "lewed" men against meddling with this "art" (G 1388-1481). In the course of his admonition the speaker utters the following counsel as coming from the "Rosarie" of Arnaldus de Villa Nova (G 1428-1447):¹

¹I use the text of F. N. Robinson, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Boston, etc [1933] In this passage, and in other passages below, I italicize words to which special attention is directed. It seems appropriate for me to say that the present article was written, and had left my hands, several months before the publication, in this periodical, of E. H. Duncan's valuable paper, "Chaucer and 'Arnold of the Newe Toun,'" *MLN.*, LVII (Jan, 1942), 31-33. Although Mr. Duncan and I do not collide or duplicate each other in our main arguments, one of his points does anticipate one of my observations, as I have tried to indicate below.

Lo, thus seith Arnold of the Newe Toun,
 As his Rosarie maketh mencion,
 He seith right thus, withouten any lye 1430
 "Ther may no man mercurie mortifie
 But it be with his brother knowlechyng"
 How that he which that first seyde this thyng
 Of philosophres fader was, Hermes—
 He seith how that the dragon, doutelees, 1435
 Ne dyeth nat, but if that he be slayn,
 With his brother; and that is for to sayn,
 By the dragon, Mercurie, and noon oother
 He understood, and brymston by his brother,
 That out of Sol and Luna were ydrawe. 1440
 "And therefore," seyde he,—taak heede to my sawe—
 "Lat no man bisye hym this art for to seche,
 But if that he th'entencion and speche
 Of philosophres understonde kan,
 And if he do, he is a lewed man 1445
 For this science and this konnyng," quod he,
 "Is of the secree of secrees, pardee."

With this passage as a whole in mind, I undertake to clarify especially the meaning and bearing of the expression, "the secree of secrees" in the last line, concerning which the commentators have not agreed.

The view expressed most often is that this phrase is a simple reference, or allusion, to a book: the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*. This interpretation was first set forth by Tyrwhitt in the following note:²

the secree of secrees] He alludes to a treatise, entitled, *Secreta Secretorum*, which was supposed to contain the sum of Aristotle's instructions to Alexander. See Fabric Bibl. Gr. V II. p. 167. It was very popular in the middle ages.

Tyrwhitt's explanation was accepted by Lounsbury,³ and, with a noticeable alteration, was adopted by Skeat in these words:⁴

² [Thomas Tyrwhitt], *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, vol. III, London, 1775, p. 300. I quote only the relevant part of Tyrwhitt's note.

³ See T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, vol. II, New York, 1892, p. 392.

⁴ W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, vol. V, Oxford, 1900, p. 433. For approval of this view see, for example, Eleanor P. Hammond, *Chaucer: a Bibliographical Manual*, New York, 1908, p. 102; W. C. Curry, *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, New York, p. 57. From the words "the secree of secrees" Professor Curry appears to infer that "the

secree, secret of secrets. Tyrwhitt notes—"Chaucer refers to a treatise entitled *Secreta Secretorum*, which was supposed to contain the sum of Aristotle's instructions to Alexander. See Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, vol. II, p. 167. It was very popular in the middle ages."

One observes that for Tyrwhitt's deft verb, "alludes," with its implication of indirectness or mere suggestion, Skeat substitutes the more downright verb, "refers," meaning a specific introduction or mention of the thing concerned. Skeat, in other words, relates Chaucer's expression much more firmly to the book *Secretum Secretorum*; and in Skeat's version of Chaucer's text one might have expected to find *The Secree of Secrees* printed as a title.

Professor Robinson returns to the more cautious statement of this general interpretation in the following annotation:⁵

the secree of secrees, an allusion to the treatise *Secreta Secretorum*, attributed to Aristotle (ed Robert Steele, in *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, Fasc. v, Oxford, 1920).

None of these critics, it will be observed, expresses any doubt that, in some fashion, Chaucer had the treatise, *Secretum Secretorum*, in mind, and none mentions any other explanation of Chaucer's words. That another interpretation is possible, however, has been contended by Professor Manly in the following note to the passage under consideration:⁶

There is a treatise entitled *Secreta Secretorum*, ascribed in the Middle Ages to Aristotle and supposed to contain a summary of human wisdom which he presented to Alexander the Great. English versions of it were published by the Early English Text Society (Extra Series, Numbers LXVI, LXXIV; a third volume is announced as in press). I do not think, however,

Middle English version of the *Secreta Secretorum* . . . was certainly known to Chaucer (C T., G, 1447)."

⁵ *Op cit*, p. 869

⁶ J. M. Manly, *Canterbury Tales by Geoffrey Chaucer*, New York [1928], p. 653. Probably Professor Manly was not the first person to whom this interpretation occurred. Professor S. Foster Damon, in *PMLA.*, xxxix (1924), 785, n. 7, had approached this view of the matter in the following remark: "Some commentators refer Chaucer's first quotation [*i.e.* G1431-1447] to pseudo-Aristotle's *Secreta Secretorum* because he calls alchemy 'the secree of secrees'; this phrase, however, is also to be found in Senior (*Theatr. Chem.* v, 195)." The expression of "Senior" referred to ("secretum secretorum per me generatur") is quoted by J. W. Spargo in *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, ed. W. F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster, Chicago [1941], p. 698.

that this passage refers to that book. It merely means that this is a secret par excellence.

In Manly's opinion, then, Chaucer's expression, "the secree of secrees," does not refer to a book, but is to be understood merely in its ordinary inherent literal sense as meaning "the secret par excellence," or, as one might say, "the greatest of secrets," or "the supreme secret." This interpretation can, I think, be supported by evidence from mediaeval alchemical writings which Manly did not cite.⁷

An antecedent unlikelihood that the English poet is referring to the treatise, *Secretum Secretorum*, is suggested, perhaps, by the meagerness of the treatment of alchemy in this book, and by the simple implication of Chaucer's lines,

"For this science and this konnyng," quod he,
"Is of the secree of secrees, pardee."

If the words, "the secree of secrees," were to be understood as the title of the book, then the English sentence would seem to imply that the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum* is a treatise on alchemy, containing an authoritative exposition of the philosopher's stone, or elixir. As a matter of fact, however, the *Secretum Secretorum* is not a treatise on alchemy, and touches upon the philosopher's stone only incidentally and brokenly.⁸ The book as a whole is essentially a guide for ruling princes, with miscellaneous accretions. Of its four parts, the first (22 chapters) gives instruction in the art of government, the second (30 chapters) is a treatise on health, the third (23 chapters) is a miscellany on natural science and on government, and the fourth (17 chapters) treats physiognomy. Only one of the ninety-two chapters touches upon alchemy (Part III, chap. 1),⁹ and so briefly and disconnectedly that Roger Bacon, in his notes, remarks upon the inadequacy.¹⁰ There is,

⁷ Manly did not undertake to *establish* his interpretation; he merely *proffered* it.

⁸ The immense bibliography associated with the treatise *Secretum Secretorum* may be approached through C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, Cambridge, 1924, p. 137. The most accessible Latin text of the *Secretum Secretorum* is the edition of Roger Bacon, edited by Robert Steele, *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, Fasc. v (*Secretum Secretorum cum glosses et notulis . . . Fratris Rogeri*), Oxford, 1920.

⁹ In Steele's edition, pp. 114-117.

¹⁰ See *Secretum Secretorum*, ed. Steele, p. 116, note 11.

therefore, an obvious antecedent improbability that Chaucer's words refer to the treatise, *Secretum Secretorum*.

No such improbability arises when we take the expression "the secree of secrees," as a translation not of the title of the book, but of the words *secretum secretorum* in their ordinary literal sense; for "this science" or "art" of which Chaucer is speaking was certainly regarded as "the secret of secrets" or "the secret par excellence," and mediaeval writers themselves quite commonly named it *secretum secretorum*.

It is so named, indeed, in the very tract which Chaucer is known to be using in this part of the Canon's Yeoman's Tale. In the passage from the tale printed above, Chaucer speaks as if he were quoting from the "Rosarie" of "Arnold of the Newe Toun." As a matter of fact, however, although Chaucer is using a work by Arnaldus de Villa Nova, that work is not the *Rosarius* (or *Rosarium*), but a brief tract of a few pages entitled *De lapide philosophorum*. From this tract, as Professor Lowes has shown, Chaucer translated, or adapted, lines 1431-1440.¹¹ It can be said, indeed, that the remaining lines (1441-1447) and the specific expression "the secree of secrees" also were suggested by passages in *De lapide philosophorum*.¹² The author's earnestness in warning "lewed" men against meddling with the "art" of alchemy is expressed in the opening lines: ¹³

Ars igitur ista non est nisi de occultis philosophorum Nulli igitur ad ¹⁴
hanc scientiam veniant nisi primo audierunt logicam et postea philosophiam. Et sciant causas et naturas rerum atque elementorum; aliter frustra fatigarent animam suam et corpus suum Quare non credat aliquis quod sibi eueniat miraculose, fatui enim habentes libros philosophorum loquentium parabolice et in nihil veniunt.

This warning is continued in later passages of the tract, in one of which occurs the expression, *secretum secretorum*.

¹¹ See J. L. Lowes, *The Dragon and His Brother*, in *MLN*, xxviii (1913), p. 229.

¹² For the text of *De lapide philosophorum* I use *Arnaldi de Villa Nova . . . Opera . . .*, Lyons, 1532, fol. 303^v-304^r. In the article mentioned above, Mr. Duncan anticipates me by clearly establishing the fact that Chaucer derives lines 1441-1447 from the *De Lapide*. Mr. Duncan does not, however, discuss the meaning and currency of the expression *secretum secretorum*, with which I am chiefly concerned.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, fol. 303^v.

¹⁴ ad] misprinted ab.

*Igitur quicumque hanc scientiam querit, non querat nisi sit philosophus, quia est de occultis occultorum.*¹⁵

Dixit discipulus: Que verba sunt, non intelligo. Et ille. Nonne oportet quia ego occultem tibi hoc *secretum secretorum*, sicut fecerunt philosophi?¹⁶

In the tract of Arnaldus, then, we find not only the general sense of the Chaucerian passage (lines 1441-1447), but also certain verbal resemblances,¹⁷ among which is the expression which the English poet seems to be rendering literally as "the secree of secrees," with no palpable indication of a reference or allusion to the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*.

This interpretation of Chaucer's expression, as being merely a literal translation of a designation for the alchemical secret, receives additional confirmation from the wide use of the words *secretum secretorum* in this sense in mediaeval writings. In citing a few examples of this usage, one may well begin with an instance from the midst of the brief chapter on alchemy in the treatise, *Secretum Secretorum*, itself.¹⁸

Inprimis, O Alexander, tradere tibi volo *secretorum maximum secretum*, et divina potencia juvet te ad perficiendum propositum, et ad celandum archanum.

One finds this particular passage quoted more or less precisely, or referred to, in two works of Roger Bacon,¹⁹ and in the treatise entitled *Dwi Thomae Aquinatis Tractatus Sextus de Esse et Essentia Mineralium tractans*.²⁰ Roger Bacon also makes independent use of the expression *secretum secretorum* in the *Epistola Fratris Rogerii Baconis de Secretis Operibus Artis et Naturae, et de Nullitate Magiae*:²¹

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, fol. 304r.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, fol. 304v. Part of this passage is quoted by J. W. Spargo in *Sources and Analogues* (ed. *cit.*), p. 698.

¹⁷ There is an obvious resemblance between the Latin sentence, *Igitur quicumque hanc scientiam querit, non querat nisi sit philosophus*, and lines 1442-4, quoted above.

¹⁸ *Secretum Secretorum*, ed. Steele, p. 114.

¹⁹ For the *Opus Majus*, see J. H. Bridges, ed., *The "Opus Majus" of Roger Bacon*, vol. II, London, 1900, p. 215; for the *Epistola Fratris Rogerii Baconis de Secretis Operibus Artis et Naturae, et de Nullitate Magiae*, see J. S. Brewer, ed. *Fr. Rogerii Bacon Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, vol. I, London, 1859, p. 544.

²⁰ See *Theatrum Chemicum*, vol. V, Strassburg, L. Zetzner, 1622, p. 910.

²¹ Brewer's edition, p. 549.

Resolve tamen aurum ad ignem et mollius calefac; sed si mihi credas, accipias, rem unam, hoc est *secretum secretorum* et naturae potens miraculum.

Two other examples may be cited from authors of uncertain identification.²² The *Liber Secretorum Alchimiae Regis Calid Filii Iarichi* uses the expression in the following passage from its *Praefatio de Difficultate Artis*:²³

Scias, frater, quod hoc nostrum magisterium de lapide secreto, et officium honoratum, est *Secretum Secretorum* Dei, quod celavit suo populo, nec voluit vllis revelare, nisi illis qui fideliter tanquam filij meruerunt, et qui eius bonitatem et magnitudinem cognoverunt.

This treatise ends as follows:²⁴

Custodi, fili, hunc librum secretissimum, et non ponas ipsum in manus ignorantium *secretum secretorum* Dei: quia perficies quod volueris. Amen.

A treatise entitled *Abbreviatio de Secretis Secretorum Iohannis Pauperum* opens with the following sentence:²⁵

Rogo aeternum Deum, qui cuncta ex nihilo creavit, quod quaelibet persona cui aduenerit in manibus ita alta scientia, quae *secreta secretorum* dicitur, adoperetur eam omnimode in bonum, et in servitio Dei.

The last chapter of the *Rosarium* of Arnaldus de Villa Nova,—the “Rosarie” mentioned by Chaucer in the passage quoted above (G 1428-9),—contains the following sentence:²⁶

Et qui habes istum librum, in sinu tuo reconde, nullique ipsum reveles, nec manibus impiorum offeras: quia *secretum secretorum* omnium Philosophorum plenarie comprehendit.

The examples of the expression *secretum secretorum* now before us, along with the presence of this expression in Arnaldus’s *De lapide philosophorum*, which Chaucer actually had before him as he wrote, seem clearly to indicate that Chaucer’s characterization of

²² Concerning these writers see John Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, vol. I, Glasgow, 1906, pp. 439, 448-9.

²³ *Theatrum Chemicum*, v, 209. In *Artis Auriferae, quam Chemiam vocant, volumina duo*, vol. I, Basel, 1610, p. 208, the spelling of the author’s name is Calid filius Iazichi.

²⁴ *Theatrum Chemicum*, v, 216 verso. (Between p. 208 and p. 223 the pagination is disturbed, some of the page-numbers being supplanted by folio-numbers.)

²⁵ *Artis Auriferae*, vol. III, Basel, 1610, p. 131. Volume three is not covered by the general title prefixed to volume one.

²⁶ *J. J. Mangeti . . . Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa . . .*, vol. I, Geneva, 1702, p. 676.

the "science" of alchemy as "the secree of secrees" is a translation, not of the title of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*, but of a familiar Latin by-name for this "science." The modern reader is, of course, at liberty to speculate concerning the verbal associations present in Chaucer's mind when he was literally translating the established designation, *secretum secretorum*. Only Chaucer himself, or an omniscient intelligence, could declare with finality whether or not the title of the well-known treatise, *Secretum Secretorum*, also entered Chaucer's consciousness momentarily. The plain facts of the case clearly discourage speculation in this direction, and clearly forbid all unqualified assertions that Chaucer is either referring or alluding to the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise.

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CHAUCER'S "OWLES AND APES"

Commenting on the phrase "owles and apes" in Chauntecleer's anecdote of the traveler who laughed at ominous dreams (*The Nun's Priest's Tale*, l. 3092), Robinson observes:

Owles are commonly regarded as birds of ill omen. The *apes*, it has been suggested, are mentioned simply for the sake of the rime.¹

Other yokings of owls and apes in both mediaeval and Renaissance literature indicate, however, that Chaucer probably did not invent the phrase in order to obtain an easy rime for "japes," but merely appropriated what had become, or was becoming, a stock symbol of the uncanny and, by extension, the absurd.

Independently of each other, the owl and the ape have so long been bywords for human deformity that it would be otiose to present examples from the vast store available in European literature and folklore. Conjunctions of the two as human caricatures are, however, difficult to find; and still more difficult to unearth are conjunctions in which the two stand metaphorically, as in *The Nun's Priest's Tale*, for either the inauspicious or the preposterous.

In *The Flying of Dunbar and Kennedy*, Kennedy opprobriously dubs his rival

Ignorant elf, aip, owl irregular,
Skaldit skaitbird, and commoun skamelar.²

¹ F. N. Robinson, ed., *Chaucer's Complete Works* (Boston, 1933), p. 860.

² W. Mackay Mackenzie, ed., *The Poems of William Dunbar* (Edinburgh,

Here the implications of *aip* and *owll* are unsightliness and monstrosity, without any subaudition of the weird. The same is true of Lyly's use of the words in the prologue to *Campaspe*:

But as Jupiter placed Silenus asse among the starres, and Alcibiades couered his pictures, being owles and apes, with a courtaine embroidered with lions and eagles, so are we enforced vpon a rough discource, to drawe on a smooth excuse³

For Lyly, evidently, as for Dunbar, "owles and apes" connoted an ugly object, though in this case the object is not a human being and the meaning of the phrase is figurative.⁴

More akin to Chaucer's use of the terms is the sense of their close variant, "owls and monkeys," in the nineteenth adventure of Till Eulenspiegel:

It fortunied upon a time that Owlglass came into Brunswick city, and unto an inn where bakers met together; and hard by lived a baker, who called upon Owlglass to enter into his house, and made inquiry of him, as to the business he might follow. Then answered Owlglass to the baker, and spake unto him—for our noble and well-beloved master of jests was wily, and, truly, all things unto all men:—'I am a baker's man' Thereat said the baker: 'Even now have I not any man in my house to serve me; wilt thou come to me, for I have need of thee?' Owlglass at that answered: 'Yea.' And when that he had been with him two days, the baker commanded him to bake at eventide, for that he could not help him until the morning. Then said Owlglass. 'But what would ye have me to bake?' Thereat waxed the baker wroth, for he was a man soon hot i' the head, and he made answer in scorn, and said. 'Art a baker's man, and askest thou what ye should bake? What do ye bake? Owls and monkeys bake ye?' And thereafter gat he him to bed.

Then departed Owlglass into the bake-room, and made the dough into nought but the shape of owls and monkeys, and these did he bake in the oven. At morning time arose the master baker, and went into the bake-room to aid his man. Then cometh he, and findeth neither rolls nor loaves,

1932), p. 6. Compare the kenning "áttrunn apa" (offspring of apes) describing the giant Hymir in *Hymiskviða*. See Gustav Neckel, ed., *Edda* (2 vols., Heidelberg, 1927), I, 88.

³J. Q. Adams, ed., *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas* (Boston, 1924), p. 610. R. W. Bond remarks that "owles and apes" represents Lyly's "common trick of capping an authorized instance by an invented one." See *The Complete Works of John Lyly* (3 vols., Oxford, 1902), II, 541.

⁴The fact that the phrase is alliterative no doubt had something to do with its obtaining currency in both poetry and prose. In the quotation from Dunbar, for instance, the vocalic alliteration of *elf*, *arp*, *owll* is in equipoise with the consonantal alliteration of *skaldit*, *skaitbird*, *skamelar*; and in the passage from Lyly *owles and apes* nicely balances *lions and eagles*.

but rather a goodly mass of owls and monkeys And he opened his mouth in great rage and said unto Owlglass. 'What is it that thou hast baken?' And Owlglass did answer him and said 'Verily I have done that which thou didst tell me to do.' And the baker, in great wroth, said: 'What shall I do with this foolish knave?'⁵

The baker's ironical question (or command), "Owls and monkeys bake ye?," amounting in straightforward paraphrase to "Are you too stupid to know your trade?" or "Don't be absurd," suggests that "owles and apes" was a verbal substitute in the early sixteenth century, when *Tyll Owlglass* was first published in England, for "fantastic" or "contrary to common sense" as well as for "monstrous" or "contrary to nature"; and since *Tyll Owlglass* is composed of folk tales that circulated as early as the fourteenth century, one of which figures in Chaucer's *The Summoner's Tale*, it is possible that this sense of the phrase was well established even before Chaucer's day.

At all events the meaning of "owles and apes" in *The Nun's Priest's Tale* appears to be a blending either of "montrosity" and "absurdity" into "ominousness," or, more probably, of "montrosity" and "ominousness" into "absurdity"—a semantic development parallel to that observable in *chimera* and German *ungeheuer*; and the phrase itself, whether illustrating one of these senses or all of them, was no doubt common property when Chaucer wrote.⁶

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⁵ Kenneth R. K. Mackenzie, tr., *The Marvellous Adventures and Rare Conceits of Master Tyll Owlglass* (London, 1890), pp. 67-68. Compare "the owl was a baker's daughter" (*Hamlet*, iv, 5, 42), and see Sir E. K. Chambers and Walter M. Hart, edd., *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* (New York, 1917), p. 202.

⁶ Dunbar, enumerating Nature's ordinances in *The Thrissil and the Rois*, says:

Syne crownit scho the egle king of fowlis,
And as steill dertis scherpit scho his pennis;
And bawd him be als just to awppis and owlis
As vnto pacokkis, papingais, or crennis.

"Awppis and owlis" here may point to some transposed form of "owles and apes" in which "apes" was eventually mistaken for "awppis" because of orthographical and phonetic similarities, but in linking owl and whaup as pariahs Dunbar was no doubt remembering the ostracism of the owl in *The Owl and the Nightingale*. See Gregory Smith, ed., *Specimens of Middle Scots* (Edinburgh, 1902), p. 32.

CHAUCER'S TULLIUS

An allusion to Tullius in *Envoy de Chaucer a Scogan* has caused editors of Chaucer considerable trouble. At the end of the poem the poet appeals to his friend, Scogan, in the following words:

Scogan that knelest at the stremes hed
Of grace, of alle honour and worthynesse,
In th' end of which strem I am dul as ded,
Forgete in solytarie wilderness,—
Yet, Scogan, thenke on Tullius kyndenesse;
Mynne thy frend, there it may fructifye!

This passage has usually been interpreted as a very general reference to Cicero's *De Amicitia* or to his *Epistle VI ad Caecinam*. Some feel that Chaucer was not quoting from Cicero directly but had in mind the passage on "the love of friendship" in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, lines 5285 ff. None of these explanations, however, is very satisfying.

It does not seem to have been noted that Chaucer may here be referring to Tullus Hostilius, the third legendary king of Rome. The legendary Tullus is thus described by Thomas Arnold in his *History of Rome*:

Tullus loved the poor, and he divided the lands which came to him as king amongst those who had no lands. He also bade those who had no houses to settle themselves on the hill Caelius, and there he dwelt in the midst of them.¹

Among writers familiar to Chaucer at least two have something to say of Tullus Hostilius. Valerius Maximus says, "Tullus Hostilius, the third king of Rome, was born into a position of humbleness and reared in the hut of a shepherd."² Titus Livius says, "The Caelian mount was added to the city, and in order that it might be inhabited more populously, Tullus selected that situation for his palace and there took up his abode."³

It will be remembered that in his *Envoy de Chaucer a Bukton* the poet suggests that Bukton read about the "Wyf of Bathe." It

¹ Arnold, Thomas *History of Rome*, p. 6. For further discussion of Tullus Hostilius see Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *The Roman Antiquities*, Book III, 1, 4-5.

² Valerius Maximus: *Notis Variorum*, Lib. III, Cap. 4, 1.

³ Titus Livius: *History of Rome*, Book I, Chap. 30.

may be noted that in the *Wife of Bath's Tale* the following lines occur:

• Thinketh how noble, as seith Valerius,
 Was thilke Tullius Hostilius,
 That out of poverty roos to heigh noblesse.⁴

And it may be noted that the Henry Scogan who wrote a *Moral Balade* and who may be the Scogan addressed by Chaucer alludes likewise to Tullus Hostilius. After repeatedly referring to Chaucer as his master, he says

Take hede of Tullus Hostilius
That came from poverty to high degree.

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"MAN MUST FIGHT THREE FOES"

Professor Menner has recently supplied a set of welcome notes (see *MLN* LV [Apr., 1940], 245-7) on this bit of religious verse from MS. Harley 2253. It is the short piece formerly known by its first line, "Middelerd for mon wes mad." Professor Carleton Brown, in his *English lyrics of the XIIIth century* (1932), gave it the fittingly alliterative title which it now bears. The earlier edition by Bøddeker (see his *Altenglische dichtungen* [1878], pp. 181-4) contained a few comments on the hard words and phrases, with emendations where the spots are hardest. Brown was content to reprint the text in a relatively unemended form, though without line-notes and with a glossing that left most of the contentious matters open for later study.

Long ago Professor Wells, when treating the piece in his *Manual*, said that "the expression is obscure," a statement echoed even today in Menner's "much of the poem is still obscure." It is, indeed, one of the most difficult things we have in its kind, and for a good while I have kept a troubled eye upon it. In several texts of Early English, however, one can find lexical parallels that throw some light on the obscurity. With the most important of these, and with new renderings of the more puzzling passages, I shall deal at the present time. In another place I hope to discuss the main theme of

⁴ *Wife of Bath's Tale*, Lines 1165-67.

the work, tracing the history of its triadic motif, "the world, the flesh, and the devil."

Line 3. *hedy*. Boddeker printed *hendy*, which he read as *hende* adv. "soon" Better would be *hendy* adj (used as sb) "kind, gentle", cp *pis hendy*, Brown *Lyr XIII* 76. 49, *pis hende*, *ibid* 83 55, 66, *pis semly*, *ibid*. 79 44, 46 We get a better alliteration by emending. Brown kept *hedy*, glossing it as *edr* (OE *ēadig*), interpreted as "God" But are there any other instances of *edr* or *hendy* applied to God? I suggest that the first two lines be put between quotation marks as an introductory "text" Then *pis hedy* (or *hendy*) "this blessed (or gentle) one," the *blisse budel* of line 5, would refer to the author of the quotation It is a desperate remedy

Lines 5-11. Punctuate as follows: comma after *drede* and period after *sad*, with commas after each of the next two lines and no punctuation after *wede*. "I heard a messenger of bliss bade us to dread the dreary day of judgment, to be sated [i e finished] straightway with sinful truce-making Whoso secretly does these dark deeds, though they be done in secret, these punishable bodily works straightway show up in [sc *hus*, i e "whoso's"] soul."

For the prolepsis in *pat derne dop* etc cp. *pat luep* on *Likyng* etc, lines 18 ff, and *pat wole wihtstonden* etc, lines 27 ff. Of *vnder wede* Boddeker said, "wir haben also an geschlechtige Ausschreitung zu denken", not necessarily so here, in spite of *vnder felde* (line 39, see below); *vnder wede* merely provides the physical opposition for *soule* (line 11). On *sotelep* cp. West-Saxon Gospels, Mt. 10. 26, Mk. 4. 22, Lk. 8. 17, where the verb *swutelhan* is used.

Line 19. *on-hete*. Böddeker on *hede*, wrongly. Brown refers *on-hete* to *NED*, 'anhit,' glossing it as a verb "strike against." Less difficult phonologically ([i] > [e] ??) was Holthausen's connection of the form with *hete* "hitze" (see *Angla*, xv [1893], p. 190). But the form is probably verbal and parallel to *prete* as *hap* is parallel to *fewes*.

Aside from Brown's reading, two other treatments are feasible *on-hete* might be taken as a reflex of OE. *onhētan* "inflamm" (see Bradley-Stratmann s. v. *an-hēten*). Brown has adopted such an interpretation for a closely similar line in a Digby 86 lyric: *Loue is hap, wo hit hauep, hon for to hete*, Brown *Lyr XIII* 53 15 (see his Glossary under *on* and *hete*). In each of these instances, however, a meaning "heat, inflame" hardly satisfies, and it is unlikely that the OE. compound *onhētan* became "separable" in Middle English (N B *hon for to hete* as against *on-hete* [!])

According to another treatment, which I now offer as preferable, *on hete* (so to be spelled) is of Norse origin and it means "risk, take a chance on," cp. OIc. *hætta á*, *hætta til*, and *áhætta* (sb.) Since Eng. *hap* probably comes from the Norse, the entire phrase *hap . . . on hete* may be derivative; Cleasby-Vigfusson cite *Engi veit til hvers happs hættur*, *Sturlunga Saga* (ed. Vigfusson, vol. II, p. 199). Here too the phonology of *on hete* gives difficulty; from OIc. *hætta* one would expect a short vowel and a doubled consonant, but in each lyric the rimes are incontrovertible. Perhaps still

another Norse verb is mixed up in the borrowing, i e. OIc. *hóta* "threaten," which, however, does not seem to combine with the preposition *á* (ME. *on*) We may provisionally read our lines as "Love is a fortune, whoso has it, to take a chance on," and "His fortune he doth very greatly risk"

Lines 21-22 Before *þrete* we are apparently to supply *he deþ* as a tacit continuation from line 19: "all his successful virtues [he doth] threaten who thinks not of that time."

Lines 23-26. The worst place of all. The following treatment may be helpful to some readers. Place a semicolon after *pre* and a comma after *peode*, read *bone* (line 25) as parallel to *he* (line 24) and both as a continuation of the sense in *hap* and *pewes* (lines 19, 21), noting how *þryuen* is carried over from the *þriuene* of line 21

With *þowen in peode* (line 24) compare *pogen on wintre*, *Trinity Homilies* 127 15, and *geþungen on peode*, *Phoenix* 160.

The word *broerli* must be emended for the present. Böddeker's *broerh* "gebrechlich" was admittedly without cognates and has found no takers. Professor Brown's *broperli* met Menner's tentative approval; but one wonders why a scribe should have erred in so unparalleled a way if his original had so normal a word. Suppose we drop the first *r*, emending to *boerh* "burly." For this emendation cp. *fringre* H. *fringre* all other MSS., West-Saxon Gospels, John 8 6, *fringres*, *Lambeth Homilies* 13.12, and *brare* A: *bare* B, Lagamon's *Brut* 22459. The word *burly* has had a strange career. At line 155 of *Le regret de Maximian* MS. Digby 86 has a *borlich* that does not appear in the Harley 2253 version of the *Regret*.

The expression *berne best*, variously rendered, is surely the same as that found in another Harley 2253 lyric, cp. the line "Suete iesu, berne best" (Böddeker's G. L. IV. 45 = Brown *Lyr* XIV 7.45). I am all the more convinced that this equation is right because of the frequent use of the epithet in the Old Saxon *Heliand* (cp. *barno betst*, applied to Christ, lines 338, 835, 1592, 2623, 2852, 2963 etc.). But the alliterative combination does not turn up in Old English.

The troublesome passage would thus be paraphrased: "If they be prosperous and matured, our soul's rewards will be as noble as Christ who forbids evil"

This interpretation by no means disposes of Prof. Menner's argument that *soule bone* = "soul's bane," as in the *Ancoren Riule* (ed. Morton, p 222). I can only point out disconcertedly that the scribe of the Pepys MS. of the *Ancoren Riule* reworded his original as *souls help*

Line 29 MS *darþ* Brown now suggests emendation to *ðarf*, Menner strongly concurring One has, however, to deal with this word in the company of other lines in the Harley MS, not yet brought into account First, *of gode knyhtes darh him nout fail* (Böddeker's P. L. VIII. 80); here too an emendation to *ðarf* would give a more easily grasped sense. Second, *þat durþe vs nout in reynes ryde* (Brown *Lyr* XIII 79. 16), where Brown emends to *durre*; I cannot read this line. For the Middle English confusion of OE. *durran* and *purfan* see the *NED*. s. v. 'tharf'; one can translate *darþ* as "need" without emending (cp. Brown *Lyr* XIII 79 26, *ðurste* in another Harley 2253 lyric). Even so, the endings *-þ*, *h*, *þe* are not explained. With

the use of "dare" in our poem, however, compare *þeah ðe hi fela ne durran him* [i. e. Satan] *fram hwyrfan*, *Wulfstan's Homilies* (ed Napier) 199 4-5

Line 31. *falsust is of fyue*. The numeral sticks out, since we have been told that the foes are three Boddeker thought that the poet changed his mind climactically, first from *þre* to *fyue* and then to *fele* "many" (line 47). Menner would take the phrase "to be a reference to the five senses, in the extended meaning given to them in the Middle Ages" Probably the number *fyue* is used here, however, because it gives a rhyme and alliterates conveniently Read "falsest of all [i. e. of the three (!)]" And compare the indiscriminate use of *five* = "many" elsewhere, for example, Lagamon's *Brut* 25891, *Thrush and nightingale* 160 (*fiue: wive*), along with the point-*less seouene* rhyme at *Poema morale* 28

Lines 24-37 Semicolon after *welde*, colon after *bo* "Woman's will were a fatal woe if she is wicked to rule, that breach he must amend for them both he must abstain even though she embolden herself" Professor Malone (*ELH*, II [1935], p. 64) may be right in reading the first line as "the will of a woman causes woe to a man" (*were* "man," *ded* = *deð*). Line 35 is not clear to me, and there is trouble about line 36. The subject of *shal* is hardly *burst* or *bo*, I supply "he" from the next line. For the rest, *bete* parallels *burewen*, and *burst* seems to be a variation for *bruche* as in Brown *Lyr XIII* 52 28 and 79 4.

Line 39 *vnder felde* Boddeker: "im reichen Faltenkleide," remembering the *vnder wede* of line 10. Not glossed in Brown's edition. I venture to say that in spite of Boddeker most readers have taken *felde* as "field." Why not simply read "on earth, alive"?

Lines 41-2. *gelde*. Cp. *myn gomenes wawep gelde*, Brown *Lyr XIV* 6. 43 (another Harley 2253 lyric). The connection with Oic. *geldr* (so Brown Glossary) seems to me not altogether certain, but that the word is related to 'yield' cannot be shown; *gelde*, however, continues the sense from *bete* and *burewen*. With *fered* (line 42) cp. *drede* (line 6).

Line 55. *syþe*. Brown's glossing "afterward" = OE *siððan* gives altogether too much difficulty in the phonology, although *seppe* in line 15 is not a serious obstacle OE. *sið* "time," a popular rime-word in the lyrics, is available, since *sunne* and *serewe* can be genitives. Holthausen (*loc. cit.*) long ago suggested an emendation to *swyþe*. He failed to provide a justifying instance, but here is one in his favor, cp. *siðe A. swiþe B*, Lagamon's *Brut* 22350. Preferred reading "into a life of sin and sorrow"

Line 64. *folkes fader*. Not in Old English, this epithet for God occurs elsewhere in Middle English, cp. *St. Juliana* (MS B) 33.18, *Proverbs of Alfred* 33, and Brown *Lyr XIII* 19 5, in the sense of "patriarch" it is applied to Amon in *Genesis and Exodus* 1158. *al fleme*, cp. *alle on fleme*, *Trinity Homilies* 149 17; but *fleme* may be a participle here, cp. *be fleme*, Brown *Lyr XIII* 81 36 (again from Harley 2253 and riming) as against *beo flemed*, *ibid* 55 36 (MS. Egerton 613, within the line).

Lines 67-77 The following alternative punctuation is proposed: colon after *kenowe*, period after *forlore*, comma after *lowe*, semicolon after *byfore*, comma after *þrowe*, period after *yþore*, comma after *blowe*. The translation should give no difficulty. With *fallen vmbe þrowe* cp. *fule umbe stunde*, *Ancren Ricle* (ed. Morton) 344. 27. *þis bounyng* is proleptic.

In spite of this lengthy commentary I must repeat with Professor Menner that "much of the poem is still obscure." Yet it seems that the poet has been fairly successful with an intractable medium. He moves from Creation to Judgment Day, he covers several broad moral topics, he develops a triplex theme with force and variety. But a lavishness of word-play and an intricacy of stanzaic pattern have overcast his meanings. Even though his work has been further darkened by time, I believe it is worth restoring.

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A NOTE ON THE HOARD IN *BEOWULF*

Three passages that deal with the treasure in *Beowulf* are of particular interest for their possible relationship to certain ideas that have circulated widely from classical antiquity to modern times.

- 2247 'Heald þū nū, hrūse, nū hæleð ne mōstan,
eorla æhte' Hwæt, hyt ær on ðē
2249 gōde begæaton. . . '
3166 forlæton eorla gestrēon eorðan healdan,
gold on grēote, þær hit nū gēn lifað
3168 eldum swā unnyt, swā hi (t æro)r wæs.
2764 Sinc eaðe mæg,
gold on grund(e) gumcynnes gehwone
2766 oferhigian, hýde sē ðe wylle!

The first of these is the beginning of the elegiac soliloquy made by the lone survivor, who, knowing full well that he will soon follow his noble kinsmen in death commits his inherited treasure to the earth. The second comes near the end of the poem where, after describing the burning of Beowulf's body and the construction of the barrow, the poet tells of the ultimate disposition of the treasure that brought about Beowulf's untimely end. In the third, which is found in the midst of the description of the treasures that Wiglaf sees when he enters the cave in obedience to his dying king's command, the poet moralizes on the evil effects of gold.

In the first two of these passages the poet tells us that on two far-removed occasions treasure was buried in the earth—once just before the extinction of a noble family, and once after the death of

a strong king, without whom his people can look forward only to a future of warfare. In other words, at two critical times treasure was placed in the earth from which it had originally been taken.¹ In the third passage the poet gives us an ethical reflection which, as I take it, applies not only to the treasure so long watched over by the dragon but to any treasure. "Treasure may easily, gold in the ground, overwhelm each one of men; let him heed it who will!"²

The full implications of this bit of counsel, I believe, have not been pointed out. It is true that elsewhere in the poem³ we are told of the curse resting on the treasure, but Lawrence⁴ has indicated the way in which the Christian poet deemphasized the pagan notion of the curse; and it is hardly to be assumed that even a heathen would believe every treasure to be under a spell. I am inclined to think, therefore, that in lines 2764-6 the poet is suggesting (as he possibly does in the other two passages quoted above) that treasure, or rather the metals from which treasures are fashioned, should never be taken from the earth. In *Beowulf's* death, at any rate, a Christian poet who had little faith in incantations uttered over buried treasure might well see proof of the disaster that comes from seeking out the metals of the earth.

To such a man, then, life without treasures and the efforts involved in getting them from the earth would be immeasurably simpler and happier. In other words, we may have here a manifestation of what the historian of ideas calls "cultural primitivism," which may be described as

... the discontent of the civilized with civilization, or with some conspicuous and characteristic feature of it. It is the belief of men living in a relatively highly evolved and complex cultural condition that a life far simpler and less sophisticated in some or in all respects is a more desirable life. Its temper, when combined, as it very commonly has been, with

¹ It is important to take the phrase *on ȝe* (2248) in the sense of *in thee*. See Mackie, *MLR*, xxxvi (1941), 95

² For the meaning of *oferhigian* see Kock, *Angla*, xlvii (1922), 182-3. That *hyde* means *heed* is well testified to by Kock, *loc. cit.*, and Malone, *A Grammatical Miscellany offered to Otto Jespersen* (Copenhagen and London, 1930), pp. 45-54.

³ Lines 3051 ff, 3069 ff. No one seems to have suggested the probable connection between such a curse and certain primitive taboos described in Frazer's *Golden Bough* (1-vol. abridged ed., New York, 1940), pp. 223 ff.

⁴ *PMLA*, xxxiii (1918), 557 ff. See also his *Beowulf and Epic Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), pp. 213 ff

chronological primitivism, is summed up in the words of the Preacher, which, indeed, in the history of Judaism and Christianity seemed to give it a definite biblical sanction 'God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many devices.'⁵

One aspect of cultural primitivism is that in which the development of technology is lamented and a plea is made for a return to

. . . the condition of human life in which it is most free from the intrusion of 'art,' i.e., in which none, or at most only the simplest and most rudimentary, of the practical arts are known.⁶

A rather common manifestation of this type of primitivism takes the specific form of opposition to mining.

If I am right, then, in suggesting that these lines from *Beowulf* express the poet's regret that the metals which are forged into treasures were removed from the earth, our greatest Old English writer takes a place alongside Lucretius, Ovid, and Seneca (among the ancients) and Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton (among the moderns) as a technological primitivist.⁷

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"THRE BREFES TO A LONG"

The technical musical terms in the *Secunda Pastorum* suggest that the author knew the art thoroughly although his use of them made him guilty of the undramatic trick of imparting this knowledge to the shepherds who might not be expected (in character) to share his erudition. Having heard the Angel's song the shepherds discuss it (lines 647 ff.); it "was a qwant stevyn that euer yit I hard," says the First Shepherd, and the Second Shepherd asks:

Say, what was his song? Hard ye not how he crakyd it,
Thre brefes to a long?

3 *Pastor*: Yee, mary, he hakt it;

Was no crochett wrong, nor no-thing that lakt it.

(lines 656 ff)

⁵ Lovejoy and Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, vol. 1 of *A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas* (Baltimore, 1935), p. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁷ For passages from classical literature expressing this idea, see Lovejoy and Boas, *op. cit.*, Index under "metallurgy." For modern examples, see Taylor, "Milton on Mining," *MLN.*, XLV (1930), 24-27.

Many centuries later the celestial phrase was repeated unknowingly by Beethoven, who is said to have regarded it as Fate knocking at the door; and now we discover it to be the Morse code for V. A "quaint voice" indeed, speaking to England in her hour of trial, from the shepherds of Wakefield more than five hundred years ago.

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LATIN AND ITALIAN FINAL FRONT VOWELS

The outcome of Latin final *-i* in Italian lends itself to no discussion. Such is not the case, however, with Latin final *-ē*, *-ē*, *-i* and the diphthong *-ae*. Meyer-Lübke¹ suggests that while Latin *-ē*, *-i*, and *-ae* became *-e* in Italian, Latin *-ē* may have acquired a closer and closer sound until it eventually coincided with Latin *-i*; this, in his opinion, would account for the fact that while we have *bene*, *sette*, *lume*, *amasse*, *piante*, *ove*, *crede*, *forse*, from forms which in Latin had final *-ē*, *-i* or *-ae*, we also have *vedi*, *oggi*, *lungi*, etc., from forms with an original *-ē*. In a later work,² however, he appears to have modified his opinion, accepting the hypothesis that the outcome of all four Latin vowel sounds in the final syllable is *-e*, and explaining *dodici* as due to the influence of the preceding *i*; *dieci* as based on the analogy of *venti*; *amassi* (first person) by analogy with *dissi*; *ieri* as derived from an archaic *heri*, *oggi*, *avanti*, *anzi*, *quasi* as due to the influx of the initial vowel of the following word; *ivi* by analogy with *quivi*; *parimenti* with the ending of the second half made to conform with the ending of the first half; then *altrimenti* by analogy with *parimenti*; etc.

This point of view is accepted by Grandgent,³ who adds to the list of doubtful forms offered by his predecessor *onni* and *ogni*, as due to use before words beginning with vowels, *pari* as derived from *parimenti*; *vi* (< *ibi*) as due to proclitic use; *assai* (< *ad satis*) as influenced by *magis*, which becomes *mai*; *quasi*, *fuori*, *ieri* as derived from archaic Latin *quasei*, *foris*, *heri*. He further asserts

¹ *Grammaire des langues romanes* (trad. Rabiet, 1890), I, 306.

² D'Ovidio & Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatica storica della lingua e dei dialetti italiani* (trad. Polcari, Milano, 1906), pp. 90-91.

³ *From Latin to Italian*, (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 51-52.

that at a certain point in linguistic development the *-i* ending acquires the value of a characteristic adverbial termination, thus explaining, at one stroke, *domani, anzi, anti, avanti, tardi, volentieri*, etc.; for the forms of the present subjunctive, such as *ami*,⁴ he asserts that the phonological *ame* of the older tongue turns into *ami* at a period when there still was, in the second person singular, among the three endings *-a, -e, -i*, a conflict which ultimately ended in the triumph of the *-i* ending, which served to differentiate the second person from the others.⁵ Elsewhere,⁶ Grandgent restates his theory to the effect that *-e* is the only truly phonological outcome of the four Latin vocalic sounds in the final syllable, and, opposing the older theories of Meyer-Lubke, cites Vulgar Latin forms such as *verae* to prove that *-ē* shows no signs of coalescing with *-i*. The *volentieri* which D'Ovidio and Meyer-Lubke attribute to a French influx is explained by Grandgent, together with *domani* and *tardi*, as due to a series of analogical phenomena arising from *oggi* and *ieri*, which are in turn said to be under the influence of *di* or of the archaic Latin forms *heri* and *mani*.

How acceptable are these theories? The Italian forms in which *-i* appears as the continuator of Latin *-ē, -ē, -i, -ae* in the final syllable are extremely numerous and varied, and the explanations offered, based on an entire series of doubtful analogies, leave a question in our minds. If, in addition, we examine the oldest documents of the Italian language, our doubts become still graver.

We deliberately leave aside the *fini* (< *finēs*) of the various tenth-century testimonial formulas of Monte Cassino, Teano and Sessa,⁷ concerning which doubts might arise because of the final *-s*, and which would in any case tend to support Meyer-Lubke's original theory. We also leave aside the imperative *trai* (< *trahē*) of the eleventh-century Roman inscription in the Church of San Clemente,⁸ since it might be attributed to an analogical influence from the second person singular of the present indicative. The

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁵ In this connection, D'Ovidio and Meyer-Lubke prefer derivation of all subjunctive forms in *-i* from the second person singular.

⁶ *Mélanges Thomas*, pp. 187-193.

⁷ Monaci, *Orestomazia italiana dei primi secoli* (Città di Castello, 1912), pp. 1, 523; Monteverdi, *Testi volgari italiani anteriori al Duecento* (Roma, 1935), pp. 13-18.

⁸ Monaci, p. 4; Monteverdi, p. 26.

Umbrian Confession Formula⁹ of the end of the eleventh century offers us, on the one hand, *ore* in the second person singular of the present subjunctive (*e pregonde te, sacerdote, ke nd'ore pro me*); in other words, -e, not -i, ¹< -ēs. On the other hand it shows us a form *faras* in the third person singular; a most interesting form, which indicates an -i, not an -e outcome for Latin -ēt. In his discussion¹⁰ of the linguistic features of this ancient text, Flechia expressed himself in the following terms: "*Alti*, errore di scrittura per *altri*, come anche *farai* per *farà*, confuso col *farai* precedente, se già non si fosse foneticamente svolto da *farae*." Flechia too seems to have had the idea that the phonological outcome of Latin -ēt might be or might have been transformed into -i. In the same formula we also find *ui* (< *aut*, > *o*, *oe*) repeated twice.

In contrast with the final -i of the Formula, we find the forms *fue*, *sagroe*, *destinoe*, *peroe* of the *Ritmo giullaresco toscano*¹¹ of the second half of the twelfth century.¹²

A document from Fabriano of the year 1186¹³ has the form *teni* in the third person singular; it may be objected, however, that we are drawing somewhat too far away from the Central Italian region.

The *Dichiarazione pistojese* of 1195¹⁴ shows us *fue*, *aguale*, *concioe*, *arcipreite*, with final -e; but also *nanti*, repeated four times, and never before a vowel, as D'Ovidio and Meyer-Lubke suppose, nor, presumably, at the period when final -i had already become a characteristic adverbial ending, as Grandgent holds.

The twelfth-century *Ritmo marchigiano di Sant' Alessio*¹⁵ shows a remarkable interchange of -e and -i; *foe* (line 15) followed by *foi* in the next line; *onni dre* (35) as against *onne iurnu* (50); *fae* (92, 113) as against *star* (97) and *vai* (98, 242) in the third person, *poi* (81) in contrast with *poe* (107); *mai* (111, 194) and

⁹ Monaci, p. 5; Monteverdi, pp. 26-29.

¹⁰ *Archivio glottologico italiano*, VII, p. 129.

¹¹ Monaci, p. 9; Monteverdi, pp. 29-31.

¹² The form *stenetietti*, glossed by Monaci 'abstieni e tienti,' contains a *te* > *ti* which I do not want to discuss here because it involves the difficult question of the atonic personal pronouns.

¹³ Monaci, p. 11, Monteverdi, pp. 49-51.

¹⁴ Monteverdi, p. 62.

¹⁵ Monteverdi, pp. 71-80; his readings have been used in preference to those of Monaci, which show, however, very slight deviation.

mae (180); *noe* for *no*, *non* (110); and even *lue* (187) for *lui*. It may be objected that we are too far away from the Central Italian zone, but even so, the appearance of definite fluctuation in what was later to become a dialect is circumstantial evidence for the same possibility in what was later to become the literary tongue.

Passing on to the thirteenth century, we take from the *Biblioteca capitolare di Lucca*¹⁶ that fragment of the third chapter of the *Regola di San Benedetto* which is entitled *De Adhibendis ad Consilium Fratribus Expositio*, which has the advantage of having, side by side with the Italian version, the Latin translation. Here we find: *dici* for *dice*; *fari* for *fare*; *utili* for *utile*; *conueni* for *conviene*; *obediri*; *matamenti*; *tuti cosse*; *esseri*; all this, along with numerous forms having final -e; *labate*, *humeltate*, *defendere*, *rumore*, *paresse*, *utille*, *providere*, *iustamente*, *tute le cosse*, *sequitare*, *uoluntate*, etc.

Furthermore, and this is quite extraordinary, we find the repetition of the Umbrian phenomenon of the ending -*ai* in the third person singular of the future: *iudicari*, repeated twice (the Latin version has *iudicaverit*).

Lastly, a document from Pistoja of the year 1259¹⁷ shows the occurrence of *eredi* twice in the singular, and of *innanthe* once before a consonant (*innanthe saldemo*).

The conclusion seems fairly clear. From the very first appearance of Italian texts, there is in evidence a conflict between -*e* and -*i* to occupy the place of the four Latin vowel sounds, -*ē*, -*ē*, -*ī*, -*ae* in the final syllable, and this conflict persists to our own times. The double forms appearing in the same text are incontrovertible evidence of this conflict. Nor does it avail Grandgent to say¹⁸ that a more or less paragoric -*e* is added to words ending in an accented vowel (for some of the monosyllabic forms cited, such as *ui*, *vai*, *stai*, *noe*, and for the *peroe* of the *Ritmo guillaresco*, the vowel seems definitely paragoric; for other forms, such as *farai*, *fue* or *fui*, *fae*, *iudicari*, one may object that the vowel is not paragoric, but the continuator of the Latin final vowel). At any rate, the "paragoric" vowel obeys the same "law of fluctuation" as the original final vowel; it wavers between -*e* and -*i*.

¹⁶ Cod. 93, f. 18v and 19.

¹⁷ Monaci, p. 160.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 48. Cf. also, in this connection, Hall, *Language*, xv (1939), pp. 224-228 and *Italica*, xvii (1940), pp. 123-124; and Shaw, *Italica*, xvii (1940), pp. 78-79.

What can be the cause of this apparent phonological fluctuation? Can it be altogether ascribed to dialectal or "learned" influences, or to scribal "error"? Or is it a survival of a similar fluctuation appearing, in the case of several words, in archaic and even in Classical Latin?¹⁹ Or is it a new wavering that arises, in the formative period of Italian, by reason of indistinct pronunciation in the final syllable brought about by heavy stress-accent in the tonic syllable, and which later gives way to normalized orthography and pronunciation as the language becomes literary?

If one of the last two possibilities is at the root of the phenomena we have described, then it is possible that a clue is finally offered for the solution of the much-discussed problem of Italian third-declension plurals (*cani* < *canēs*),²⁰ as well as, at least in part, of the other vexing problem of the second person singular endings of the verb (*vedi* < *vidēs*; *reggi* < *regīs*; *dormi* < *dormīs*; then, by an analogical process far more restricted than the one claimed by Grandgent, *ami* replacing *ama* < *amūs*). In view of the fluctuation in the outcome of Latin -ē, -ē, -ī, -ae in the final syllable, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that Italian speakers may have made use of the two possibilities to establish a distinction between *cane* singular and *cani* plural (with, perhaps, some analogical help from the model of the Latin second-declension plural in -ī), and between *vede* and *regge* in the third person and *vedi* and *reggi* in the second.

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¹⁹ *Quasi-quasei*; *ibi-ibi* (*Aeneid*, ii, 792); *heri-heri* (*Ovid, Fasti*, ii, 76); *ubi-ube-ubei-ubique*; cf. Sommer, *Handbuch der lat. Laut- und Formenlehre*,² 149-150, Diehl, *Vulgarlateinische Inschriften*, 226 - *merente*; 337 - *abis*, 1307 - *valis*.

²⁰ For another explanation of *cani* < *canēs* (that Italian -i is the survival of a Latin older third-declension accusative -is), cf. Pușcariu, *Mélanges Thomas*, pp. 359-365; Pei, *The Italian Language* (New York, 1941), p. 73. For the available textual evidence from the Vulgar Latin period in connection with this explanation, cf. Pei, *The Language of the Eighth-Century Texts in Northern France* (New York, 1932), pp. 147-150, and references listed therein. While this explanation may be acceptable for the plural of third-declension nouns, it contributes nothing to the solution of the problem of the -i in the second person singular of verbs.

AN UNNOTICED EVIDENCE OF FRENCH ARGOT IN THE
EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Few and far between are the authentic traces of the *argot des malfauteurs* before the fifteenth century,¹ and the three documents which attest its appearance in the thirteenth, all composed after 1240,² merely speak of the existence of the jargon, without reproducing its vocabulary.³ Thus, the argotic character of the much-quoted four lines in the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*⁴ which its first editor was unable to understand could be called into doubt. Francisque Michel did not venture to commit himself whether the four lines were argot or not,⁵ and although in recent years students of Old French, without offering new proofs and solely on the grounds of internal evidence, have plausibly argued that the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas* contains the earliest French argotic text,⁶ the fact cannot be forgotten that this contention was contradicted by K. Vossler,⁷ who evidently agreed with L. Sainéan's statement according to which "in the present state of our knowledge, we may boldly assert that there is no linguistic trace of the argot prior to the Procès des Coquillars of 1455."⁸

In view of the scarcity of monuments, an additional proof of the existence of argot in the first third of the thirteenth century, nearly contemporaneous with Jean Bodel's play and not noticed by anyone until now, may be found worthy of attention. It comes to us from a neglected work of William of Auvergne, professor of theology at the

¹ A. Dauzat, *Les Argots*, Paris, 1929, p. 32.

² L. Sainéan, *Les Sources de l'argot ancien*, Paris, 1912, I, 1-2, assigns them all to the last third of the thirteenth century, but J. Anglade, *Histoire sommaire de la littérature méridionale au moyen âge*, Paris, 1921, p. 239, dates the *Donatz Proensals* of Uc Faidit as of 1240.

³ L. Sainéan, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Théâtre français au moyen âge*, ed. by L.-J.-N. Monmerqué and Fr. Michel, Paris, 1885, p. 182.

⁵ *Études de philologie comparée sur l'argot*, Paris, 1856, p. viii.

⁶ M. Dubois, "Sur un passage obscur du *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*," *Romana*, LV (1929), 256-258; W. v. Wartburg, "Vom Ursprung und Wesen des Argot," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, XVIII (1930), 378; A. Dauzat, *loc. cit.*; I. Jordan, *An Introduction to Romance Linguistics*, Revised and Transl. by John Orr, London, 1937, p. 361.

⁷ *Frankreichs Kultur und Sprache*, 2nd ed., Heidelberg, 1929, p. 131.

⁸ *L'Argot ancien (1455-1850)*, Paris, 1907, p. 164.

University of Paris, and bishop of Paris from 1228 to 1249, when he died. William was a precursor of Roger Bacon, who highly considered him,⁹ and of the great scholastic thinkers of the later thirteenth century.¹⁰ The passage in question occurs in his treatise *De Moribus*, written between 1217 and 1228:¹¹

Manet enim in hujusmodi hominibus (sicut ait Ambrosius) peccandi voluntas & sequeretur opus, si speraretur impunitas, hoc est (ut vulgo dicitur) expaventans malum, quemadmodum ribaldi dicunt de patibulo, quod vulgo gibetum dicitur. Sicut enim ipsi ribaldi, licet irrisorie ipsum nominant, videlicet expavescens, eundem, quem vulgus maluesin vocavit, hic est Barbualdus, qui parvulis ad terrorem ostenditur. Etiam de quo matres, & nutrices parvulis minantur, quod eos devoret, si fecerint haec, vel illa Barbualdus enim vulgari gallicano, dicitur figura, vel pictura terribilis, qua matres, & nutrices utuntur ad parvulos deterrendos . . .¹²

This curious passage is interesting in several respects. It bears witness that the 'ribalds' used words of their own, different from the common vernacular, and translates at least one word of theirs into the dog Latin of the period (*ut vulgo dicitur*). The 'ribalds,' accordingly, called the gallows, termed *gibet* in common parlance, *expaventans*, which may easily be reconstructed as Old French **espoentant*.

One may question whether William of Auvergne, the distinguished scholar, theologian, and bishop, was actually conversant with the language of the underworld. Therefore, it will be well to bear in mind that he was a renowned preacher in his day, and that his only modern biographer¹³ noted with surprise that William was able to descend to the level of the humblest and lowliest audience. It is a matter of record that William evangelized the harlots of Paris, and in the parish of Saint-Laurent, had a home (*La Maison des Filles-Deu*) built for them towards 1226,¹⁴ in the very period when he composed *De Moribus*. He was keenly interested and well

⁹ F. Picavet in G. Hanotaux's *Histoire de la nation française*, XII, i, 118, Paris (1921).

¹⁰ Fr. Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, 11th ed. by B. Geyer, Berlin, 1928, II, 363-366.

¹¹ F. Vernet, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Paris, 1920, VI, 1969.

¹² *Guilelmi Alverni Opera Omnia*, London, 1674, I, 211AB.

¹³ N. Valois, *Guillaume d'Auvergne*, Paris, 1880, p. 7.

¹⁴ Dulaure, *Histoire de Paris et de ses monuments*, Nouv. Ed. par L. Batissier, Paris, 1846, p. 163.

versed in the language, customs, and superstitions¹⁵ of the common people, and in his writings, particularly in *De Moribus*, vernacular proverbs, words, and idioms frequently occur in crudely Latinized forms.

What Old French word is hidden by the transcription *expaventans* or *expaventans malum*?¹⁶ Does *expavescens* merely substitute *expaventans*? It must be pointed out that the latter was patently no Latin word. However much its Romance derivations were spread, and however early *expaventare* must have existed, it does not occur in any genuine Latin text; it is unknown to Du Cange, and Wartburg did not meet with it in any Latin text.¹⁷ Thus, it is possible that William replaced *expaventans*, which, after all, might be unfamiliar to some of his readers, by the literary term *expavescens*, even though the latter is an intransitive verb corresponding to the transitive *expaventare*. The fact that *expavescens*, in this instance, scarcely renders the vernacular *épouvantail* is demonstrated by the sentence of William, immediately preceding the passage quoted:

Secunda causa est, quia formido est, quae vulgo dicitur expaventaculum, deterrens eos, qui male agere vellent, ne illud opere impleant, timorem servilem eis incutiens . . .

Thus, *expavescens* cannot be the transcription of *épouvantail*. This latter word, too, was well known to William, witness *expaventaculum* which is plainly the macaronic Latin for the vernacular *épouvantail*.

Fortunately, a contemporary of William, Cardinal Jacques de Vitry (1180-1240), one of the most famous preachers of his time,¹⁸ enables us to dispense with devising a hypothetical Old French equivalent of *expaventans malum*. An exemplum in his *Sermones Vulgares* reveals the actual vernacular word, and paralleling the quoted passage of *De Moribus*, it furnishes additional explicit proof

¹⁵ L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era*, New York, 1923, II, 338-371.

¹⁶ The passage quoted above appears without any variants in three editions examined by this writer. Nuremberg, 1496 (fo. 144bA), Venice, 1591 (p. 203C), and *ed. cit.*

¹⁷ *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1934, II, 305.

¹⁸ Cf. Ph. Funk, "Jakob von Vitry, Leben und Werke," *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* 3, Leipzig, 1909.

of the existence of the argot in the first decades of the thirteenth century:¹⁹

Cursarii, marini, pyrarte gloriantur in malicia sua et letantur cum malefecerint . . . similes latronibus qui quando vident furcas rident et dicunt inter se: Ecce furce, iste eriguntur ut pusillanimes et meticulosi terreantur et patibulum deridendo vocant vulgariter: *espoente coard*.²⁰

Thus, the compound *espoente coard*²¹ is to be added to the dictionaries of Old French as one of the earliest authentic terms of the argot.

The passage of *De Moribus* is offering, however, two more interesting words which have escaped the attention of the lexicographers of Old French. *Maluesin*, in the sense of 'bugaboo' or, perhaps, 'ugly customer' (*mauvais coucheur*),²² is unknown to Godefroy.

The sentences concerning *Barbualdus* will help to correct one item in Du Cange, which, listing the word,²³ cites the same, but greatly shortened, passage of William of Auvergne, borrowed at second hand from G. Naudé. The citation, reproduced by Du Cange, omits William's statement that *Barbualdus* is a term of the vernacular (*vulgari gallicano*), which, accordingly, is out of place in dictionaries of Mediaeval Latin. The fanciful etymology which still haunts in the latest edition of Du Cange will have to disappear in the light of the data furnished by Wartburg:²⁴ it belongs to the numerous derivatives of *bau* + *barba*, and is closely related to the

¹⁹ According to J. Greven, "Die Exempla aus den Sermones feriales et communes," *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte* 9, Heidelberg, 1914, p. vii, the *Sermones Vulgares* were composed after 1226.

²⁰ *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, Ed. by Thos. Fred. Crane, London, 1890, p. 129 f.

²¹ With remarkable intuition, Professor Leo Spitzer had suggested before this writer found the above passage in Jacques de Vitry that *expaventans malum* transcribes a compound noun of the type imperative + direct object, e.g. *portefeuille*, etc. and had compared (Darmesteter, *Mots composés*, pp. 189 and 207) *Hugo comedens rusticum* as the rendering of Fr. *escorche-vilain*.

²² I am obliged for this suggestion to Professor Leo Spitzer; it, indeed, may be the right interpretation of *mauveisin*, quoted by Godefroy from Benoit's *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie* 28650, Ed. Fr. Michel, Paris, 1838, II, 459.

²³ New ed. by L. Favre, Paris, 1937, I, 573.

²⁴ *Franz. etym. Wörterbuch*, Bonn, 1928, I, 298.

many Romance terms meaning 'bugaboo.' It may be added that *Barbualdus* is no *hapax legomenon* in William, who used it at least once more in a passage of *De Moribus*:²⁵

Infernus est mihi barbualdus, cujus ostensione parvulos meos, & ab omnibus stultitiis avertio . . .²⁶

ARPAD STEINER

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KEATS'S "GOLDEN-TONGUED ROMANCE"

It has been generally agreed that Keats's sonnet "On sitting down to read *King Lear* once again" probably represents his rejection of Spenser's influence¹ and of romance in general,² and that his phrase "golden tongued Romance" probably refers not to *Endymion* but to the *Faerie Queene*.³ I believe, however, there are good reasons for doubting these interpretations.

Twice on the morning of January 23, 1818, Keats himself explained his sonnet. In his letter to Bailey he says only that he "felt the greatness" of *Lear* "up to the writing of a Sonnet." In his letter to his brothers, he gives an additional explanation. Immediately after copying out the poem he writes: "So you see I am getting at it, with a sort of determination and strength, though verily I do not feel it at this moment. . . . I am in the habit of taking my papers to Dilke's and copying there . . ." Thus the poem is supposed, in part, to show George and Tom Keats that he is "getting at it"—at what? The "papers" are the first draft

²⁵ *Ed cit*, I, 195B.

²⁶ [*Barbualdus* pourrait refléter le prov *barbàou* 'croquemitaine à Barcelonnette' que cite le FEW s. v *bau*, et est sûrement une formation facétieuse d'après le type des noms propres hybrides (semi-romains, semi-germaniques, cf *Christopertus*, Meyer-Lubke, *Enf.*, § 256) *Barb-wald* comme *Rom-wald* > *Romualdus*; le croque-mitaine se prête à la personification: n'est-il pas la peur personnifiée?—L S]

¹ E. de Selincourt, *The Poems of John Keats*, 5th ed., London, 1926, p. 542; Sir Sidney Colvin, *John Keats*, London, 1917, p. 257 n

² Amy Lowell, *John Keats*, Boston, 1925, I, 557. C. L. Finney also believes it shows Keats's "reaction against the poetry of romance in general" (*The Evolution of Keats's Poetry*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, I, 351).

³ "The golden tongued Romance' is almost certainly the *Faerie Queene*" (de Selincourt, p. 542).

of *Endymion*, as everyone knows. Keats had just finished revising the first book;⁴ three books remained to be done; now Keats is saying he is going to work at them with determination. (He says approximately the same thing in his letter to Bailey: "I have sent my first book to the Press—and this afternoon shall begin preparing the second.") Here, then, we have, in Keats's own words, statements concerning two strains of thought in the sonnet, one concerned with *Lear*, the other with his work on *Endymion*.

The first element is so clear in the poem that nothing need be said about it. But what did Keats expect his brothers to see that would show them he was getting at the revision of *Endymion*? Before copying the sonnet for them he wrote: "I think a little change has taken place in my intellect lately—I cannot bear to be uninterested or unemployed, I, who for so long a time have been addicted to passiveness." In the poem itself he urges the "Queen of far-away" to leave melodizing for only one wintry day; then he will get back to work. He prays his "good Genius"⁵ Shakespeare that he may not "wander in a barren dream"; he asks for strength "to fly at my desire," which is the completion of *Endymion*. All this agrees. It does show a determination or at least a strong desire to "get at it." If this is not the correct interpretation, then what could George and Tom Keats have been supposed to see in the poem or the letter that would show their brother getting at his work of revision?

Keats was consciously concerned, as we have seen, with both *Endymion* and *Lear*. Unconsciously, too, his thoughts of the two works were mingled. In lines eleven and twelve of the sonnet he writes:

When I am through the old oak forest gone
Let me not wander in a barren dream . . .

I had always taken the "old oak forest" to be a perfectly obvious reference to *Lear*, until one day I was astonished to realize there is no old oak forest in the play. Instead, there is a specific statement that Lear is wandering in the storm where "for many miles about There's scarce a bush."⁶ The word "oak" never appears in *Lear*

⁴ See M. B. Forman, ed., *Letters*, New York, 1935, p. 82

⁵ See Forman, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁶ Furness, *Variorum* ed, II, 4, 298-99 a. There is no old oak forest in *Lear* even though Edgar does hide in the "happy hollow of a tree."

except in the compound "oak-cleaving," used in reference to lightning.⁷ Why, then, did Keats think there was an oak forest in *Lear*? We have already seen that his thoughts at this time were much concerned with *Endymion*, and in *Endymion* there is a forest made up largely of oaks. When Keats explained to his sister what he was doing in the poem, the first thing he thought of telling her was that Endymion "lived solit[a]ry among the trees . . ."⁸ In the poem itself he wrote that the hero was wandering "Through wilderness, and woods of mossed oaks."⁹ Again he says that Endymion listened to the wind "that now did stir About the crisped oaks full drearily."¹⁰ Thus, though the "old oak forest" was probably intended to be a reference to *Lear* (Keats seems to mean simply, "When I have finished reading *Lear*"), it is unconsciously¹¹ a reference to *Endymion*. Thoughts of the two works were mingled on both the conscious and the unconscious level of his mind.

It has been urged in support of the "accepted" interpretation of the sonnet that Keats would not speak of *Endymion*, which he knew to be far from perfect, as "golden tongued" or "serene"; that he would not in any case call it an "olden" volume; and that his use of the word "Syren" shows his sense of the falsity of romance. In reply I should admit that perhaps Woodhouse oversimplifies when he says that "golden tongued Romance" is a reference to *Endymion*. All difficulties of this sort are removed, however, if we understand Keats to be thinking, in the first two lines, primarily of the Muse of Romance; it is the Muse who is "golden tongued," "serene," and "fair-plumed." Her volume would naturally be called "olden" by a romantic poet; and Woodhouse might have urged that *Endymion* is an old myth. Again, Keats sometimes uses the word "Syren" as a term of commendation, as Milton used it in *At a Solemn Music*: "Blest pair of syrens." Keats uses it five times in *Endymion*, three times as a term of admiration, once in the opposite sense, and once rather ambiguously. A close parallel with "Fair-plumed Syren . . .

⁷ See Bartlett, *Concordance*.

⁸ *Endymion*, II, 49.

⁹ Letter of September 10, 1817.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 294-95.

¹¹ The possibility that Keats is consciously referring to *Endymion* at this point may, in my opinion, be eliminated because of his reference to "Fire" (*Lear*) in line thirteen. Keats would not jump from poem to play so rapidly as this possibility would require.

leave melodizing" is his exclamation, "Fair Melody! kind Syren!"¹² In the sonnet he calls the "Syren" a "Queen of far-away," which does not suggest disapproval, if he still admired romance. That he did admire romance is established by the fact that on January 5, 1818, he wrote to his brothers that "Scott endeavours to throw so interesting and romantic a colouring into common and low characters as to give them a touch of the sublime." To Keats, romance is still sublime.

In addition to all this, we have the fact that nowhere, in all the pertinent evidence, do we find any reference to Spenser or the *Faerie Queene*.

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GEORGE BANCROFT, EARLY CRITIC OF GERMAN LITERATURE

In the *American Quarterly Review* for 1827-1828 there appeared a series of three articles on German literature which, taken together, comprised the most unified, comprehensive, and authoritative treatment of the subject to appear in America up to that time. From 1800 to 1817 the magazines had carried little more than a few translations, notices of publication, and occasional short reviews of single authors. Excepting an inconclusive, restricted treatment of seven German authors in the Baltimore *Portico* for 1816,¹ the three articles in the *American Quarterly Review* stand alone as the first survey and evaluation of German literature to appear in an American periodical. Comparing the series to previous reviews, one authority states:²

This is perhaps the most exhaustive treatise of its kind to be found in the magazines. . . . In breadth and depth, in actual grasp of the subject at

¹² *Endymion*, IV, 300

¹ See the unsigned review, "On the State of Polite Literature in Germany," *The Portico*, II (1817), 217-262. The article concludes that the authors considered, among them Schiller, Goethe, and Kotzebue, lack imagination, and that "the taste of all Germans is hopelessly deficient." Quoted in S. H. Goodnight, "German Literature in American Magazines Prior to 1846," *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, IV (1909), 39.

² S. H. Goodnight, p. 43.

hand, it as far surpasses the thoroughly biased sketch of 1816 as the latter did that of 1788. . . . He of 1828 recognizes a great national literature, with its excellences and defects, a people justly celebrated for the extent of their learning and their perseverance in its pursuit and works which assume an indisputable place among the best that the world has produced.

Under the guise of reviewing six books—Franz Horn's *Die Poesie und Beredsamkeit der Deutschen* and *Umrisse*, Wieland's *Sammtliche Werke*, Lessing's *Werke*, Bouterwek's *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie und Beredsamkeit*, and Heeren's *Andenken an deutsche Historiker*,—the anonymous author writes a complete history of German literature, tracing the main currents of the Teutonic literary tradition from its beginnings to the nineteenth century, using about one-third of his space for the purpose of critically evaluating the major contemporary and near-contemporary figures.³

The previously unidentified author of the articles was George Bancroft, former Gottingen student (1818-1821), one of the first four Americans to study in Germany, frequent contributor to the journals, and at the time of the appearance of the series headmaster with Joseph Cogswell of the Round Hill School near Worcester, Massachusetts, an experimental secondary school modelled on Prussian lines. In 1855 Bancroft, then famous as the author of the first distinguished history of the United States, collected and published under the title *Literary and Historical Miscellanies* seventeen of his early essays and reviews, written during the years 1824-1835. Included in the volume is an essay, "Studies in German Literature," which, upon comparison with the *American Quarterly Review* series, establishes his authorship of them beyond question. The addition of material from earlier reviews of Schiller, Goethe, and Herder, written for the *North American Review*, expanded the 1855 essay to 103 pages as compared with the 78 pages of the original series.⁴ The space allotted to Schiller was doubled, that given to a consideration of Goethe lengthened, and discussion of several minor figures, such as Kleist, Gessner, von Muller, and Hammer, omitted entirely. The most important change was Bancroft's revision of his

³ *American Quarterly Review*, III (September, 1827), 171-86; III (March, 1828), 150-73; IV (September, 1828), 157-91.

⁴ "Schiller's Minor Poems," *North American Review*, XVII (January, 1823), 268-80; "Goethe's *Werke*," *ibid.*, XIX (October, 1824), 303-30; "Herder's *Werke*," *ibid.*, XX (January, 1825), 138-60.

style, from the flowery rhetoric and strained hyperbole of the early reviews to a more concise, restrained, and temperate prose.

Including the *American Quarterly Review* series, Bancroft contributed to the journals between 1823 and 1831 thirteen historical and literary essays and reviews, which in amount and level of excellence sufficed to place him with A. H. Everett, Edward Everett, and George Ticknor as one of the most competent of the early critics of German literature and one of the pioneers in the introduction of German thought in the United States. The establishment of his authorship of the *Review* articles warrants further notice of his critical work, which, had it been continued, might have marked him as one of the most significant of American critics before 1840. After 1830, however, he turned to his *History of the United States*, the first volume of which appeared in 1834, and no more literary criticism came from his pen.

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WASHINGTON IRVING IN MISSISSIPPI

Irving's one stop in Vicksburg, Mississippi, at the close of his western journey, has apparently gone unnoticed. The Vicksburg *Advocate & Register* for Wednesday, November 21, 1832, tells of his arrival on the steamboat *Little Rock* on the preceding Saturday, of a committee of citizens inviting him to dinner, and of his declining the invitation. Irving's letter, which, so far as I know, has not been reprinted, is as follows:

Vicksburg, 17th Nov 1832.

Gentlemen—The very kind and hospitable manner in which I have been welcomed by the citizens of Vicksburg, on my casual arrival at their port, is as flattering as it was unexpected, and nothing but the circumstances of my having repeatedly declined invitations from my fellow citizens, at various places, to public dinners, prevents my accepting one so evidently prompted by a spontaneous emotion of good will. I beg gentlemen you will communicate to your fellow citizens on whose behalf you have given me this invitation, how sincerely I appreciate this mark of their approbation and regard, and that you will accept for yourselves assurances of the high respect with which I have the honor to be

Your ob't and humble servant,
Washington Irving.

It was later discovered, however, that the boat could not depart until the following morning; then "Mr. Irving consented to join a Wine Party at nine in the evening," says the Editor of the *Advocate & Register*. At the gathering of about thirty gentlemen "the sentiment, and the anecdote, the sparkling champaign and wit, contributed to the hilarity of the occasion. At a reasonably early hour Mr. Irving was reconducted to the boat."

WILLIAM BRYAN GATES

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DON POMPOSO: MR. W. S. PORTER

O. Henry's well-known love of singing once led him into comic opera—*The Doctor of Alcantara* (music by Julius Eichberg, libretto by Benjamin E. Woolf), presented in Austin, Texas, at Millet's Opera House on Friday Night, July 23, 1886. The plot of this opera is a complex one involving mistaken identity, two imaginary murders, and much comic stage business.¹

O. Henry's role, Don Pomposo, calls for a bass voice and a great amount of swagger. Pomposo's one appearance is at the close of Act I, where, as Captain of the Watch, he brings in his men to investigate some screaming. His solo, which is interrupted several times, leads up to the Finale to Act I.

If we may judge by the newspaper account next day, O. Henry's performance was hardly much more than barely competent. From the *Austin Daily Statesman*, which was not niggardly in its praise of most of the other singers, he received this faint tribute: "The Don Pomposo of Mr. Porter and his gallant company of gens d'armes with wondrous uniformity of uniforms deserve, mention."²

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¹ The new and revised edition (Boston, Oliver Ditson, 1879) recommends this opera, along with such others as *Pinafore*, *The Sorcerer*, and *Trial by Jury*, as being "just in the line of the rather easy comic operas that can be brought out either by professionals or amateurs."

² *Austin Daily Statesman*, July 24, 1886, p. 8 I am indebted to Mr. M. V. Gartman of Austin for first calling to my attention the playbill to this performance.

REVIEWS

L'Histoire de Gille de Chyn. By GAUTIER DE TOURNAY, edited by EDWIN B. PLACE. Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University, 1941. Pp. ix + 218. (Northwestern University Studies in the Humanities, no. 7.)

La réédition de ce charmant morceau de jonglerie du XIII^e siècle s'imposant un siècle après son exhumation par le baron de Reiffenberg (1847), quarante ans après l'étude critique du savant belge C. Liégeois (1903), qui avait prouvé les défauts de cette édition et qui avait fait le départ entre l'élément historique et l'imaginatif dans notre roman. M. Place s'est acquitté de la tâche philologique de l'établissement critique du texte et du commentaire détaillé avec une science sûre et un goût sobre qui lui assurent la reconnaissance de ses collègues d'Amérique et d'Europe. Le travail minutieux qu'il a fourni par la collation du ms. unique de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ainsi que ses notes succinctes et le glossaire presque complet, s'unit à la présentation élégante du volume imprimé pour produire la plus agréable des impressions.

L'œuvre, qui a la longueur et le style d'un roman de Chrétien, n'est assurément pas "the first historico-biographical romance of O. F. literature" (p. 11), puisque le *St. Thomas de Cantorbéry* de Garnier de Pont St. Maxence a précédé, mais la première biographie "romancée" en forme de roman courtois (comme la vie de St. Thomas est la première biographie légendaire d'un héros historique): nous pouvons observer en elle comment un jongleur routiné transforme la matière historique (à laquelle M. Place fait une place plus généreuse que C. Liégeois: les tournois et la croisade de Gilles de Chyn semblent bien être authentiques) d'après les clichés littéraires mis en vogue par le roman d'Enéas, Chrétien, Marie de France, peut-être les *Chétifs*.¹ Tout gravite vers le lieu commun "courtois" dans cet *enromancement* d'une biographie d'un héros local. La matière biographique précise s'évapore dans ce climat de l'aventure pour l'aventure, de l'aventure gratuite et per-

¹ Je note en plus, en fait d'éléments traditionnels, la rime *Pentecoste*; (une feste qui moult) *coste* 55-6, les *sons d'amours* chantés en mai 654 seq., l'olivier en France septentrionale 1669, le vers 2445 *le jor lor fu maa bains temprés* (cf. la collection d'exemples de M. R. Lida, *RFH* III, 267—l'exemple du véritable 'mauvais bain' du lai *Equitan* pourrait être ajouté), les répétitions chiasmatiques connues par le *Roman d'Enéas* (p. ex. 2515 *Desor le flun se sont logié*—2527 *Desor le flun logié se sont*; de même 623-634; 3487-8; 5135-50), la description du 'vilain' 3083 seq. comme dans *Yvain* et *Auc. et Nio*, l'éloge du siècle passé courtois et généreux opposée à l'accusation du matérialisme contemporain (4825 seq.)—lieu commun de la poésie des troubadours.

pétuelle, dont le dynamisme est recherché comme une fin en soi (v. le raisonnement 4101-12)—et le style diffus, les redites, les situations identiques, sont les conséquences techniques de ce vague idéalisme. Une étude plus détaillée de cette technique d'appropriation "superficielle" aurait été désirable: p. ex. le lion, emprunté à *Yvain*, n'intervient pas dans l'action, le héros et le poète semblent se consoler assez facilement (v. 211) de sa mort de martyr, et à la fin du poème, Gilles de Chyn n'est pas le Chevalier *au Lion*, mais un *Lion* (1597) tout court. L'éditeur me semble aussi passer trop vite sur la valeur de style du poème qu'il estime "pedestrian," dénotant "a painstaking craftsman, though by no means a poet of distinction." Tout en ne me faisant nulle illusion sur le style maintes fois plat et délayé, je relèverais pourtant l'espèce de verve grandiloquente, nuancée d'une *self-irony* qui ponctue d'un petit sourire la narration de faits incroyables (comme dans *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne et Aucassin et Nicolette*), p. ex. cette tête de géant coupée où 'on peust bien el hanepier Baigner .l. enfant de .V. ans, Voire de .VI.' (précision à la Rabelais); l'épisode du départ de Gille en mission guerrière pour son suzerain avec la tête mi-lavée (v. 4921 seq.) et de sa femme *qui le lavoit* restant en arrière, *en effroi*; l'énumération, variée par les mots choisis, des effets psychologiques des coups du héros sur ses victimes (5034 seq.: *Le tierc si que il mot ne sone, Et le quart si que il l'estone, Et le quint si que il l'afole, Le siste que la teste li vole*). Un pas de plus, et nous sommes en pleine poésie héroïcomique à la Pulci.

Quant à la genèse de notre poème, M. Place me semble donner trop de crédit à la thèse de Bédier, qui va perdant de jour en jour son éclat de naguère et qui d'ailleurs n'a été énoncée par son auteur que pour les chansons de geste: or, notre poème est un roman courtois légèrement mâtiné d'une geste de croisade, et les chances d'une collaboration des clercs et des jongleurs—à condition qu'on n'entende cette collaboration d'une façon très générale, c'est à dire d'une influence toute spirituelle de l'esprit ecclésiastique sur l'esprit du moyen âge—sont minimes pour un récit d'aventures séculières et qui regorge d'esprit séculier (1487 [Gille] *ne ressembla mie convers*, 666 *Cil n'avoit soing de porter haine*): la croisade n'est en somme qu'un prétexte à des aventures plus fantaisistes encore que celles qui se développent en France, l'apparition du Christ est conditionnée par l'idée de la Croisade et contrebalance l'intrigue amoureuse avec la Comtesse; et l'enterrement *soz le marbre a St. Guillain . . . tout droit devant le crucifix* est la fin régulière de la carrière d'un preux, d'ailleurs, dans le cas de Gille de Chyn, une réalité historique de la biographie de ce chevalier. La façon même dont le trouvère parle du *saint de grant verité* qui habitera dorénavant St. Guillain, n'est past trop convaincante: c'est sur la note 'honneur au grand soldat' (*le cors du millor poignor*) qu'il clôt son poème. Et la sentence *Car d'un prodome, ce saves, est un pais rengenerés* (v. *infra* ma remarque sur le vers 4647) est une version

laicisée de la pieuse croyance à la puissance régénératrice qu'exerce sur un pays la présence d'un saint (et même de son corps, cf. le *St. Alexis*). L'esprit du poème est nettement laïc, tourné vers les réalités extérieures et les valeurs de la chevalerie errante.

Je proposerai plus loin plusieurs corrections au texte, dont le nombre est un plaidoyer, pas du tout contre l'éditeur, qui a fait excellente besogne, mais en faveur d'une critique sérieuse, visant à un texte définitif, comme elle était d'usage à l'époque de G. Paris—Tobler (le texte me semble mériter un traitement méticuleux). Je discuterai d'abord deux questions d'ordre général, ayant trait à des difficultés inhérentes à l'édition de textes médiévaux par des critiques modernes: il s'agit du traitement des *ἀνδ' κοινού* et des discours indirects-directs, c'est à dire de cas où les procédés de l'éditeur moderne tendent à introduire une fausse précision là où le moyen âge a connu l'indécision, le flottement. Soit un cas comme 4263 que M. Place imprime ainsi: *Tolir li veut [l'oncle] sa teneure: Par force veut et par droiture*—mais il est clair que *sa teneure* appartient aussi bien à *tolir li veut* qu'à *par force veut*. Nos procédés modernes ont un effet de 'rationalisation' néfaste sur le texte ancien: il faudrait, pour respecter la fluidité médiévale, soit ne pas mettre d'interponction du tout, soit un signe particulier (l'accolade?), affecté à la construction *ἀνδ' κοινού*. De même 4348: *Li camps est vos et la dame a {Sa terre} a pais toz jors tenrra*; 4943: *Et li quens viant à l'encontrer {Ançois qu'il parentre en sa terre} Li vient en contre*; 5135 *Tant qu'il a s'alaine reprise {A ceste besoigne} a emprise Dont il bien cuide a cieff venir*. Un phénomène également délicat est celui de l'alternance, des discours directs et indirects: Tobler dans ses *Vermischte Beiträge* I, 39 a traité de ces cas comme d'une "alternance" ou d'un mélange des deux styles—mais l'idée de mélange même est un parti-pris moderne qui violente le flou du conteur médiéval, chez qui en général le discours direct se détache graduellement de l'indirect, quitte à retomber quelquefois dans ce dernier, et qui a même connu un troisième mode, laissé inexpliqué par Tobler, la transposition au style indirect libre. La notion de deux ou trois systèmes nettement distincts est étrangère au moyen âge et les guillemets modernes sont trop incisifs, trop 'décisifs.'² Cp. plutôt la façon dont l'éditeur imprime 1370 seq.: *A la dame lez a mostrees [une couverture et une cote]. Quant ele lez a esgardees: 'Mout li est bon et bien li siet,' Et li sergans*

² Un poète moderne semble avoir senti l'arbitraire des guillemets: Stéphane Mallarmé dans *L'Après-midi d'un faune* introduit des rêves en style indirect ou direct, mais avec des guillemets dans les deux cas, et a soin d'attirer, par l'impression en majuscules, notre attention sur le verbe (ou substantif semiverbal) auquel sont subordonnés les rêves, p. ex.:

CONTEZ

"Que je coupais ici les creux roseaux domptés . . ."

O nymphes, regonflons des SouVENIRS divers.

"Mon œil, trouant les joues, dardait chaque encolure . . ."

s'en fait mout liet—il est évident que 1372 appartient à la narration (qui continue avec *et*), mais est en même temps le discours de la dame transposé en style indirect libre—donc les guillemets sont faûx. (On aurait aussi bien pu, dans le passage 2890 *Mande Gillon . . . Qu'il vigne a li isnelement, Car ele veut a lui parler*, encadrer le dernier vers dans des guillemets.) Combien ils interrompent le cours du discours, cela nous est démontré par 1778 seq.: *Se li a dit que Jhesu-Oris, Si com tiesmoign[e] li escriis, 'Par ses lettres vous prie et mande. . .'*—l'éditeur a introduit les guillemets dans la phrase à partir du moment où le *vous* indiquait le discours direct—n'empêche que cette phrase est en même temps indirecte (*que*!) et directe, et ce n'est qu'à mesure que la période procède, que le *que* introducteur est oublié. Les guillemets interrompent un développement imperceptible. Dans le passage 3047 seq. *au roi vint une espie Qui li noncha que Noradins . . . Le cuide avoir pris a la trape, Car il li sont mout pres voisin A .xxx. mile Sarrazin Qui devant Triple sont venu. 'Ja i ont leur siege tenu .viii. jors entiers, or lez sequeure, Sace de voir que trop demeure . . .'* l'éditeur introduit des guillemets au v. 3055 et imagine que l'espie parle par un interprète,—supposition gratuite (v. ma note plus bas): il s'agit tout simplement de discours indirect libre (transposé); or les *sequeure* emprunte le subjonctif au discours direct, la 3^e pers. (au lieu de la 2^e) est due à la transposition. Même dans des cas comme 4303: *Se li a dit mout bonement Que li chevaliers n'a droiture En ce qu'il clame: 'Tot parjure L'en ferai . . .'*, ou 4483: *Li quens de Bar s'est aatis Qu'il n'aura pas demain le pris; 'Ains l'avera Baudous de Rauns; Le pris l'en downs tout premerains'* l'introduction des guillemets produit un choc trop violent. Il faudrait probablement, à moins qu'on ne mette en italique ou entre guillemets les mots non transposés (comme le fait le reportage moderne), ne pas introduire de signe du tout.³

Je propose la correction des leçons suivantes:

- 33 ms.: [celui qui aurait vu le jeune Gille si laid], *Il desist bien qu'il ne vosist Nule cose qui Dia fesist*. L'éd. pense à *cose* au sens de 'human being'—non: il n'aurait voulu de nulle chose créée par Dieu (vulgairement parlant, l'aspect de Gilles l'aurait dégoûté de tout). Lire *que* au lieu de *qui* comme 76, 880, 2030.
- 626: ne faudrait-il pas lire *bonté* au lieu de *biauté* en vue de 633-4?
- 880: *Qui vous feroie long aconté*—corriger *qui* en *que*, mettre un point après 879 et un point d'interrogation après 880: 'que vous ferais-je un long rapport?', cf. 4473, 5189.
- 1513 ms.: *Son chevalier prison le done*—ne pas corriger *le* en *li* et comprendre. 'il le [le cheval] donne à son chevalier comme prisonnier.'

³ Il y a encore un troisième cas où l'orthographe moderne introduit des alternatives catégoriques au lieu de la souplesse médiévale: nous écrivons les noms propres par majuscules en les distinguant ainsi des appellatifs—c'est un *aut-aut* catégorique. Or le moyen âge connaît des appellatifs en *pas*se de devenir des noms propres, telle la *Beatrice* de la *Vita Nuova*, qui est aussi une *beatrice* (j'ai insisté à plusieurs reprises sur ce point, cf. en dernier lieu *MLN* 1942, p. 246 note).

- 1729: au lieu de corriger *en souvenir*, laisser *Gilles de Cyn en son venir*, *Un poi devant la menuit*: G. se couche 'quand il rentre chez lui,' cf. *en son venir* 801, 2257, *en son premier poundre* 4741.
- 1964: laisser *mais*, qui appartient à *remanoir*. 'rester plus longtemps.'
- 2000 ms (De av. rains ert, ce m'est viere.) *Li ch[s] qu'il loe tant et prise Si compeignon cornent la prise*. L'éd. corrige *Li chevalier*, biffe tant et met un point après 1999 et une virgule après *compeignon* au v. 2001. Il faut suppléer *chers* [= *cerf*] et comprendre *De av. rains ert . . . Li chers*, sans metre de point après 1999. De même, pas de virgule au v. 2001: 'ses compagnons cornent. . .'
- 2377: *Ne sorent mot quant embatu Se sont sor raus*. L'éd. corrige *sonent*, mais la situation identique 4166 ne sevent mot, *s'ont enconstré*. C. *escarrans* est bien expliquée par l'éd.: 'they have no information' (i.e. they are in a state of total ignorance regarding the ambush awaiting them)—donc laisser *sorent* dans notre passage.
- 2477: *A l'encauchier mout les en haite*—lire *enhaitte* 'il les encourage.'
- 2786: lire *nen a droit*.
- 2991: lire *vurent* (: *tinrent*) au lieu de *voient*, cf. l'assonance *perdirent-vinrent* 1720-1.
- 3175: [*A Dameldru prent a proier Et a sa Mere escortement . . .*] *Qu'il le deffende de torment*. Ne pas corriger en *deffendent* et mettre 3174 entre parenthèses (ou virgules).
- 3227: [*Signor, . . . car me dites*] *Ou par ont vou* [une lettre illisible] *gaiens venistes?* Corriger *ou*, en *par ont* [= *unde*], non pas en *ou*, *par ou*.
- 3529: [*Parlé ont mout et d'un et d'el Le jor, et de bien et de mel*] *Ne se sert pas tant entremetre* [*Que le puist en la voie metre De s'amour*]. L'éd. met un point après *mel* et rattache *se à entremettre: s'entremetre tant* (rég.) *ne sert pas que* [cela, le *s'entremettre*] *le* [= *la*] *puist. . .* Je corrigerais *sert* en *set* (-*r*-adventice?) et bifferais le point après *mel*: 'et elle ne sait s'aviser ni de bien ni de mal autant qu'il faut pour le [masc., sc. Gilles!] mettre sur la voie. . .'
- 3843: [*mout grant joie demena*] *De ce qu'il ot de sa maisnie*. L'éd. imprime: *De ce qu'il l'ot de sa m*. Plutôt: *De ce qu'il l'ot . . .* 'de ce qu'il l'avait [comme membre] de sa m.'
- 4320: *Li chevaliers atant jura Gille de Chin; tost len leva* L'éd. corrige *s'en leva*, mais peut-être *l'enlever* = 'l'achever' [sc. le serment], cf. fr. mod. *enlever* (*lestement*) *un avr* etc.
- 4406: celui qui vaincra dans le tournoi aura un cheval blanc, un esparvier—le troisième prix, qui pourtant apparaît 4604 et 4623 sous forme d'un (grand) ours, manque ici, puisque dans *Oil l'avera n'i faurra mie* le *l'* ne peut se rapporter qu'à l'amie mentionnée 4405 (le chevalier combat *Par remembrance de s'amie*)—le vers 4406 doit donc être une altération plaisante due au copiste, qui aura mis 'il l'aura sans faute, son amie' à la place de *I. ours avra, n'i faurra mie*.
- 4710: *Puis le repaire de Gillon* [*N'atarga mie longuement*]. Lire *Por* au lieu de *Puis*?
- 4837: corriger *enuie* 'sorrow' en *envie* (: *maudie*), qui peut très bien se dire des avaras.
- 5064: *et li lor keurt seure*—lire *et il*.
- 5291: *com il retraiie*, corrigé en *que . . .* —peut-être *com* = 'comme si, pour signifier que, [où se retire, se recroît].
- 5300: [*Et li quens de Hainau pris a Un parlement, au duc, de pais*] *Par la guerre qui ne soit mais*. L'éd. corrige *par* en *por* et imprime

qu'i = *por qu'i* (= *qu'il ne soit mais la guerre*). Je préfère conserver par: '*qu'il* [*le parlement*, entre les deux partis] ne soit plus *par la guerre*' (que leurs contacts ne soient plus de nature guerrière).

- 5333: *Qu'il veulent ciaz de cha sor corre*. Lire *sorcorre*; quand la préposition est séparée du verbe, elle prend la forme tonique *seure* (*lor keurt seure*).

Une interprétation différente du texte établi me semble nécessaire dans les passages suivants:

- 408: *et point de sa bacelerie* 'et fleurit de jeunesse' (le *point*, explétif de la négation, sans celle-ci, me semble dur).
- 799 *Et que il visaument le voie*, non pas '*visibly*,' mais = *par avision* 'en songe,' cf. God. s. v. *visalment*.
- 966 *Les piez lor lievent de la place* *lor pas* = *lors*, mais = *leur* (se rapportant à *cil* proleptique 964), comme l'enseigne le glossaire s. v. *lever*.
- 1492: *Cascuns dez autres une emporte*, non pas 'ch. emporte une des autres (lances),' mais 'ch. des autres [hommes] emporte une [lance]?'
- 1791: [*Pau reconnoissent lor mesfait*,] Si *remetent ciaz en eshait*, [*Qui por s'amor sont en la terre En painne, en travail et en guerre*] non pas 'i. e. by slaying them they send him to Paradise,' ce qui serait assez cynique, mais 'peu [parmi les Juifs et païens] reconnaissent leur péché [en se convertant] et [ainsi, par leur conversion] réjouissent les croisés chrétiens.'
- 1870: [*Nus hom n'estroit joians ne liés*] *Se le vist, n'en fust pensanz*, [*Tant par estoit sez cuers dolans*], non pas 'she would not be thinking of it (if a man were witness . . .),' mais 'personne qui fût joyeux [avant de la voir] ne serait devenu, après l'avoir vue, pensif (= triste).'
- 2012: *Mais peu l'en est*: la traduction 'but he pays but little heed' est correcte, mais *l'* ne se rapporte pas au comte, mais à Gille ('peu lui en chaut').
- 2031: [*Qui cest conseil vous a doné . . .*] *De vostre vie ne li caille*, traduire, non pas 'may he not be concerned for your life,' mais = *ne li chaut*, cf. A. Schulze, ZFSp (1927), p. 485 et Behrens-Festschrift (1929), p. 159.
- 2254-7: L'éd. imprime: '*Sire, sire, car le mandés*,' *Fait ele*, '*se voz commandés Qu'il vigne a voz se detenir* *Le porriez ore en son venir*,' tout en se heurtant à *se detenir* Je comprends '*. . . le mandés . . .* [*se vos commandés* = s'il vous plaît, cf. 3920 *s'il comande*] *qu'il vigne a vos*, se [= pour voir si] *detenir le porriez*. . . Cf. *mande . . . qu'il vigne a li* 2890-1, *li mande . . . qu'il vigne* 3488-91
- 2674: [*La reine ne savait pas cacher son inclination*, mais *Gilles de Cyn sages estoit*,] *Car bien tenoit le siecle et li*. L'éditeur traduit *siècle* par 'people-at-large.' Je comprends plutôt 'le code de convenances mondaines': sa sagesse consiste à manier *et* la femme *et* les convenances. Cf. God s. v. *siecle* 'expérience mondaine.'
- 2924-8: *Et la roïne ne li lait* [sc. partir] *Gille s'aure mal dehait* *Quant avec li ja demora* *Se ensi non que il dira* *La roïne bien li otroie* L'éditeur met un point après 2924, un point-virgule après 2927, et imprime 2925 *Gilles s'aure*,—mal dehait!— '*Since she so adores Gilles—curses on her!—since he will now remain with her (demora = demorra?)* . . . —mais 's'adorer quelqu'un' serait surprenant Je crois à *aure* au sens 'souhaiter' (sens, il est vrai inattesté—

- à moins qu'on ne construise un verbe **aurer* = *augurare* parallèle à l'anc. prov. *aurar*, a. esp. *agorar*), et j'imprimerais *G s'aure mal dehart* 'G se souhaite le malheur [parce qu'il est déjà resté si longtemps]'. Les deux vers 2925-6 forment une parenthèse s'intercalant entre la phrase *Et la reine ne li lait* et *Se ensi non, que il dira . .* 'et la reine ne lui permet pas de partir . . . à l'exception de ceci [de partir], la reine lui concède tout ce qu'il demandera.' Par conséquent, virgule après *lait* et les vers 2925-6 entre parenthèses
- 3949: '*Dehart*' fait il, '*li daarraims* Devant iaus toz port le destrier.' L'éditeur comprend *dehart li d.* [qui] . . . port. Je mets un double point après *li d*: 'maudit soit le dernier [qui arrive à la bataille]! [Qu'il soit puni en devant,] en présence des ennemis, mener le cheval [comme s'il était un écuyer]'
4021. *Dusquez tentes*—le manque de l'article surprend. Lire *dusqu'ez* [= en les], cf. *dusquez es vignes* 4466.
4346. *il*, se rapportant à *les gardes*, est un exemple a fr de l'épicène (cf. *un enseigne, un trompette*), cf. Spitzer, *Bibl. arch. rom.* II, 2, pass.
- 4466 *dusquez es vignes* Il me semble avoir lu quelque part *vignes* au sens de 'lieux d'aisance,' mais je n'ai pas d'évidence à fournir.
- 4631: *Jherusalem ahem* [= ahan] témoigne pour la prononciation du nom de ville en ā, cf. angl. *bedlam* (< a. fr. *Betlā* = *Bethléhém*).
- 5097: [*Com cil qui plus veut faire d'armes*] *Qu'il n'avot fait devant assez* L'éditeur commente: *qu* 'when.' Plutôt *plus . . . que*: 'comme celui qui veut faire beaucoup (*assez*) plus d'exploits d'armes qu'il n'avait fait auparavant.'
- 5225: *dont* = *donc, donques*?

Remarques sur le commentaire et le glossaire:

- 197: *effors* au cas oblique n'est pas une licence poétique, mais le post-verbal normal, tiré de l'anc. fr. *esforier* = **exfortiare*. De même *fons*, 687 etc., est le neutre lat. vulg. *fundus-oris* (au lieu de *fundus-i*), qui survit aussi dans le verbe *effondrer*.
- 299: *viane* 'face' et *viere* 'opinion' sont considérés par l'éditeur comme un seul mot, bien que le premier ne rime qu'avec *-ar* et le second ne rime qu'avec *-ie*; pour le premier mot l'étymologie *vitalia* 'vitals' s'impose (REW 9386), pour le second aucune explication tout à fait satisfaisante n'a été donnée (*videatur*, **vid-earium* etc.).
- 454: *entr'eurs* (: *vieleurs*) ne peut être = *entr'eus*, le reflet de *illos* étant dans notre texte *iaus*. Donc = *entrues* 'pendant ce temps,' avec *-r* graphique (la rime *vieleurs* doit probablement être lue *vieleus*, cf. la remarque ci-dessous au v. 877 et le type fr. *violoneux*).
- 832: [ses cuers] ne li puet d'ire: *pōur* au sens de 'être capable de se contenir,' qui dérive du sens a. fr. 'avoir de la place dans, avoir la capacité de, contenir,' cf. E. Weber, *Über den Gebrauch von devoir, laissier, pouvoir* (Berlin 1879), pp. 19-22 et A. Barth, *Festschr. L. Gauchat* (1926), p. 248 seq.
- 837: *Que li saint sonent a l'eglise. saint* 'church bells' est donné sous *saint* 'saint' Il faut évidemment comprendre *seing* (< fr. *tocsin*) 'cloche' = *signum* et le *-t* du copiste montre une fausse extraction de l'obl. plur. *sains* 'signes,' qui avait convergé à ce moment-là, après l'évolution *-z* < *-s*, avec *sainz* = *sanctos*.
838. *por affaire le Dru service*, pas = *por faire*, mais = 'pour l'affaire du service de Dieu,' cf. Tobl.-Lomm. s. v. *affaire* 'zur Umschreibung der Person' (le *Dieu service* est personnifié).

- 876: *li quens de Vale*—ne s'agit-il pas des régions allemandes (*Ost-, West-) Falen?* De même *Aubourg* = *Hohenburg, Homburg*, cf. pour la chute de *h-*: *l'ante 942 = la han(s)te*.
- 877: *Julers delés*—la remarque sur la chute de l' *r* (v. 459) peut être appliquée aussi à *vergiet* 1667, qui ne s'explique qu'à partir d'un *vergie(r)s*, à *damtier* (2947 *mengier*), forme hypercorrecte pour *daintié* = *dagnitate* (fr. mod. *daimniers*), et, enfin au fr. *estrier* (fr. mod. *étrier*) = *estrié* (< **streup*).
- 1085: je m'explique *ques que(s)* par **que ques* (= *que que* + *-s* adverbial, cf. 3718 *fors quez*, 5404 *quanquez*) avec production d'un *-s* à l'intérieur du mot par assimilation à l' *-s* final.
- 1149: *repueent* pas 'to be able again' mais 'à leur tour,' de même *rent* 1219 'donne de son côté' et *recroi* 1902 (pas 'to declare oneself vanquished'): il ne s'agit pas de 'se recroire,' mais de 'croire de son côté.'
- 1211: *conseilla*: pas 'to advise,' mais 'murmurer,' cf. *a conseil* 1452.
- 1423: *presenta* ne contient pas un 'loose use' du passé, mais le *leitmotiv* de cet épisode, cf. 1553, 1648.
- 1433: à noter la rime *repus . sus* (o : u).
- 1645: [*se je ai fait mal ne folie*] *Ne la tornez a vilonnie*. Je trouve ici un *la* acc. du pron. fém., se rapportant à *folie*, ce qui contredit la remarque de l'introduction, p. 3: "no examples of *la*." Un *là* local n'est pas probable.
- 1946: le *que* après *quand* n'est pas une simple variation en a. fr., mais indique la concomitance de deux faits (dans l'hypothèse ('si vous aviez 50 ans et que [*en même temps*] vos cheveux grisonnassent'), de même 1973, 3692, 5430).
- 2047: *a icest mot*: il faut interpréter 'en ce moment, alors,' cf. Ebeling, *Auberee*, rem. au v. 315.
- 2128: *neusme*: l' *-s* purement graphique, remplace un *-f* également amui (cf. *acon(s)te* 2635, *erst* 3039).
- 2186: *estremie*, corrigé en *escremie*, pourrait aussi être *estormie*, cf. *fermer* > *fremier*.
- 2456: *qui miez miez* ne contient pas *cur*. 'qui [monta] mieux [monta] mieux,' cf. 4051.
- 2457: *s'en vont tertrez et vax*—il n'y a ici pas de membre de phrase 'extra-grammatical,' mais l'objet intérieur régulier en a. fr., cf. aussi *lex saus menus* 2347.
- 2504: *par nul assens*—plutôt que 'agreement,' traduire 'façon, manière' (God.).
- 2804: *ars* 'shoulders' est mentionné sous *arc* = *arcus*. Il s'agit d'un mot indépendant, = lat. *armus*, FEW.
- 3005: *Gilles de Cyn fu bien porquis*. *porquerre* pas 'hasten, cause to hurry,' mais *se porquerre de* 'se pourvoir, se mettre en peine d'avoir' (God.).
- 3047: il faudrait traduire *espie*, non pas par 'spy,' mais par ' (foiegn) agent, intelligence officer'—ce qui rend superflu la proposition de l'éditeur de comprendre que l'*espie* (qui n'est pas un étranger!) parlât par interprète.
- 3082: *tyrant* est probablement synonyme avec 'géant,' cf. le sens 'bourreau au propre et au fig.' (God.).
- 3133: *Ne savoit mie tres bien l'estre*: non pas 'he did not understand . . . its [sc. of the cave] being so [without an entrance],' mais 'la nature du lieu' comme 2351 *tout son estre* 'la nature d'un homme.'
- 3136: *regnez* est peut-être du masc.

- 3388: *ociere* inf. (. *fiere* = *feriat*) me semble suspect: plutôt graphie hypercorrecte pour *ociere* (: *fiere*), cf. *mire* = *mereat* et *entur* 1789. De même *aviere*. *desiere* 2124-5 pourraient être lus avec -v.
3496. sur *esmarve* voir MLN 1943.
3565. [*Ele n'a pas fardé le vis, Mais flor de rose et flor de lis*] *N'atent noient a sa biaute* 'for her beauty she doesn't wait at all upon the rose and the lily' (i.e. she is not at all dependent upon unguents . . .)—mais les féminins ayant généralement le nom. sans -s (v. la note de l'éditeur au v. 559), *flor* . . . et *flor* sont les sujets de la phrase en oubliant la jeune fille et l'industrie américaines, nous obtenons 'rose et lys n'atteint (n'approche pas à) sa beauté.' *Atent* = 'atteint.'
- 3613: *taverne*. L'éditeur corrige *taverne*—mais les rixes entre militaires étaient-elles permises justement là où elles avaient le plus ce chance de détruire le prestige de la classe militaire? J'hésite à proposer **caïerne* = *quaterna* (cf. *cahier* de *quaternum*) dans un sens apparenté à celui de l'anc. prov. *caserna* 'groupe de quatre' (cf. a fr. *querregnon* 'carré d'hommes' = *quattrin-vo*) 'loge de quatre soldats, caserne' (d'où le fr. mod. *caserne* a été emprunté sous Louis XIV) L'isolement de la forme a fr. et l'ancienneté du transfert sémantique impliqué dans cette hypothèse surprendraient
- 3688 *Vers la roïne mout s'en irent. Lire s'enirent* avec God., qui n'a que notre passage. Cp. plus haut 2477 *s'enhaite*.
3706. *escondre*, pass. 'to hide,' mais 's'excuser,' cf. God.
- 3992 *Grant lapidé de Turs i font lapidé* 'slaughter, destruction' est probablement un 'nonce word,' qui est dérivé de la construction (4871) *Perdu i ot e gaaigné Maint cheval mort et mehangmé*, (2462) *Onqu'a terre n'ot descendu* 'il n'y eut pas de descendu (de personne qui fût descendue)' > 'il n'y eut pas de descende.' Peut-être qu'on trouvera plus d'exemples de cette formation intéressante.
- 4285: *Perdu ora partans sa tere*: *partans* pas 'by leaving,' mais = partant 'par là, ainsi' (God.). De même 5352.
- 4313: *Gilles a dit au justicier Laissez vassal vo manechief*. L'éditeur admet que le discours direct commence avec *Laissez, vassal*, . . . , mais alors on ne comprend pas pourquoi ces paroles s'adresseraient au justicier. Je ferais commencer le discours avec les mots. *Au justicier* . . . 'laissez, vassal, les menaces au justicier.' Le v. 4315 *Or lor fait les saints apporter* se rattacherait alors au justicier mentionné 4301 et 4313.
- 4854: *souaing* dans la phrase [Li dus de Louvaing] *Qui n'estoit pas plains de souaing*—je propose, avec toute réserve, *de souaing* = *de supino* (a. fr. *sovin*) et *plains* = *planus* 'abattu à plat.' (-ē de -inus en rime avec -ē de -anus?)
- 4902: *se li fait ses gages ravow*. Dans le duel judiciaire les deux partis déposent des gages pour garantir la soumission à l'ordre du duel, cf. en dernier lieu B. Schwineköper, "Der Handschuh" (1938) sur la *vadiatio*, pp. 95, seq.
- 4911-9: *Voirs es que Gautiers li Cordiers Traita la matiere premiers De mon signor Gille de Chin; Mais il n'en fist mie la fin De lui ne de tote la some, Car la gloze dit, et la some: 'Gilles de Chin fut et parfois C'ainc par parole ne par fais Ne fu onques en lui repris'* L'éditeur s'est laissé leurrer par l'idée que les deux lui du passage pourraient représenter un 'it,' à savoir le poème sur G. de Chin, ce qui l'induit à traduire le discours direct. 'Gilles de Chin was so perfect that never by word or deed was he blamed in it (. . . i.e. in the composition on Gilles de Chin . . . ; therefore no bad thing [maus] was noted by him [Gautier le Cordier])' et à admettre que l'épisode

de la jeunesse peu promettante de notre héros a été ajouté par notre poète. Tout cela est en l'air : *lui* est tout simplement un pron. masc se rapportant au héros : c'est *en lui* qu'on ne pouvait trouver faute (*aucun par parole ne par fais* 'ni dans ses paroles ni dans ses actes'). Ce que notre poète dit pour se distinguer de Gautier le Cordier, c'est que celui-ci a la priorité du traitement de la matière, mais lui, Gautier de Tournay, a ajouté *la fin* (le raffinement, la finesse littéraire) *de lui* (du héros de roman) et *de tote la some* (de toute son histoire). car la *glose* (le roman tel qu'il vient des mains de Gautier le Cordier—cette *glose* sur l'histoire (*glose* n'est donc pas vague du tout, cf. sur *glose* par rapport au 'texte' ou à la lettre biblique ZRPh LIV, 238) — s'accorde avec *la some* même, le sujet, en revendiquant pour le héros la perfection. le jongleur mêle habilement la louange de soi-même à l'appréciation de son prédécesseur : son roman n'est qu'une *glose*, mais une *glose* en harmonie avec le texte original (*la some*) de l'histoire—les deux récits, avec une fidélité égale à la vérité chantent le chevalier sans reproche que fut le protagoniste. Le trouvère s'efface devant son héros. De même, à la fin du poème, je n'interprétera pas le vers 5544 [*Por ce s'entremist du trover Qu'il voloit faire grant honnor Le cors du meilleur poigneor Qui onquez fust en terre mis,*] *Au jor qu'il fu de meilleur pris* comme se rapportant au trouvère (qui aurait écrit 'on the anniversary of his death?') : c'est le meilleur des héros à l'époque de son ἀκμή (*au jor qu'il fu de meilleur pris*) qu'il chante (son enfance peu gracieuse et la maladie de la fin sont en effet peu développés dans le poème).

Je propose une ponctuation différente de celle de l'éditeur (en tant qu'elle implique une construction meilleure de la phrase) dans les passages suivants :

virgule après 22, omettre la virgule après 23; point après 26; transporter le point-virgule de 174 à 173, de même de 199 à 200 (cf. 203), la virgule de 364 à 363; 1421 virgule après *ot* ('il y eut tant de chevaliers, mais...', [il fallait qu'y apparût Gille]); 2625 virgule au lieu du point; après 2975 un point, après 2976 virgule (*fu* au commencement d'une phrase?); mettre le vers 2645 entre parenthèses et au v 2646 des virgules avant et après les mots *poés savoir*; 3011 introduire une parenthèse après *ot* (de sorte que *tant en i ot* se continue au v. 3016 par *de mes...*); omettre les guillemets à la fin de 3231 et au commencement de 3231; 3238 virgule au lieu du point; 3243 omettre le point; 3245 un point au lieu de la virgule (cela évite un partitif au sujet: *des pèlerins*, par trop moderne); mettre entre parenthèses les mots de *tote* 3496 à *bele* 3497; 3678 biffer le point; 3814 transposer la virgule après *ot* (ainsi *lez saus menus* dépend de *errant*, cf. plus haut la remarque sur le v. 2475); 3818 virgule après *l'avot*, 3819 biffer la virgule après *Gillez*, point-virgule après *lus* (cf. pour le sens 3820 *cascuns son per...*); 3989 virgule au lieu du point-virgule; 4291 virgule après *volentiers* et *envois* (formule épique 'a non b'); 4647 mettre des virgules après *prodome* et *savés* (cf. plus haut pour le sens de l'adage; 4873 virgule au lieu du point, le v. 4874 entre parenthèses; 4959 virgule au lieu du point (*s'arme* 4690 avec pronom atone au commencement d'une phrase surprendrait); 4969 guillemets.

Les fautes d'impression dans le texte critique sont excessivement rares :

346 l. *abati*; 384 l. *tant*; 390 l. *querre*; 5255 l. *en*; p. 157 s. v. *argause* lire esp. *algaida*.

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Kurz vor Torschluß über Sibirien kam mir diese umfangreiche und nicht nur äußerlich gewichtige Sammlung von Aufsätzen, die eingehend zu besprechen schon der zur Verfügung stehende Raum verbieten würde. So sei wenigstens der Bereich ihrer Gebiete erwähnt: Janentzky schreibt über Tragik, Komik und Humor, Kayser über die *Heidebilder* der Dorothea, Koch über Rilke, Muschg über Keller und Gotthelf, Rehm über Jean Paul und Dostojewski, Unger über "Heilige Wehmut" in der Romantik. Von den Aufsätzen über Goethe (Lipps: *Farbenlehre*; May: *Wahlverwandtschaften*; Weniger: Goethe u. die Generale; Petersen: Helena u. Mephisto; Beutler: Frankfurter Faustplan) mag ein Bericht über die beiden letzten nicht unwillkommen sein, da das Buch wahrscheinlich auf absehbare Zeit den Fachgenossen unzugänglich sein wird.

Julius Petersen (der nunmehr Betrauerte) sucht zu erweisen, welche Rolle Mephisto im Helenadrama spielt und warum er durch die (scheinbare) Befriedigung Fausts seine Wette nicht gewinnt. Auf Grund einer umfanglichen Kontrastierung vom ersten Auftreten des "Bildes" der Helena und der wechselnden Pläne für "Zwischenspiel" und "Dritten Akt" und gestützt auf das Zitat über den "schönen Menschen" aus der Winckelmann-Biographie (Absatz "Schönheit") glaubt P. annehmen zu dürfen daß F. in Helena nicht Traumbesitz ergreife, sondern—wie zuvor Magier, später Heerführer—nun Dichter werde und die Vermählung klassischer Form mit nordischem Geiste vollziehe. Seine Argumente sind bestechend, besonders die am 18. Jan. 1832 von Goethe niedergeschriebenen Verse "Der Zauberer fordert . . ." (Jubiläumsausg. IV, 113), aber dennoch nicht völlig überzeugend, der Gedankengang der Untersuchung indessen viel zu verwickelt als daß er hier auch nur annähernd wiedergegeben werden könnte.

Wichtiger noch für das Faustwerk als Ganzes scheint mir der Aufsatz von Ernst Beutler über den Frankfurter Faustplan durch die Neuwertung der Gretchen-Erlösungshandlung. Er geht aus von der stärkeren Auswertung der Berichte über die Kindermörderin Susanna Margaretha Brandt, das Urbild Gretchens, das schon B's Faustaussage kurz herangezogen hatte. Nicht nur Goethes Familie sondern auch seine nächste Umgebung haben tätigen Anteil an diesem Kriminalfall genommen, von dem der Dichter alles Umständliche und Kriminelle sorgfältig entfernt zum Vorteil des Seelischen, ein Zeichen, wie sehr, nach B's Auffassung, seine eigne Seele, zumal bei der örtlichen Nähe der Enkerkerung, Verhandlung und Hinrichtung, erschüttert worden ist. Das furcht-

bare Wort "Sie ist die erste nicht" mit seiner Geringschätzung eines Menschenlebens und Weibesherzens ruft nicht nur Empörung bei ihm hervor, die in der Scene "Trüber Tag, Feld" ihre Klage zum Himmel schreit, sondern zweifelsohne zugleich eine Gegenwertung des Weibes als bildende Formerin des Mannes, ja als Mittlerin zwischen ihm und Gott. Ihre Liebe ist groß genug, nicht nur das an ihr vergangene Verbrechen zu vergeben, sondern sogar F. zu entzählen und aufwärts zu führen ("Wenn er dich ahnet, folgt er nach"). Sie bleibt trotz Irrung dem Ewigen, Ungeteilten nahe, wenn er in Verselbstung, Titanismus, Weltsucht dem abgefallenen Engel gleicht; ihrer Mutterschaft steht er als der "große Hans" gegenüber, der wieder Kind werden und unter die "Seligen Knaben" aufgenommen werden muß, ehe er sich in Liebe entselbstet.

Beutler macht sich und uns die Aufgabe nicht leicht. Seine Darstellung schlingt die Faden ihrer Beweisführung durch die Irrwege und Annäherungen der Faustinterpretationen des 19. Jahrhunderts, aber gewinnt dadurch einerseits Kontrastierung gegen zeitgebundene Meinung, andererseits Bestätigung tastender Kronzeugen. Sein Gedankengang ist etwa folgender:

Die Konzeption des F. reicht in die Straßburger Zeit hinab (*Dichtung und Wahrheit* x, Absatz 28): Titanismus, Universitätskolorit, Magie. Helena gehört zum ältesten Bestandteil, aber unklassisch, als Titanin, etwa wie sie Feustking als "Mutter der Epikurey" gegen Gottfried Arnold heraufbeschwört und wie sie der Lulth ihre Rolle in der Walpurgisnacht abtritt, die durch Gr. überwunden wird. In Frankfurt bricht das Erlebnis der Kindesmörderin in die Atmosphäre der Shakespearefeier (12. u. 14. Jan. 1772), in der G. vom Menschen sagt, daß er, "der geringste wie der höchste, der unfähigste wie der würdigste, eher alles müd wird als zu leben" und doch nie sein Ziel erreiche, denn plötzlich "fällt er in eine Grube, die ihm Gott weiß wer gegraben hat, und wird für nichts gerechnet." Die seelische Erschütterung allein gestaltet sich in Shakespearischer Stimmung (das ungeheure Wort "Sie ist die erste nicht" schwingt weiter im Urgotz und *Clavigo* bis zu H. L. Wagner), Züge aus den Dramen Sh's schießen an (Tybald-Laertes als Valentin, Lieder der irren Ophelia, Nurse als Frau Marthe). Der Teufel als Bindeglied zwischen F. und Gr treten herüber aus dem Geständnis der Brandtin. Aber zugleich gestaltet sich das Bild Helenas in Adelheid ("Und wie du gemacht wurdest, wetsteten Gott und der Teufel . . . englischen Körper . . . mit einem übermenschlichen Genius . . ." D₁G. II 251), sie scheidet vorderhand aus und läßt den Helden ohne Gegenspieler, zumal der Dichter für den Teufel selbst in seiner Religion keinen Sinn findet außer etwa den des Rationalisten, der die furchtbare Lebenskatastrophe auf eine abstrakte Formel bringt in "Trüber Tag, Feld" (zw. Jan. u. Mai 1772).

Ein neues Hindernis ist die Wandlung G's in den empfindsamen Liebhaber, der nach der Frankfurter Reuestimmung in Lotte ein Bild für seine Vergotterung findet. Kestners Aufzeichnungen über G's Religion legt die Verbindung mit der sogenannten Katechisationsscene nahe, die nicht nur ein christliches und pantheistisches Glaubensbekenntnis kontrastiert, sondern auch den Verdammungs- und Erlösungsgedanken Gr's dramatisiert. "Wir sehn uns wieder" in dem Gespräch vor der Flucht Werthers und vor seinem Tode ist nur der Wiederhall des wirklichen Erlebnisses G's, das noch in den Briefen vom 10. und 11. Sept. nachzittert und auf dem Wege durch's Lahntal (DjG. II 327). In diesem Gespräch war auch von der Mutter Lottes im Jenseits die Rede!

Hier sieht B. den Ansatz zum Erlösungsmotiv, also in der Kerkerscene (*Urf. Witk. I, 437₈₀*), denn dies Wiedersehn könne sich unmöglich auf den irdischen Richtplatz beziehen.—Es folgt nun bei B. ein ausgedehnter Exkurs über die Geliebte als Madonna, die Frau auf der Wolke oder in der Aura, den ich hier nur in Hinweisen anführen kann: Gedicht "Im holden Tal"; Heiligenkronchen in Maria Einsiedeln (D. u. W. XVIII); an Fr. v. Stein 9. Okt. 1781; Klärchen, Ottilie als Heilige, die den Geliebten nachzieht; *Marienbader Elegie*, Amazone im *Urmeister* VI, 14 Ende, VI, 1, VI, 5; *Lehrj. IV, 6 u. 7*; *Künstlers Morgenlied* und *Künstlers Apotheose*; Rede auf Anna Amalie 1807; *Symbolum* 1814; Trauerloge auf Prinzess Caroline 1816; *Wiederfinden* im *Dwan* etc.

Für die frühe Konzeption einer Gerichtsscene im Himmel spricht die Bekanntschaft des jungen G. mit Goldasts und Ayrsers Prozessen vor und gegen Christus (*Ephemerides*, DjG. II 28) und der *Quaerela Infantium* des Cornelius, in der die Misericordia für die Ungeborenen im Satansprozeß bittet. Der *Brief des Pastors*, *Werther*, *Der Ewige Jude* und die Besprechung von Lavaters *Ausichten in die Ewigkeit* (DjG. III 97), ja noch die *Novelle* zeigen G's anti-intellektualistische Lehre, die Christus den "großen Hansen" ans Herz legt, "Wenn ihr nicht werdet wie diese Kindlein," und der Liebe, die nur "in andern sein ich" findet im Gegensatz zu Lavaters "irdischen Gütern des Gedankenvorraths."—So stütze G. denn den Erlösungsvorgang in den Szenen *Vor der Kirche*, Religionsgespräch, Vision Gr's in der *Wlph.* und in der Kerkerscene, wo eine eschatologische Vision Gr's in der Bearbeitung eingeführt werde (4453-9, 4467-91, 4585). Auf die Schlussscene des Ganzen weisen *Zwinger*, (dessen Gebet wieder anklingt 12 069) und *Dom* als Stationen auf dem Leidens- und Erlösungswege der Heiligen, die unter dem Einfluß sentimentaler Sünderinnen Richardsons und der *Geistlichen Betrachtung* Kölbeles gestaltet wird, und endlich der noch vor der Schlussscene 1881 gedichtete Eingangsmonolog zum Vierten Akt des Zweiten Teiles mit der Vision Gr's als Aurawolke.

B. betont: G. ist kein faustischer Charakter; daher die Schwierig-

keit seiner Gestaltung, das Ausweichen vor der Fortführung, die nur durch Schillers und später durch Eckermanns Drängen zustande kommt und immer wieder behindert wird durch den Widerspruch der beiden Themen: Tragödie des Mädchens, die durch ihre Ausdehnung und Wucht unsere Sympathie gegen F. erregt—Drama des Titanen, dessen Streben nach Verselbstung das Maß menschlicher Ethik überschreitet, der indessen vor der Wage Gottes nur ein "Groß Hans" (*Urf.* 570) bleiben muß. Die Wette darf nicht durch positive Tat sondern durch eine ethische Entscheidung F's zu Gottes Gunsten entschieden werden, was nunmehr durch den freien Entschluß F's, ohne Magie zu handeln, eingeleitet wird. Nur so werde die Gnade Gottes für unsre menschlichen Augen vereinbar mit einer geforderten Gerechtigkeit.

B. hat mit seinem einführenden und tiefbegreifenden Nachspüren, mit feinstem Takt und umfassender Kenntnis das Rätsel der Dichtung verdeutlicht und die Verästelungen der Faustkonzeption in die Phasen Goetheschen Schaffens am Werke systematisch und historisch beleuchtet; der Fragezeichen bleiben freilich noch immer genug. Der fast hundert Seiten lange Aufsatz ist ein würdiger Abschluß des gewichtigen Buches, das er betreut hat als Herausgeber und das in seinem grünen Gewande wie die Hoffnung auf eine bessere Zukunft vor uns liegt, auf Pfeilern einer noch lebendigen Wissenschaft alten Schlages.

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The Star-Crossed Renaissance: The Quarrel about Astrology and Its Influence in England. By DON CAMERON ALLEN. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1941. Pp. ix + 280. \$3.00.

Professor Allen has given us a much needed study, which is an admirable one in all respects. He has read widely and fully, covering a large body of literature, and the result presents us with a pretty clear picture of the status of astrology in the Renaissance.

The work is not confined to Elizabethan England, but gives a careful survey of the whole quarrel about astrology, beginning with the writers of the Italian Renaissance. Mr. Allen has shown that Ficino's attack on astrology, which was apparently unfinished and unpublished, was actually incorporated into his commentary on Plotinus. Ficino, "the perfect example of the moderate astrologer," believed that the stars could affect the *corpus* but never the *animus*, and thus adhered to the doctrine of free will; God directs the world, since he created a part of himself in the world, but man still has free will since God may persuade but never force free election. Mr.

Allen finds that Pico della Mirandola's *Disputationes adversus astrologiam* originated more from religious compulsion than from a philosophic belief. Pico, the most accomplished opponent of astrology, is willing to grant the influence of the stars in general, though he denies that it is predictable or particular. Later writers in defense of astrology, however, vitiated much of Pico's argument by admitting that free will modifies planetary influence. The last Italian to be examined is Pontano, who believed that *character* was the result of the physical temper of man, which in its turn was due to the power of the stars. The key to Pontano, believes Mr. Allen, is his theory of fortune, which may (since God has no time for petty details) be the servant of God. In passing, Mr. Allen makes the following interesting and significant remark: "There is little doubt that most Renaissance men were convinced of the actuality of a power that they called fortune; in fact, one might describe the Renaissance in terms of *fama*, *fortuna*, and *humanitas*." This chapter probably makes the author's most important contribution to the subject.

Mr. Allen's examination of Continental views is notable because he clearly establishes that the proponents of astrology were not ignorant men, but often were better thinkers than their opponents. I was interested to note that Mr. Allen does not mention the *Liber novem judicium in judicium astrorum*, apparently not concurring in Dr. E. K. Knobel's statement that this work was one of the most valuable astrological books. In 1928 I had written to Dr. Knobel, only to learn that pride of possession had evidently been responsible for the remark.

When Mr. Allen arrives at astrology in England, he is on ground more familiar to most of us. The writers in the controversy are taken up in chronological order (not a very good plan for a comprehensive view) beginning with William Fulke in 1560. The quarrel is traced through Howard, Perkins, Melton, etc., down to Carleton, who wrote the last polemic before the end of James I's reign.

The literary figures have been pretty well combed over to find their references to astrology, and the discussion of this science in literature is quite unexceptionable except for the problem of Shakespeare. Though Mr. Allen explains in the Preface that dissatisfaction with previous essays on astrology in Shakespeare helped largely to interest him in the subject, it can hardly be said that he makes any notable contribution just here.

The chapter dealing with satires on the prognostication is a competent and well-written presentation, although the sum adds little to previous articles on the subject. The statement that extant almanacks by Englishmen were practically all printed in London is not borne out by the records. There were some seventeen separate authors printing their almanacks in Cambridge—some for as many as six different years,—not to mention those printing in Edinburgh and Aberdeen.

Although the publishers inform us that this work is "provided with an appendix on astrological medicine," the appendix is more modestly entitled "Some Astrological Physicians and Their Works." In effect, this part of the book is little more than a bibliography of certain works on astrological medicine (none in English), together with brief biographical accounts of some of the authors.

There are several notable observations in this study: Greene's sources for the *Planetomachia* are indicated to be Pontano's *Ægidius dialogus*, Manilius' *Astronomicon*, and Ptolemy's *De praedictionibus astronomicis*. The use of Anthony Nixon's *The Black Year* as a means of dating *Macbeth* is neatly disposed of by showing that the passage in question goes back to Smel-knave's satire of 1591. The statement that the Elizabethan man of letters and his audience had faith in the efficacy of the stars should be mentioned, although it is the consensus of previous writers on the subject.

The book is remarkably free from misprints. I noted only the following: *per se* should probably be italicised; my name contains two l's; *Every Man* should be *Every Man In*.

There are a few minor comments which I should like to make. I believe Mr. Allen's statement that sixteenth century writers make a sharp distinction between astrology and astronomy should be modified somewhat, especially in view of Sir Christopher Heydon's assertion in 1601 that "both are indifferently taken & vsed by the learned for one and the selfsame Arte." There is a great need for a brief compendium of astrology, and I think Mr. Allen missed an opportunity to be of service to medieval and Renaissance scholars by providing one in an appendix. Finally, I should like to enter a complaint about Mr. Allen's attempt to vary his vocabulary. Even though scholarly books are read only by scholars, I believe that our vocabulary should be limited at least to those words which appear in *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*; such words ~~as~~ *callidty*, *premonstration*, *elocation*, and *lamnaphobia*, even though their meanings may be fairly obvious, should be eschewed.

Professor Allen has brought a wide learning to his study. His intelligent presentation, combined with a careful industry, has provided us with a very important and readable book.

CARROLL CAMDEN

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Shakespeare and Other Masters. By ELMER EDGAR STOLL. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. xv + 430. \$4.50.

Although eleven of the thirteen essays or studies included in Professor Stoll's *Shakespeare and Other Masters* are reprinted,

with additions and revisions, from various periodicals, they are given relationship and a unity by the fact that all illustrate Professor Stoll's thesis: that Shakespeare's art (indeed, all art) is "imaginative and emotional rather than logical or psychological, immediate rather than inferential, and . . . has to do not so much with the inner nature or mechanism of the character as with the situation or the structure of the play as a whole" (The Dramatic Texture in Shakespeare, p. 25); that "Shakespeare's plays are not 'studies' either in psychology . . . or in Elizabethan 'humors'" (*Ibid.*, p. 37); that "Shakespeare does not so much undertake to motive [the] conduct [of his characters]—that is, explain or justify it by way of circumstances, heredity, or environment—as . . . to make us accept it as imposed upon them, or . . . to redeem them in our eyes" (Shakespeare and Jonson, p. 93); that in all tragedies "character is, as Aristotle would have it, subordinate" ('Reconciliation' in Tragedy, p. 71).

Yet Professor Stoll recognizes the individuality of Shakespeare's men and women—an individuality secured, he maintains, by "consonance of traits, not consistency of motives, by poetry, not analysis or inner disclosure, by word and figure, by accent and rhythm" (Othello the Man, p. 211).

Mr. Stoll calls his book "a criticism of criticism," and as such it is important and well worth careful study. His point of view is, on the whole, the point of view of common sense. But to this reviewer it seems that Mr. Stoll allows his enthusiasm—or his desire to extirpate the views of certain previous critics—to push him into extreme and untenable positions—even into views which seem opposed to his principal thesis. Many who will agree that "upon psychology in any scientific sense no dramatist relies" (p. 85), will feel that Mr. Stoll too often refuses to recognize what Mr. O'Neill called "an *intuitive* psychological insight into human beings and their life impulsions" (quoted, p. 85). One can readily admit that the argument—the situations and the action—was Shakespeare's first consideration without going so far as to say that Shakespeare did not seek to motivate the conduct of his characters. Mr. Stoll writes of the various figures as men—human beings—and believes that Shakespeare has given to each his individual rhythm—always the same. If, therefore, Shakespeare has so well created and understood the characters of his heroes as to make them speak always like themselves and like no one else, could he have failed to seek to make his heroes act like themselves? Had he failed to do so he would have written plays more like Fletcher's *Valentinian*, where the story follows history but where lack of motivation makes the fifth act seem almost another play. That Shakespeare when dramatizing history did seek motivation and did recognize the importance of character is clearly shown by the additions which he makes in *Coriolanus*, such additions as III, ii,

which reveals how much stronger is Volumnia's will than that of her son and so prepares for his later surrender to her, or the narrated episode of young Martius and the butterfly (i, iii, 60 ff). Clearly in *Coriolanus* Shakespeare does seek to explain the hero's actions by circumstances, heredity, environment, and character. Character is not subordinate to action; the two are balanced—of equal importance. The "scene of Polonius' sending Reynaldo to spy upon Laertes," Mr. Stoll thinks, "comes or leads to nothing" (p. 18)—but surely the characteristic first revealed there leads straight to his death. As Mr. Stoll sometimes, I feel, refuses to recognize motivation, it is the more surprising to find him apparently at another time turning his back upon his principal thesis. After time and again insisting that "the psychologically insufficient motivation is not to be eked out by the ingenuity of the reader" (p. 22) and that Shakespeare's art is "immediate rather than inferential" (p. 25), Mr. Stoll offers the astonishing explanation—and inference—that "the slurs [which Hamlet casts] upon his mother at the play are to throw dust in the eyes of Claudius and the Court"! If so, it must be to cast dust in the eyes of the corpse of Polonius that he repeats the charges against his mother in the closet scene.

Professor Stoll's style is sometimes difficult—so difficult that one is tempted to make of it the comment he makes regarding the style of modern "artists": "syntax and the very sentence structure are trampled upon; and arbitrary and impossible combinations are made of thoughts . . . or rather fragments of thoughts . . ." (cf. pp. 19-20, 42, etc.). But he is capable of writing with force and with wit.

BALDWIN MAXWELL

University of Iowa

The Redentin Easter Play. Translated from the Low German of the Fifteenth Century with Introduction and Notes by A. E. ZUCKER. Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. 134. \$2.00.

The translator of this Easter Play, written in Low German in 1464, has not only made accessible to English readers the best mediæval drama of its kind, but has made it by his felicitous rendering delightful reading. He has preserved, as far as that is possible today, quite a bit of its raciness, particularly in Part Two, the Epilogue in Hell.

In the Introduction Prof. Zucker gives us an excellent description of the sources and development of Easter Plays in general, which is followed by a brief but interesting discussion of the characters in the Redentin Play. Of especial value is the chapter on the Staging of the Play, which reveals the hand of the specialist in this

field (cf. the same author's article in *Germanic Review* xii [1936], 1-13). Following the translation we find on pages 115-130 rather copious, explanatory notes as well as some textual. Pages 131-134 contain an exhaustive Bibliography of the Redentin Play as well as a more general one of the mediæval stage and religious drama.

In the following comments I wish merely to correct a few minor errors and to suggest some changes in the translation:

P. 23, note 23 translate *toll præciperet* by 'ordered to be taken down' (cf. p. 28 'Remove, O princes, your gates'); *larga* means rather 'many, copious' than 'widespread.' Text line 17, *alle(n)t* goes with *dat* i. e. 'That all of this may happen to you'; line 24 'by' instead of 'from'; line 83 *Ms dre = dure(mède)* 'high reward'; line 169 *klynghe* should be translated ('blade') in view of *Howeschilt* ('Strike-the-Shield,' line 154); 298 *balde* (= *bolde*) means here not 'soon' but 'boldly, eagerly, at once'; 404 'That could come from no mere man'; 429 'I lost it (the soul) completely'; 434 *To jodute* (cf. 550, 1690) the translation 'Good God' addressed to Satan is humorous; 488 read 'The Lord has' for 'They have'; 566 'That we are to be caused such grief'; 618 (note; cf. also 1737 and note) the translation of *olvend, olpender* as 'elephant' in spite of some 'medieval confusion' of elephant and camel is hardly correct. Here the 'camel's hair' of John the Baptist is meant and in line 1737 calling the priest a camel is quite in keeping with his 'swilling your beer down like water' From Gothic through OHG and MHG the word always has the meaning of 'camel'; 626 'already' (= *al*) instead of 'altogether'; 644 'greater' instead of 'great', 652 read 'That you do not make peace for yourself'; 710 'He did not' for 'He will not'; 731 'keep' instead of 'await'; 732 'He himself' instead of 'I myself'; 748 'In front of which you see a sharp sword hanging'; 751 'fetch' instead of 'greet'; 767 'our burghers' maids'; 780 insert after 'know' to bring out the sense, 'whether it is true'; 825 'You deserve to be burned alive'; 895 'Be assured, I'll bring them the order'; 952 read 'you' for 'I'; 977 insert 'then' (= *smt*) after 'And'; 1044 'What I bid you, do not fail to observe'; 1066 'altogether' instead of 'all at once'; 1069 'all alike' instead of 'at one fell swoop'; 1127 rather a dealer in 'corned-beef' than 'in tripe'; 1129 the L. G. *vüller* with the long *ü* means 'sluggard, idler,' which is the meaning here; *vüller* means 'fuller'; 1133 *kropelroster* is a 'doughnut baker'; 1147-48 should read: ('be wise') 'Then you can keep your good standing with Lucifer'; 1149 'So then let us set out'; 1374 'my servants, be quick'; 1397-1401 put semi-colon after 'fire,' comma after 'leather' and period or colon after 'shoes'; 1426 'capable' instead of 'faithful'; 1443 'open right up' instead of 'rip straight off'; 1602 'I almost died of remorse'; 1644 'You took his property and struck him (= *ene*) dead'; 1659 for 'gotten' read 'bitten'; 1671 I am inclined to accept the emendation of Ettmüller (cf. Schröder) of inserting a *nicht* before *lank* (i. e. 'you'll not have a dull time') because it apparently makes better sense and besides the metre really requires another syllable; 1759 'weep for joy'; 1846 it is Walther who suggested the reading *vist* for *bist*

There are a number of other passages in which the reviewer disagrees with the translator, some of which are difficult and obscure, others where the rendering is too general. I should certainly advocate the use of 'thou' for *du* in a biblical play. To the general Bibliography might be added: Karl Strecker, *Einführung in das Mittellatein*, Berlin 1929, particularly p. 45 f. and M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, III, 1041 ff.

There are surprisingly few misprints and omissions. I have noticed only the following: p. 13, line 15 from bottom write *gemeiner*; p. 25, line 12 from bottom, *hast*; p. 60, line 12 from bottom, *portae*; p. 133, line 16 from top write 1932 instead of 1924; p. 85, line three from top add 'answers' after Satan; p. 86, line 1, Lucifer 'answers.'

EDWARD H. SEHRT

George Washington University

The State in Shakespeare's Greek and Roman Plays. By JAMES EMERSON PHILLIPS, JR. Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, no. 149. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. ix + 230. \$2.75.

Only too often those scholars who have concerned themselves with the problems of political theory in Elizabethan drama have been indifferent or naive about the purely dramatic elements involved in their investigations. They have only too frequently failed to see that the ideological content of a play may be influenced by artistic considerations, and that a scene may be of more importance than a political exposition. It is promising therefore when Mr. Phillips announces at the beginning of his study that his own approach to the problem of the state

must not be mistaken for an attempt to explain what Shakespeare the man thought about this particular theory. Nor should the state-theory be analyzed as principally a Shakespearean commentary on actual political events of his own day or ours. Its dramatic function and not its ideological value to Shakespeare will be the subject of the present investigation.

Mr. Phillips devotes his first six chapters to an analysis of the basic conceptions of the nature and structure of political society most generally held by Shakespeare's contemporaries. This political exposition is on the whole excellent. In particular one welcomes his well-documented proof that the Elizabethans generally accepted an anti-primitivistic interpretation of the origin of society and believed that a bestial anarchism would follow the collapse of organized government. It is clearly impossible in view of this study to agree with Professor Chambers as to the unusual profundity of the dramatist's thought. Indeed, one of Mr. Phillips' chief conclusions is to reinforce the conviction that Shakespeare's political ideas were those "accepted by the majority of his contemporaries."

The author's application of these ideas to the dramatic problems of the Greek and Roman plays is not, however, as satisfactory. Despite his earlier emphasis on dramatic function, he falls into the common error of making the political doctrine take precedence over dramatic value and can speak of Shakespeare in the Roman plays

as examining "history for evidence on political concepts." In short, the political cart must come before the dramatic horse. He finds then (as so committed, he must) that the dramatist has cut his plays to a polemical pattern. Of *Julius Caesar*, for example, he writes: "In extending the drama three acts beyond the assassination of Caesar, Shakespeare infuses the tragedy of the dictator's fall with additional meaning and significance." He concludes that the unifying theme of these three acts is the necessity of monarchy. But what kind of meaning and significance is added to the play? Certainly a purely intellectual concept, even if we accept its presence, can hardly explain away the structural weakness of the play; and a political theme can not unify that which will not fuse on the stage. Nor is the actual existence of this unifying theme too apparent. Why, one wonders, should this thesis, if it is so important to the play, be so faintly sketched in? Why is there no more explicit commentary? Why does Caesar's ghost, if it be "the concept of unitary sovereignty," talk merely in the tone of a revenge tragedy? Should it not have been used to point the moral? There is no need to deny that Shakespeare was a monarchist or that he felt strongly that anarchy would follow a divided rule. To accept such an interpretation, however, is not to admit that it was in any sense a controlling factor in the composition of the plays. Indeed, the more widely accepted a complex of ideas is at any period, the more likely it is to be used casually and episodically, and the less likely to be functionally explicit.

The present study would seem to have then both the strength and the weakness of its kind. In analysing political theory, Mr. Phillips is excellent; but in applying his knowledge, he overestimates its independent importance. Studies of this sort need to be supported by an investigation of the contemporary *dramatic* use of theory, which is frequently not that of the political philosophers. Elizabethan dramatists were perhaps more influenced by what had been traditionally conventional (e. g., the Senecan tyrant) or dramatically effective (e. g., the "Machiavellian" treatment of the *raison d'état*) than by what was actually orthodox politically. We should have an examination of how political concepts were modified and conventionalized on the stage before we seek to weigh the non-aesthetic significance of political theory in the Elizabethan drama.

LOUIS TEETER

The Johns Hopkins University

The English Notebooks. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. Based upon the original manuscripts in Pierpont Morgan Library, and edited by RANDALL STEWART. New York: Modern Language Association, 1941. Pp. xlv + 667. \$6.00. (MLA, General Series, xiii.)

It is now nine years since Professor Stewart in his edition of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *American Notebooks* corrected and enlarged the conventional portrait of the novelist bequeathed to us by his protective wife. Sophia Hawthorne bowdlerized this intimate record of her husband's intellectual life; Professor Stewart gave us for the first time Hawthorne's vascular language, his blunt comments upon his contemporaries, and his robust observations on everyday affairs. In addition, Professor Stewart, in his penetrative critical chapters, discussed the character types and the recurrent themes discernible both in the *American Notebooks* and in the related tales and novels. It is not too much to say that this volume initiated a new era in the study of Hawthorne, an era to be continued, it is hoped, by the editions of other notebooks and of letters, and, finally, by a definitive biography.

Since it is difficult to shock readers twice concerning the same subject, it is not surprising that Professor Stewart's complementary study, in the present re-editing of the *English Notebooks*, of Mrs. Hawthorne's gentle but mutilating hand should not startle us as much as in the preceding revelation. Yet the first section of the Introduction ("Mrs. Hawthorne's Revisions") is hardly less important than the previous analysis with the same title. Probably we learn little more in principle about Sophia Hawthorne's well-intentioned but devastating pen, but we understand now more surely that Hawthorne's vigorous style in the *American Notebooks* was neither an accident nor a product of his youth; evidently such was his natural and virile way of thinking and talking to himself. Similarly, the Introduction of this volume, containing, besides the study of the revisions, a second chapter, "Hawthorne in England," can hardly compare as enduring criticism with the chapters in the *American Notebooks* on Hawthorne's creative art. This new volume is, indeed, less a source-book of tales and novels than a descriptive and narrative work in itself; it supplies not inadequately the lacuna in Hawthorne's literary career between *The Blithedale Romance* (1852) and *The Marble Faun* (1860). On the whole then, this edition of the *English Notebooks* and its Introduction lack inevitably the illumination, in text and introduction, of Hawthorne's artistic nature which was the distinction of the first volume.

This does not matter; other ends are served. For the great value of this edition of the *English Notebooks* will reside, apart from Professor Stewart's submission of further evidence concerning Mrs. Hawthorne's amiable vandalism and apart from this capable essay

on Hawthorne in England, in two factors. First, the long and skillfully edited story offers the precious definitive text of what Hawthorne wrote in these middle years of his life. Second, it shows his acute, sensitive mind sharing the age-old experience of our men of letters, and of millions of Americans besides: the struggle of spirit precipitated by love of and revulsion from ancient, majestic, arrogant Britain; the ambivalence extends to English scenery, English culture, and English life itself. Some of Hawthorne's observations on the English character sound modern enough; they encourage reflection concerning England today! Indeed, the downright, sardonic strain in the man tints his merciless portraiture of all these islanders, high or low. One understands Mrs. Hawthorne's apprehensions; he never suffered fools gladly. These thumbnail sketches (for example, those on Mr. Bradford; Harriet Martineau; Monckton Milnes) may, I think, prove as memorable in their way as the more abstract thought in, say, Emerson's *English Traits*. To this other analysis of England it will be eventually, I believe, through its prolonged and detailed panorama of "Our Old Home," a companion volume on our shelves.

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS

Yale University

Savage Landor. By MALCOLM ELWIN. New York: Macmillan Company, 1941. Pp. xxi + 498. \$4.00.

Scholars have long awaited the definitive biography of Landor. This is not it. Written apparently to sell in two markets, it will please the popular better than the scholarly, for which it is too inaccurate. Its chief weakness is that it is undocumented; there are neither footnotes nor notes of any sort. Presumably Mr. Elwin has good authority for saddling Mrs. Landor with a lover and her daughter with an illegitimate child, but except for some letters which imply the lover he has not divulged it. Landor's illegitimate daughter comes better documented, thanks to the researches of Robert H. Super.

The work contains inaccurate statements, some relatively unimportant, some important because from them Mr. Elwin derives unwarranted conclusions. He tells us (pp. 254-5) that the 1831 *Poems* attracted "singularly little attention." This, he adds, so disheartened Landor that he abandoned hope of being recognized as a poet. But the *Poems* were reviewed nine times, as often as *Simonidea* (which, says Elwin, also received "scant attention"), and more often than any other volume of Landor's poetry except *Last Fruit*, published when Landor had become the Grand Old Man of letters. Southey's review of *Gebir*, says Elwin, was "in terms

of the highest praise." Some of these terms are "ill chosen" story and "language deficient in perspicuity." *Ines de Castro* is called a comedy and is assumed to be the rewritten *Charitable Dowager*. "The Mother" is quoted with the implication that Landor intended it to characterize his wife, whereas the poem figured in the 1858 libel suit and characterized Mrs. Hooper. The following assertions are debatable: Landor didn't read reviews, after the break with Wordsworth, Landor and Robinson remained cordial; only De Quincey realized the true limitations of Landor's art; Landor was a potential novelist.

Mr. Elwin does not draw a clear line between fact and fancy. He makes statements for which he cannot have good authority. When he analyzes his characters' states of mind he is using a novelist's technique, not a biographer's. Some conversations, although in the form of indirect discourse, are as imaginary as Landor's. "She [Lanthe] told him to be glad they enjoyed such love as she could give him, and not to regret what might have been" (p. 86). "Landor's pride would not allow him to explain what he really wanted of Southey" (p. 113). "But she [Mrs. Landor] rejoined him with too much inclination to a martyr's resignation" (p. 279). On the other hand, Mr. Elwin has shown restraint in not playing up the sensational aspects of a subject which has numerous opportunities for sensation. *Savage Landor* is well written, readable, and, because of a considerable amount of new material, important to scholars. But the definitive biography of Landor is still to be written.

KARL G. PFEIFFER

State College of Washington

The Language of Charles Sealsfield, A Study in Atypical Usage,
by OTTO HELLER assisted by Theodore H. Leon. Washington
University Studies, No. 11, 1941. 154 pages.

This latest and last publication of Otto Heller, whose recent obituaries in the various journals and magazines gave ample evidence of the prominent role he played in the field of German and General European Literature, marks—ironically—the fulfillment of "personal commitments" to the Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation and to the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation for their "substantial subsidies." It is the fifth study on Charles Sealsfield which has been produced since 1934 either by Otto Heller himself or by former graduate students working under his guidance.

In the introduction Otto Heller briefly and critically discusses recent works on Sealsfield, and gives due credit to Albert B. Faust's

pioneer writings dealing with the Great Unknown, whose uncompromising, democratic, impassioned pleadings against tyrants and usurpers in many passages of his novels, along with his all-pervading spirit of Americanism, are well known to every reader of his works.

Sealsfield's place in literature depends greatly on the evaluation of his style, upon the explanation of the irregularities and mannerisms of his diction—an unmatched case in literary history. Since the doctrinal tendencies of Sealsfield's peculiarities in their literary and political relations are not in the scope of this study a somewhat philological approach was chosen, which by a "comparatively mechanical method" notes all original and in any way exceptional phenomena of Sealsfield's prose under three main headings: 1) Inherent Characteristics of Sealsfield's Diction; 2) Sealsfield's Linguistic Background as Reflected in his Prose; 3) Imitative German. As the result of this study the author feels confirmed in his assumption that "two heterogeneous strains are blended in the production of Charles Sealsfield's extremely peculiar diction: the push of an adventurous artistic purpose and the pull of ingrained speech habits, good, indifferent, and sometimes bad." The reproduction of the *genus loci* by means of an artificial language is felt to be justifiable, but many barbarisms not ascribable to any artistic purpose exceed the limits of poetic license.

The study of the language of a writer can easily become monotonous; Heller, however, has avoided the danger by a vivid choice and careful limitation of the examples. The material assembled and assorted here will prove useful to future scholars of Sealsfield. It is of a sound and highly critical nature, and the author is in no way carried away by enthusiasm for his subject.

Heller's intellectual insight, his scholarly earnestness, his familiarity with Sealsfield—all this, paired with a sparkling and effective style, has with the assistance of Theodore H. Leon achieved his aim "to clarify in some respects the problematic aspects of Sealsfield's language," at the same time throwing light upon the merits and demerits of his linguistic anomalies. To the central and much debated question concerning the quality of Sealsfield's diction when uninfluenced by artifice no definite answer is offered. It apparently must be left to the reader of his works to evaluate the Great Unknown's style and diction according to his own standards of speech, according to personal reactions prompted by the spirit found in Sealsfield's writings.

University of Maryland

A. J. PRAHL

La Fortune du Tasse en France. Par CHANDLER B. BEALL. Eugene, Ore.: University of Oregon and Modern Language Association of America [1942]. Pp. xi + 308.

A study of how the works of Tasso came to France, their influence, the varying degree of their appreciation either through reading them in Tasso's mother tongue or in translation, and the story of the vogue the Italian poet enjoyed either on account of literary fashions, or a romantic idealization of Tasso, the man. In short, a literary history as well as a history of taste, ably done, by one who knows and understands the French background. Of course such a study could not have been undertaken without such works as Marsan's, Reynier's, Magendie's, Lancaster's, etc., etc. But here Beall should be congratulated, for he was not satisfied with previous findings or conclusions without a personal investigation of his own (cf. pp. 11, 22, 36, 99). It is this personal effort, to cite but a few examples, that led him to discover Voltaire's Tassian sources in *La Pucelle*, to write his illuminating chapter "A la barbe de Boileau," and to revise Bray's conclusion to the effect that a few verses by Despréaux put an end to Italianism in France or to the popularity of Tasso, an idea which had been expressed by Sainte-Beuve: "A partir de la seconde moitié du dix-septième siècle, le Tasse lui-même s'éclipse pour nous."

My criticism of such a study is that it covers too long a period (16th-20th century) and, as a result, gives an idea of duration and spread rather than depth. Beall is aware of it himself when he concludes: "La vogue du Tasse en France a été grande et de longue durée" (p. 275). A book such as Hazard's *La Révolution française et les lettres italiennes (1789-1815)*, one of the very few Franco-Italian studies Beall has overlooked, gives a more definite idea of penetration, and of the complicated factors at play when it comes to vogues and exchanges of ideas. It is doubtful that the mention of Tasso by the antagonists in the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* means much. Take, for instance, in the last phase of the quarrel, Terrasson's *Dissertation sur l'Iliade*. Proportionately, there is very little interest in Tasso in it, and, unless Terrasson's basic argument is presented, we get a distorted picture. Aren't these antagonists really suffering from a severe case of echolalia? And what of Voltaire who with one hand takes his clay from the *Jerusalem Delivered* to mould it to his own liking, and with the other picks up the filthiest mud to chuck it at the Crusades and their by-products? Is his praise of Tasso real, or is he rendering lip service to the Italian poet because he dislikes the legislator of the Parnasse? The compartments within the compartments can be multiplied. The fact is that Tasso created nothing that could get into the French blood stream the way Goethe did.

On the qualitative side also Beall's statements are, per force,

too general. I am thinking now particularly of the numerous translations of Tasso. A critical appreciation of some of the best of these might have given us some idea of the translators' knowledge of Italian, of the different methods of translating at different epochs, and of the art of the translator. These thankless workers infuse in the *Jerusalem Delivered* their own artistry. Chateaubriand, who does not know Italian any too well, appreciates Tasso's art through Lebrun's artistic processes. But of course Tasso's vogue does not lose anything by all this. Beall was interested in the broader aspect of the problem. He did his job exceptionally well, with diligence and accuracy.

EMILE MALAKIS

The American Revolution in Creative French Literature (1775-1937). By GILBERT MALCOLM FESS. *Columbia, Mo.*: University of Missouri, 1941. Pp. 119. (The University of Missouri Studies, XVI, no. 2.)

Mr. Fess has examined over a hundred plays, poems, and novels dealing with the American Revolution, an event that cannot have affected French creative writers extensively if we compare this showing with the enormous number of works on other subjects produced in France since 1775. F. finds that our Revolution played a larger part in drama than elsewhere, especially in the drama of 1776-89. A few important names occur—Chateaubriand, Dumas père, Scribe, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam,—but most of the authors are of little consequence. Their ignorance of America is amusing, as F. indicates (pp. 102-3). Yorktown is an ancient city on the Ohio that counts palm trees among its flora, tigers and condors among its fauna. Connecticut is a village near Boston, capital of America, four miles from the Delaware, etc. Nor is the literary value of most of the productions much greater than their authors' knowledge. They may, however, have had some moral and political influence, as F. suggests, and are interesting as illustrating the extraordinary notions one country may entertain in regard to another, a timely fact, one that Nazis and Japs are learning to their cost. F. has woven into an informative work material that was not easy to find or to digest. I have only a few suggestions to offer in regard to it:

P. 7, "M. Bernard Fay attributes the coining of the term 'insurgents' to the *Gazette de France*"; it is strange that so expert a collaborationist with foreigners as Fay should fail to recognize the word as borrowed from English; the Oxford Dictionary gives an example of it from 1765. P. 89, why quote the *Bibliothèque dramatique de Solesmes* as a "hand-written catalog" to be found at the Arsenal and the Bibliothèque Nationale, though it was published nearly a century ago and is easily accessible in this country? This *Bibliothèque*, by the way, lists an edition of *Le fou raisonnable* that appeared in 1781 (no. 2246; F., p. 74, gives 1782). Pp. 90-1,

the account of "neo-classicism" strikes me as hopelessly Anglo-Saxon; *oog*, *ône*, and *mouchour*, for instance, are cited as forbidden words, though they are found in familiar "neo-classical" writings; I would recommend to F. Peyre's *Classicisme français*. P. 96, symbolism is said to draw its principles from the philosophy of Bergson and to be exemplified by Villiers de l'Isle-Adam's *Nouveau Monde*, which appeared in 1883; this is putting the gas-tank before the headlights P. 104, "Dans une nation qui veut être libre et grande"; unless *nation* is improperly counted as a word of two syllables, the line is too long. Pp. 61, 64, 69, 87, 90, read, respectively, *évitez, leurs, forewarned, préjugé, père*. P. 4, F. has been kind enough to add my name to the list of those he thanks, though I do not remember what service I rendered him. In return I pardon his giving my first initial as S.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Briefe an August Hermann Francke, ed. TH. GEISZENDOERFER,
Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit. xxv, 1-2, 1939.

Professor R. Aron of Spandau collected in the store rooms of bookdealers among other valuable items a considerable number of letters addressed to Francke, which are now the possession of the University of Illinois. While the collector seems more interesting than most of the writers, Geiszenoerfer has devoted great love and care to his edition, which also includes a number of items from German libraries. The completeness of letters from Francke's mother makes the edition especially interesting to those who would like to know about early Pietism, since Francke's mother cannot very well have been what is generally called a "Pietist." Francke's niece, daughter-in-law, and others give different samples of epistolary style, while his son refreshingly mixes religious and business matters. Next follow sixty items by one J. M. Hempel, who made his professional way as teacher under the benevolent guidance and indulgent protection of the great master. At first he writes Latin, using a Plautinian vocabulary to impress the influential man, but revealing to us a strange stage in the history of Neo-Humanism: this man whose style is mediocre, sometimes faulty, became inspector of Latin studies in the Halle schools. The glimpses of school life in this center of higher and also pious education are the high points of the collection. The remainder of the letters are by different people and of lesser interest except for a diary by one Mickwitz who reports a conversation with Peter the Great in which, whether from respect or humor, the czar's German, Dutch, and Russian is apparently given in diplomatic truthfulness. The notes which, with the help of other scholars, the editor supplied inform us about names and persons. Erroneous is note 21, p. 103, which could go under letter 8, p. 102. The note on Witzemann, p. 64, might be deleted and replaced by a reference to p. 46, n. 120. Some Latin errors are such of transcription, others belong to the

writer. The following corrections might be noted: p. 92, 4, read *tardissimi*, *ibid.*, *faceo* unintelligible; 96, 2, read *ucundissimis*; 96, 4, *scripseram*; 113, 5 *hodiernus*; 125, 11, *cognoscetis*.

Geisendoerfer's introduction calls attention to general problems, with especial stress on religious history. One significant point might have been mentioned in this connection: while Francke's old mother has the age-old belief in God's guidance, speaking about it as millions of others felt and many wrote, Francke's son, by his very vocabulary, shows that Pietism has started—religious "experience" has become itself dogmatized and verbalized. Francke's own writings show nothing of that. On the whole, we are inclined to think, these letters disprove rather than support the theory that Pietism had a great influence on German life and letters, though the editor quotes Troeltsch to the contrary.

HEINRICH MEYER

Rice Institute

The Reputation of Jonathan Swift, 1781-1882. By DONALD M. BERWICK. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: [no publisher], 1941. Pp. vi + 170.

Dr. Berwick's monograph—a recasting of a Princeton doctoral dissertation—is a thorough piece of work, which will prove of very real interest to all students of Swift. There is little here that is new, nor does the author suggest that there is, for the history of Swift's reputation—at least in broad outline—is pretty generally known. But no other account thus far printed gives us this history in such ample detail.¹ The standard lives of Swift and the notable commentaries, biographical and critical, are duly mentioned, of course; but the most interesting material—and herein lies the chief merit of Dr. Berwick's study—is that drawn from a host of minor writers and from the periodicals of the years under consideration.

At no time has Swift the writer ever been utterly repudiated—even Thackeray, who called into play all his magnificent powers in an effort to blast once and for all the character of the man, was forced to acknowledge the genius of the Dean. But the satanic myth, to which Thackeray was giving expression, was already beginning to yield before the scholarship of the later Victorians; and with a saner and more objective estimate of the man there came a much clearer evaluation of Swift's literary artistry than had, save in rare instances, previously obtained. These trends were ultimately

¹ For a recent short study of the reputation of *Gulliver's Travels*, book iv, cf Merrel D. Clubb, "The Criticism of Gulliver's 'Voyage To The Houyhnhnms,' 1726-1914," *Stanford Studies In Language And Literature* (1941), 203-232.

reflected in Henry Craik's *Life* (1882), which Dr. Berwick regards as still, in many respects, the finest of all the studies of Swift.

Even before he was dead, Swift had begun to attract irresponsible theorists, and they are still at their labors. We have been assured that Swift and Stella were secret man and wife; that they were half-brother and -sister, and now—the latest revelation, in a recent number of the *Dublin Historical Record*—that Swift was Stella's uncle! Although Dr. Berwick's study, concerned as much with critical estimates of Swift's writings as with the conclusions of the biographers, touches only incidentally upon the Swift-Stella saga—for which we may be thankful—it deals sufficiently with this and similar fantasies to make the moral clear enough to all future writers on Swift who care to distinguish between sheer intuition and ascertainable fact.

RICARDO QUINTANA

The University of Wisconsin

The Bases of Artistic Creation. By MAXWELL ANDERSON, RHYNS CARPENTER, ROY HARRIS. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1942. Pp. 70.

It is always interesting to hear what creative artists themselves have to say about their work and this volume presents two eminent professional artists discussing the bases of artistry. Mr. Anderson gives one the general rules, as he has discovered them in practice, for writing a successful play, successful in the sense of exciting the lasting admiration of audiences. "The purpose of the theatre," he maintains (p. 11) "is to find, and hold up to our regard, what is admirable in the human race." In order to achieve that end, the playwright must (1) tell a story which concerns what happens "within the mind or heart of a man or woman," in contrast to external events, (2) must present a conflict, (3) good must triumph, (4) the protagonist must not be perfect, but must be (5) an exceptional person, (6) moral, rather than, for instance, economic, betterment must be the theme, (7) "the moral atmosphere" of a play must be healthy, (8) the traits for which the human race has a special liking must characterize the main persons of the drama.

Mr. Harris attempts to explain why composers compose, not how they may succeed as composers. He bases his theory on what he believes to be the evolution of musical technique, the emotional effect of sounds growing more and more complicated as history proceeds. The growing complexity of man's use of sound, he believes (p. 21) accompanies a growing complexity in human nature.

Mr. Rhys Carpenter, who is an archeologist, maintains that the history of art shows a series of periods during which painters have

striven for more and more accurate delineation of the external world through a technique of representation peculiar to the period. He sees us now at the end of what he calls "the Great Tradition" and looks forward to the absorption of modern experimental styles into a single style which, like that of the Renaissance, will eventuate in greater realism.

All of these theories are dubious, like most theories which talk about "the artist," "the public," "modern times," "the human race," and as far as your reviewer goes, they are mainly of autobiographical interest.

GEORGE BOAS

The Johns Hopkins University

BRIEF MENTION

Goethe's Poems. Edited with an Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by CARENCE WILLIS EASTMAN. New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1941. xxviii & 231 pp. \$1.60. *Goethe's Poems.* Selected by JAMES BOYD. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1942. (Blackwell's German Texts) xi & 212 pp. 7/6 d. These two Goethe collections, edited apparently for different needs, are valuable additions to our textbook libraries. Under somewhat arbitrary chapter headings (according to chronology, geography, context, generation, form, and content) Mr. Eastman offers 118 poems and 4½ pages of *Sprüche* plus the traditional apparatus and a double index (the latter also in Boyd). The lighter poems (*Lieder*) are prevailing, some for biographical reasons, but such longer and more difficult selections as the *Marienbader Elegie*, *Dauer im Wechsel*, *Eins und Alles*, *Vermächtnis* are included and a slight enlargement (one or two Roman Elegies, *Herbstgefühl*, *Urworte*, *Der Bräutigam*, *Bräut von Korinth*, *Gott und die Bajadere*, *Werb des Paria*) would have made the book usable also for graduate classes. Could we not dispense with vocabularies in such advanced reading! The notes (hard to use on account of missing page reference) give help for translation and other valuable information but almost no hints for esthetic analysis. Metrical description is either missing or misleading (see the peculiar conception of *Knittelvers* on p. xviii or the complete bewilderment in regard to the form of the *Meister* lyrics!) Mr. Boyd, promising a companion volume of notes, presents us with 130 poems in chronological order with dates added, a collection in which only the Dornburg poems and *Der Bräutigam* are strangely missing but which otherwise should be sufficient for graduate classes. In the two books 66 poems only are identical. The English edition in accordance with emergency measures cannot compare in

outer attractiveness with the unusual piece of bookmaking, for which Crofts & Co., must be congratulated.

E. F.

The Meaning of Goethe's "Faust." By R. D. MILLER. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd. [n. d.] vi + 146 pp. Unorthodox approaches to a problem have often lead to surprising results. With this hope in mind the author entirely disregards genesis and literary and philosophic background, and, true to his motto "Und grün des Lebens goldner Baum," proceeds in taking apart and card cataloguing certain thought complexes of *Faust* without much regard for the actual context and mood in which they occur. "The Evils of Life" are evident in the drama (even though we may be reluctant to consider the Lamias and Phorkiads as such). Somewhat peremptorily "The Divine Will" in the *Prologue* is discovered to be pantheistic; it appears as integrated in the Macrocosm, but as individual activity in the Erdgeist, and, of course, in Faust will is good; individual will, since separated from the whole, is both good and evil. Faust never ceases to strive, even in his chase after gross earthly pleasures, but he wavers between high and low degrees of will and finally, through the "Hellenistic Ideal of Harmonized Will" learns "the secret of avoiding conflict while maintaining a high degree of will . . . but the change, involving as it does a diminution in the degree of the divine will, is not wholly a change for the good." (132) "The sinner may . . . be pardoned upon two considerations: that there was no intention of sinning and that there was the good intention of giving expression to the divine will." (140) The book here and there accomplishes some happy juxtaposition, but, on the whole, reminds us of Thales' words (l. 7869) "Was wird dadurch nun weiter fortgesetzt?"

E. F.

Of Magnanimity and Charity. By THOMAS TRAHERNE. Edited with an introduction by JOHN ROTHWELL SLATER. New York: King's Crown Press, 1942. Pp. xvi + 20. \$1.00. In his preface to the *Poetical Works of Thomas Traherne*, Dobell told of the existence of the *Christian Ethicks* and printed extracts from four of the chapters. Since the book is rare—Dobell spent two years finding a copy,—seventeenth century scholars have had to be content with Dobell's selections. This unfortunate condition has now been remedied in part by Professor Slater's pamphlet, and we shall all regret the prohibitive publishing costs that made it impossible for him to bring out the whole book. The Traherne of the *Meditations* is different from the Traherne of the *Christian Ethicks*, for the *Meditations* are but jottings in a notebook whereas the pieces in the

Ethicks seem to be extended essays of great merit. As we read the reprinted chapters, our mind makes interesting connections with the ideas of St. Augustine, Jerome, St. Thomas, Bacon, Shakespeare, and Spenser. Here then is a new picture of Traherne, a different picture from that supplied by the other extant works. As an introduction to his reprint, Professor Slater has written a familiar essay of appreciation. The preface cannot be called scholarly, but it infects us with its author's enthusiasm, and that is, perhaps, more to the point.

D. C. A.

A Comparative Study of the Metrical Technique of Ronsard and Malherbe. By C. C. HUMISTON. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1941. Pp. 180. (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, xxiv, no. 1, pp. 1-180.) Mr. H. has sought to determine Malherbe's doctrine both by utilizing his criticism of Desportes and by examining his verses. He has in this way been able to correct earlier statements, notably those of Souriau, who is shown to have jumped to a number of unsound conclusions about Malherbe's cryptic observations. Malherbe's doctrine is then compared in detail with his practice and with that of Ronsard in his *Odes*. H. finds the two poets in substantial agreement as to the caesura, lines composed entirely of monosyllables, and the *rime normande*. As early as 1560 Ronsard sought to weed out examples of hiatus. Malherbe went further in this respect, making avoidance of hiatus a law, one that he seldom violated. He also objected more insistently than Ronsard to *rimes faciles*. The poets differed in regard to *enjambement*, the rime of longs and shorts, of "simples" and "composés." All of these were allowed by Ronsard and opposed by Malherbe, though the latter's usage was less rigorous than his doctrine. H. goes into these questions in detail, quotes extensively, and expresses his conclusions clearly. His book makes a genuine contribution to knowledge of French prosody, though it would have gained if he had examined all the forms through which Ronsard's *Odes* passed and shown from the beginning the development of the poet's usage in regard to the matters discussed.

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EDWIN MARKHAM, AMBROSE BIERCE, AND *THE MAN WITH A HOE*

By becoming principal of the Tompkins Observation School of Oakland in the spring of 1891, Edwin Markham brought to an end eighteen years of wandering through California's hinterland. More important, he now found himself only a ferry ride removed from San Francisco, the literary and intellectual center of the Far West. He assumed the respectable but inconspicuous place to which he was entitled by the graceful verse he had contributed to *Scribner's* and *Harper's* during the five year past. This verse represented only one side of his literary character. The other is revealed by innumerable radical poems, ranging from the mildly protesting to the flagrantly incendiary, which never appeared in print, probably because Markham understood the requirements of the respectable editors of the genteel magazines. Artistically, he was ultra-conservative; intellectually he was a firebrand. This dualism he maintained even in the metropolis, where he found it possible, aside from his school duties, to speak at socialistic gatherings on the one hand, and polish his well-turned, delicate verses on the other. He gravitated, meanwhile, into the literary circle of the fascinating Ambrose Bierce, whose praise was as much sought after as his wrath was feared.

Markham was attracted to Bierce chiefly because of the latter's critical ability and the position which he held in San Francisco letters, but also by occasional statements which fitted his own philosophy. In 1892 he quoted Bierce in his notebook: "Nothing so needs disturbance as our social system." Unfortunately for the friendship that was soon to follow, this utterance was not typical of Bierce, whose participation in the struggle against Dennis Kearney had soured him against even the mildest forms of radicalism,

and whose name for an unpleasant person was always "an anarchist."¹

For several years before he came to the San Francisco region, Markham had been keeping a scrapbook of Bierce's work. In August, 1892, he sent two volumes of the scrapbook to Walter B. Harte,² through whom Markham learned that Bierce was curious as to who had been collecting his work all those years. Markham wrote to Harte: "I could not object that Mr. Bierce or anyone else should know that I am strongly attracted by what is excellent in his work. What brutal imaginations are in this man—what delicacies, too, of feeling and of thought."³ In a letter to E. C. Stedman, to whom Markham had asked Harte to forward the scrapbooks, he referred to Bierce as "that singular man."⁴ All this coincided with the interest of the East in Bierce which had begun in 1891 with the publication of *Tales of Soldiers and Civilians*. When Markham came to New York in the summer of 1893, he wrote: "The man I hear the most inquiry about just now is Ambrose Bierce."⁵

It was not until October, 1893, that the two men met. Although the way had been prepared by a letter from Percival Pollard to Bierce, Markham approached the great man with trepidation, and well he might have, for he had in manuscript "a book of darkness—one that, if I were known as its author, would hang me as fruit on the gallows-tree,"⁶ and here he was, daring the presence of the man who, for all his genius, was considered by most of his readers "in the light of an ogre a perch upon some inaccessible crag in a darksome gorge waiting with an uplifted boulder to brain innocent mortals who pass in the valley below."⁷ But his fears were unwarranted—at this time, at any rate. The meeting came off so well that he wrote to Pollard:

¹ Carey McWilliams, *Ambrose Bierce, A Biography*, New York, 1929, p. 135

² Author of the "Dodsley Papers" in the *New England Magazine*.

³ Markham to Walter B. Harte, September 25, 1892. All letters quoted are from manuscripts in possession of Virgil Markham.

⁴ Markham to E. C. Stedman, December 6, 1892.

⁵ Markham to editor of *The Tribune*, July 3, 1893.

⁶ Markham to Charles Warren Stoddard, April 24, 1892.

⁷ *The Saturday Press*, Oakland, September 29, 1894, page 2.

It was indeed a delightful, a memorable day. If Mr. Bierce did not consider me . . . an interloper, I shall be quite content. . . .

I found Mr. Bierce one of the most gentle and delightful of men. . . . Here is a philosopher with a child-like and winged spirit and heart. It was very flattering to my vanity to hear him speak of "your poems" and so on, when the truth is he could write all the poetry of the west and have spared us the doggerel. . . . I feel that in Prattle⁸ and otherwise he is doing more for California literature than has been done by all others together . . . here is a man judicious and fearless, who is clearing the air like a thunderbolt.

I feel it a privilege to know such a man: to have him for a friend as you have, would be one of the chief attainments of a lifetime.⁹

So impressed was Markham that when he came home he jotted down:

He receives one very graciously; is a good talker and a delightful listener. *He listens* while you talk, instead of spending the irksome time ransacking his brain for a shrewd rejoinder. It was flattering to me to have him show interest in my verse.¹⁰

For his part, Bierce was well impressed by Markham and wrote "very pleasantly" about him to Pollard.¹¹ Thus auspiciously began the friendship which, however, was not to ripen into intimacy for more than two years.

When on January 18, 1896, William Randolph Hearst sent Bierce to Washington to take charge of the campaign against Huntington's Funding Bill, the mission fired Markham's imagination, for he had always thought of the Southern Pacific as the oppressor of the common people. He followed Bierce's career in the capital by subscribing to the *New York Journal*,¹² and when his triumphant hero returned in January, 1897, the friendship began to grow warm, although Markham was irked by Bierce's part in the defeat of Bryan.¹³ Upon his return, Bierce took up his residence at Los Gatos, at the foot of the Santa Cruz Mountains, for his severe asthma would permit no other climate. Even then, when his spells became worse, he would be forced to take the train for a few miles

⁸ The name of Bierce's weekly column in the *San Francisco Examiner*.

⁹ Markham to Percival Pollard, undated.

¹⁰ Markham MS, undated (in possession of Virgil Markham).

¹¹ Percival Pollard to Markham, October 6, 1893.

¹² Markham to *New York Journal*, January 27, 1896.

¹³ Bierce had said that Bryan's creation "was the unstudied act of his own larynx," McWilliams, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

to the Wrights station, almost at the top of the mountains, where he stayed at the old Jeffreys Hotel.¹⁴ To Los Gatos and Wrights came many of Bierce's friends, Markham among them, and when he could not make the trip he would write. Occasionally Bierce was able to come down from the mountains and meet Markham in Oakland. During these meetings each was the severe but respected critic of the other's poetry. Bierce felt strongly about the necessity of working under the strictest limitations as to form, but Markham held the old forms "in light esteem."¹⁵ Social amelioration, we may be sure, was not one of the topics of discussion, for Markham was early warned—if any warning was necessary—of Bierce's attitude. "I've never known a man," wrote the latter, "who was 'hailing the dawn of a new era' who did not show personal animosity toward those engaged in keeping scoundrels from making our own era worse than it is."¹⁶ Otherwise the relationship was of the warmest kind. On March 31, 1898, Bierce wrote to show his pleasure at Markham's prospect of publishing a volume of poems—a prospect which did not materialize. Bierce constantly regretted the necessity which took up so much of Markham's time with pedagogy. "I wish you'd nothing to do but write poetry," he wrote.¹⁷ Meanwhile Markham had been married in the summer of 1898, but the mountain visits continued, Bierce promising the newlyweds "such entertainment as the gods will permit."¹⁸

* * * *

In Placerville, in 1886, Markham had been shown a reproduction of Millet's picture, "The Man With the Hoe," and had been inspired to write a few tentative lines on the subject. They had been all but forgotten, however, until in 1898 he saw the original of the picture, which was owned by William Crocker, in San Francisco, and was impelled to write the poem in approximately the form in which we now know it. It was completed in the fall of 1898. Bierce saw the poem in rough draft; his immediate reaction was the thought that Markham "should be taken out at dawn

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

¹⁵ Bierce to Markham, August 23, 1898.

¹⁶ Bierce to Markham, February 8, 1897. Bierce was quoting a favorite Markhamic expression.

¹⁷ Bierce to Markham, November 27, 1898.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

and shot for writing such a poem.”¹⁹ Bierce explained it on the grounds of the influence of Markham’s socialistic acquaintances, to whose flattery he was quite susceptible. “Markham listens too much to his friends, and he has a lot of fools among them.”²⁰ Bierce, however, did not take the poem very seriously at this time, nor did he see any reason for allowing it to interfere with their friendship.

On New Year’s Eve, 1898, Mr. and Mrs. Markham were invited to a party at the faded mansion that was then the home of Carol Carrington, a newspaper man and friend of Bierce. Many writers and artists were present, each being called upon to do something toward the entertainment of the group. When Markham’s turn came he could think of nothing but the poem, which he had just that day had typewritten. He read it; there was a long hush as he finished, then tumultuous applause. Bailey Millard, literary editor of the *San Francisco Examiner*, asked if he might read the poem himself and published it conspicuously in the Sunday Magazine Section of the paper on January 15, 1899, implying in his introduction that he had “discovered” Markham. This in itself was not calculated to please Bierce, who, with a few others of the *cognoscenti* had for some time been giving Markham credit for considerable poetical ability. Besides, Bierce was not well disposed toward Millard, so that the latter’s association of himself with Markham and the poem that had already been privately condemned ruffled him still further. The following week Bierce commented on the poem which had already begun to run its wildfire course across the country. After a laudatory introduction in which he said, “It is long since I entertained a doubt of Mr. Markham’s eventual primacy among contemporary American poets,”²¹ he went on to urge several objections to the poem: “In the first place, it is, in structure, stiff, inelastic, monotonous. One line is very like another. The caesural pauses fall almost uniformly in the same places; the full stops at the finale.”²² He then compared the blank verse with Milton’s, admitting that comparison with any lower

¹⁹ Interview between Virgil Markham and Mrs. Jean (Hazen) Hale, at Hayward, California, June 7, 1930. Mrs. Hazen had been Markham’s secretary in Oakland.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Ambrose Bierce, “Prattle,” *San Francisco Examiner*, Sunday, January

standard would hardly be justified. His chief objection, however, he admitted, was to the sentiment, "the thought that the work carries."

In Mr. Markham's poem the thought is that of the Sandlot—even to the workworn threat of rising against the wicked well-to-do and taking it out of their hides. . . . The notion that the sorrows of the humble are due to the selfishness of the great is "natural," and can be made poetical, but it is silly. As a literary conception it has not the vitality of a sick fish. It will not carry a poem of whatever excellence otherwise through two generations. That a man of Mr. Markham's splendid endowments should be chained to the body of this literary death is no less than a public calamity. If he could forget now, what the whole world will have forgotten a little later, that such a person as William Morris existed, it would greatly advantage him and prove the excellence of his memory.²³

He concluded by saying that his high opinion of Markham's ability was based on another poem which he hoped to print the following week. The same day he wrote to Markham slyly:

You'll have observed that your "Man with a Hoe" [sic] poem did not escape my notice—maybe you will wish that it had, I don't know. Well, if I said anything unfair of it the fault was not intentional. I *do* admire it and—but I need not repeat; my criticism is honest, whether intelligent or not.²⁴

The following week Bierce printed Markham's "A Look Into the Gulf," which, he said, proved that he was no longer content with the fluting and warbling of poetry and that he was

learning to heed her profounder notes which stir the stones of the temple like the base of a great organ. Upon that fact I found my faith in his primacy if he be spared. If he continue the progress that he has been making in the half-dozen years that I have been observing his work another decade will make him very lonely indeed upon the mount of song.²⁵

Meanwhile Millard was busily promoting the Markham "boom." The next Sunday he devoted a full page of the *Examiner* to Markham's lyrics and at the same time attempted mildly to answer Bierce by pointing out that nothing Markham had done was superior to "The Man With the Hoe."²⁶ As yet Bierce had been

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Bierce to Markham, January 22, 1899.

²⁵ Bierce, "Prattle," *San Francisco Examiner*, Sunday, January 29, 1899, p. 12.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, February 5, 1899, p. 27.

only mildly reproving. His attitude is best shown by the letter he wrote from Wrights, where he was suffering from insomnia, as well as asthma. "If I go mad please wish me a satisfactory delusion—that I'm a poet, with a charming wife, and that great things are going to occur which never *have* occurred, and so forth."²⁷

On February 12, Bierce again commented on Markham, expressing the hope and the expectation that his head would not be turned by his sudden rise to popularity:

It looks as if those of us who for many years have known and loved Mr. Markham and his work, who have watched the development of his genius with interest and awaited its fruition with confidence are to be hissed out of the auditorium for not clapping loudly enough and continuously enough to suit the gallery. I, of course, have been selected for special reprobation . . . my worst offense, it seems, lay in neglecting "the peasant philosophies of the workshop and the field."²⁸

He concluded jocularly but significantly, by saying, "If ever (which Heaven forbid) I stumble upon the mortal part of the late Edwin Markham, Poet of the People, I shall turn it upon its back in the sure and certain expectation of finding that the throat has been cut with a hoe. . . ." ²⁹

Thus far Markham had taken no offense and Bierce had meant none. Mrs. Markham had sent him pillows of amaranth and moly for his insomnia, and he wrote from Livermore to express his thanks:

Please say to Mr. Markham (he wrote) that if all humanity were like him (and, may I add, *you*) I too should have hope of its ultimate good—I too should fancy that I had glimpses of a beneficent purpose at the back of the puppet-show. Doubtless I should recognize it as a fancy, merely, but it would be much to have it.³⁰

In his next letter Bierce expostulated mildly with his friend:

If you *will* be hopeful, why not encourage yourself in that error by comparing Man, not with what he may be, but with what he has been? Can't you wait?—must you cry and kick because the sun isn't cooking your mud pie fast enough? Is it nothing that we all were once reptiles?—*all* companions to the ox—*all* had sloping foreheads? ³¹

²⁷ Bierce to Markham, February 3, 1899.

²⁸ Bierce, "Prattle," *San Francisco Examiner*, Sunday, February 12, 1899, p. 12.

²⁹ *Ibid*

³⁰ Bierce to Mrs. Markham, February 21, 1899.

³¹ Bierce to Markham, February 26, 1899.

His next letter states that he has helped with the Markham "boom" himself because "it does not greatly matter *what* is said about you, so that *something* is said," but he is still "sceptical of the legitimacy of it all . . . I . . . believe you are preaching . . . a doctrine of hate which has successfully appealed to the worst side of human nature . . . I hope you will no longer dwell in the tents of the demagogue."⁸² To this accusation Markham answered immediately.

I fear that I am sometimes a discipline of patience to you. . . . I do not preach (with intention at least) a doctrine of hate. . . . I believe in sympathy. . . . I believe also in the practice of the Golden Rule as the supreme law in all human affairs. . . . I wish to arouse but one hatred—the hatred of injustice.⁸³

Evidently the breach was healed, at least temporarily, for in May, when charges of plagiarism were insinuated against Markham, his friend took up the cudgels on his behalf and helped to clear the atmosphere. But it was impossible for Bierce to pass over the chance to chastise the man he had regarded as one of his protégés and whose name now, by virtue of one single poem, had already spread further than his own was destined ever to spread. Bierce wrote that, "The Man With the Hoe" being published,

instantly follows a blaze and thunder of notoriety, seen and heard over the entire continent; and even the coasts of Europe are "telling of the sound." Straightway before the astonished vision of his friends the author stands transfigured! The charming poet has become a demagogue, a "labor leader" spreading that gospel of hate known as "industrial brotherhood," a "walking delegate" diligently inciting a strike against God and clamoring for repeal of the laws of nature. Saddest of all (for no man ever "serves the toiling masses" unselfishly) we find him immodestly promoting his own "boom." He personally appears at meetings of cranks and incapables convened to shriek against the creed of law and order; speaks at meetings of sycophants convened to shine by his light; introduces lecturers. . . . Any one desiring to link his own name with that of the newly great poet has only to solicit his general opinion of things, and he replies with a publishable telegraphic prescription for all humanity's

⁸² Bierce to Markham, March 14, 1899. The outburst was occasioned by a speech Markham delivered to a socialist group. Bierce did not realize that the speech had been promised two years before and that Markham was not capitalizing on his sudden fame in delivering it at that time.

⁸³ Markham to Bierce, March 17, 1899.

disorders When he is not waving the red flag and beating the big drum I presume he is resting the flexors and extensors of tongue and arm. . . .³⁴

Even then Bierce was inclined to assume the paternal attitude. He concluded his remarks with the hope that "Markham's fame will so promote his pecuniary interest that it will convert him from the conviction that his birth was significantly coincident in point of time with the Second Advent. . . . Meantime the inconsiderate wretch is forcing a deal of hard and thankless work upon his enlightened friends in trying to unlove him."³⁵ Obviously Bierce was no longer able to do Markham justice. "The Man With the Hoe" did not make him a demagogue; it merely gave him a forum from which he expressed opinions which he had steadfastly held for at least twenty years. Markham would not have been true to his beliefs if he had not taken the opportunities so fortuitously thrust upon him. After all, Bierce, by his own admission, had had a good deal to do with the "boom."

Among the various manifestations of Markham's popularity were the articles on social subjects solicited of him by the Hearst press. On August 6 there appeared in the *Examiner* an article called "The Epidemic of Strikes and the Remedy," in which he stated that the only cure for the strike was government ownership and the fraternal principle which must be at the heart of the new order.³⁶ Bierce must have seen the proofs, for in his own article on the opposite page he burst out in anger at Markham's mild statements:

If any two words stand for "class hatred"—for blind, brutal, reasonless animosity, all the more mischievous because lodged in the heart and brain of a great poet, those words are "Edwin Markham." . . . It is easy . . . to repudiate a threat by calling it at need a warning or a prophecy, but Markham the Fraternalist follows rather tardily after Markham the Incendiary. . . . On the whole, I prefer the candid voice of Mr. Markham's muse—*petroleuse* that she is—to the afterthought prose in which he clothes her dirty nakedness.³⁷

The friendship was now over. The last letter I have found from

³⁴ Bierce, "More About the Man With the Hoe, Some Strolling Comments on Mr. Markham's Famous Poem," *San Francisco Examiner*, June 4, 1899, p. 12.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Markham, "The Epidemic of Strikes and the Remedy," *ibid.*, August 6, 1899, p. 13.

³⁷ Bierce, "The Passing Show," *ibid.*, August 6, 1899, p. 12.

Bierce to Markham was the one of March 14, 1899. Markham's answer, dated March 17, seems to have marked the close of the correspondence. Another article by Markham, proceeding from the statement that "the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof," concluded that the possessor of wealth is merely the custodian of it (if he be a Christian) and is best employed in trying to achieve social amelioration.³⁸ Bierce, who now became enraged at the mere mention of Markham's name, exploded the following week with these remarks: "Since Mr. Edwin Markham abandons poetry for demagoguery he has naturally taken to cant and snivel. . . . He knows—none better—that anything can be proved by the Bible, and he works that open secret for all that it is worth."³⁹ After trying to demolish Markham's logic, he concludes that "The more one reads this ready reasoner the wiser seems the goo-gooing from the moist muzzle of a new-laid babe."⁴⁰

Anger finally began to give way to disdain—or at least that was the impression Bierce tried to give. In answering a correspondent who had pointed out a mis-quotation by Bierce of Markham the previous week, he wrote: "There is no more temptation to misquote Mr. Markham than to throw gravel at an ox in a quicksand."⁴¹ On November 19, Bierce, commenting on a figure of speech in a Markham poem said, "the stuff is not poetry, all the same. It is Markhamry. But what can you expect of a poet—even a great one—who feels that he must keep shoving 'words that burn' under the pot of his boiling boom?"⁴² The last note was struck by Bierce on November 26, when he wrote:

Not all the literary excellence—not all the genius in the world can sweeten a sentiment essentially foul, as is well enough illustrated in "The Man

³⁸ Markham, "The Christian Doctrine of Property," *ibid.*, August 13, 1899, p. 13.

³⁹ Bierce, "The Passing Show," *ibid.*, August 20, 1899, p. 12.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, September 3, 1899, p. 12. Bierce's temper was probably not improved by his seeing on the same page Markham's poem, "The Muse of Labor."

⁴² "The Passing Show," *ibid.*, November 19, 1899, p. 14. The previous week the *Examiner* had printed (p. 13) a poem by Markham called "The Word of God," which began with the figure in question, "I hear a Babel, an alarm of tongues."

With the Hoe" of Mr. Markham and in much else that he has written since he unsaddled Pegasus and straddled the Flying Jackass of the Sándlot.⁴³

It is to his credit and indicative of the difference between the two men that Markham never tried to answer Bierce in terms such as the latter chose to adopt. Possibly he feared to venture into Bierce's own field of vituperation, but it is more likely that the old relationship of master and disciple precluded such a course. In the future, whenever Markham was to have occasion to speak of Bierce, he would speak nothing but good of his old friend.

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THE "REAL SOCIETY" IN RESTORATION COMEDY: HYMENEAL PRETENSES

This discussion, in its essentials, was written fourteen years ago, as an appendix to an article entitled "Literature and Life Once More"; but also as my rejoinder in the controversy with Professor G. M. Trevelyan and Mr. T. A. Lacey in the *London Times Literary Supplement*, January 5, March 1, 8, 15, 1928. The article turned out too long for publication; for that reason the appendix is now detached.

Professor Trevelyan took issue with Charles Lamb, who "thought that 'the men and women of the artificial comedy of the last century,' as he called it, were not real men and women, living according to the rules of a real society"; and as proof to the contrary he brought up the matter of "impersonation to forward marriage projects." Beau Feilding's marriage to a woman of bad character, foisted upon him by another woman of bad character as an heiress, is his example. This happened in 1705. Soon discovering the fraud, the rake then married the Duchess of Cleveland; whereupon he was up for bigamy. (*State Trials*, XIV, 1327 ff.)

In my reply I submitted that single cases like this proved nothing, that the Comedy of Manners, as it is called, represented only the life of the fast set and even that inaccurately; that the plots are arbitrarily contrived and unpalatable, no picture of life at all;

⁴³ "The Passing Show," *ibid.*, November 26, 1899, p. 14.

that the colors are, within limits, true enough—the idiom and mannerism of gallant and citizen, of beau and flirt—but not the way they are laid on or put together; that the intrigue is fantastic, and only an extremely limited, very vicious or very gullible portion of the population ever deceived or were deceived so continually or in such a fashion; that, as usual, art reflected the taste rather than the life of the time.

In Mr. Trevelyan's reply he said that he was in agreement with me in my "main contention," that the society so represented was only a small part of England; but he still insisted that "it was a real society, not invented by the dramatist . . . a faithful picture of contemporary fashionable life." Contemporary, by the way, is a strange word for the historian to use; for most of the Comedies of Manners worth reading that have come down to us—all of Congreve, Farquhar, and Van Brugh—were written, not in the dissolute times of the Restoration, but in the soberer days of William and Mary and of Anne.

There is another sort of tricky marriage in Restoration comedy, that which in itself is a sham, and does not hold. Of this, too, I had spoken as unplausible imposture. "The hurried and huddled ceremonies, without licenses or once asking of the banns, by anybody in a wig, spectacles, and cassock, ought to have deceived nobody. Stage law and in particular stage marriage-law, in the Restoration comedy, as in the Elizabethan, is another travesty upon fact." And at this point Mr. T. A. Lacey, the jurist, intervened; saying that until Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act (1753) marriage by consent of the parties without any kind of ceremony, and without license or banns, "was valid and binding."

Not being an historian or even a student of history, I have, as I said at the time, no right to raise my voice, especially in contradiction of historians and jurists of such repute. But here, in both instances, history and law, I think, do not apply. This before us is only an excellent example of the fallacy against which in four articles¹ I have been contending; and the authors themselves, of whose opinions, from Oscar Wilde to Maugham and Mauriac, I

¹ *Shakespeare Studies* (1927), chap. ii; "Literature and Life Again," *PMLA.*, XLVII (1932), 283-302; "Belial as an example," *MLN.*, XLVIII (1933), 419-27; "The *Beau Monde* at the Restoration," *MLN.*, XLIX (1934), 425-32. Besides the article mentioned above, in my *From Shakespeare to Joyce*, to be published this year.

have (casually) made a collection, are on my side. "Nothing can be more fallacious," says the late Lascelles Abercrombie, both critic and poet, "than to equate the history of literature with the history of life. . . . Life creates its own traditions, and literature creates its traditions; they are profoundly and subtly related; but they are not the same traditions."² And the late John Drinkwater, also poet and critic, says practically the same.³

First as for Mr. Lacey and the mock marriage, which does not hold. Knowledge of the law previous to Lord Hardwicke's Act does not make the Restoration stage marriages more plausible, whether by a fake parson or the real. In those days, according to the *Britannica* (11th ed., sub "Banns" and "Marriages"), if not a ceremony, there must at least be a contract; though such a marriage, without ceremony, was deemed valid for many purposes, it was not reputable and so (especially without contract, as on the Restoration stage) could not be reassuring. Hence, to secure this impression—essential to the success of the fraud, manifestly imperative for the dramatic situation—there would be required also the immemorial formalities, not only of a proper ceremony but of banns and license, or else of a dispensation from them, even as there was for Shakespeare the man and for Lovelace the character in the novel. So late as the Restoration, certainly, the parson, false or true, thus unjustified and unprepared for, ought to have been suspect; for the canon forbidding a minister to celebrate matrimony without license or banns was enacted in 1603.

Of this legal liberty, moreover, the stage, both in the time of Charles II and of Elizabeth and James, knows nothing at all. There—more picturesquely, more theatrically—on the ceremony everything depends. Just so with Shakespeare the dramatist. In *Measure for Measure*, Claudio is condemned to death for incontinence (although upon a "true contract" he had got possession of Julietta's bed) simply because they had not had what Mr. Lacey's law considered unnecessary; and Angelo, on the other hand, the unjust judge, is at the end bidden marry Mariana "instantly," to whom he has been similarly affianced, but (until the trick the night before) without the bedding, in order to make "an honest woman of her." On the stage the ceremony is the indispensable thing, as

² *Progress in Literature* (1929), p. 23.

³ *William Morris* (1912), pp. 13-15.

for that matter with the people, whether in or out of the theatre. Parson and prayerbook wanting, there would not be even a pretence of marriage.

The Earl of Oxford is another case cited to prove the Restoration stage true to life, by Mr. Bonamy Dobrée.⁴ The peer married the actress Mrs. Davenport, who had refused to be his mistress, with his trumpeter as parson. Since the marriage did not hold, there must have been no contract. Of this requirement the poor woman might, of course, be expected to be as ignorant as the female characters she probably impersonated; but after the Earl's overtures she might well have been as suspicious as Feilding's putative heiress, whom he had pursued for her money, was of him. She should have mistrusted the trumpeter. From Feilding's priest his Mrs. Wadsworth required proof of his professional quality, and insisted on the questions being turned from Latin into English. In her caution, and her offishness too—refusing and delaying before that—she acted as in life a woman, knowing her man, would act, but does not on the Restoration stage. Mrs. Davenport and Feilding, though otherwise so unlike, are, on the other hand, in their credulity both fit for Restoration comedy, more so than their marriages. Oxford's successful imposture is an outrage, in comedy intolerable. The mock marriages there, even at the hardhearted Restoration, are nearly always not so cruel, the discovery coming in time for the innocent. And what in Feilding's marriage is most improbable is just what is most like the Restoration stage,—his being caught in his own trap.

On the stage (or more frequently, immediately off it) always the unnecessary ceremony, and whether the tricky marriage holds or fails to hold depends only on the genuineness of the parson. Other fraud, strange to say, as when bride or groom palms herself or himself off for another, does not count, once the vows are spoken: on the stage there is both more than the law requires and less! Yet even in the still laxer country to the north—at Gretna Green!—it was not so. Scott, as a story-writer, permits himself the marriage in *St. Ronan's Well*, at which the villain, "in the darkness of the church, the hurry of the moment," takes his brother's place and actually carries off the bride; but is too good an historian and law-

⁴ *Restoration Comedy* (1924), p. 28. Mr. Dobrée says Mrs. Marshall, but see *DNB.*, Aubrey de Vere, 20th Earl of Oxford.

yer to ask us to believe "the mere ceremony binding by the law of any Christian country." "I wonder this had not occurred to me," says the scoundrel afterwards; "but my ideas of marriage were much founded on plays and novels, where such devices . . . are often resorted to for winding up the plot," etc. (chap. 26). What sound criticism, and—not always are they the same—what sound sense!

And then the masks or disguises! It is motives and circumstances that make an incident probable, not the mere fact that it can itself be duplicated in the life of the time. Beau Feilding's as one sort of marriage, Oxford's as the other, are neither here nor there; just as Hardy's footnotes about the flesh-and-blood Englishman who sold his wife does not help him out with his Mayor of Casterbridge. There is scarcely an improbability in any play or novel nowadays that cannot be paralleled outside of it—in my letter I produced a farmer in Minnesota who traded his wife off for a Ford.⁵ What in the stories of Feilding and Oxford is like the Restoration comedy, is not the fraudulent marriages, I think, which are natural enough for the libertine and the tuffthunter; but the gullibility of the victims—of Mrs. Davenport, as we have seen, and of Feilding himself, who ought to have been warier of the two women, one of whom he knew. But the circumstances—to wed a woman in a mask—to buy a pig in a poke! In Congreve there are three such marriages, in a day when divorce was for most people next to impossible (and to the stage almost unknown), when fraud was so common and, in marital matters, justice so unobtainable! The other undesirable females married either are disguised, like another in Congreve, or, like Beau Feilding's are cases of mistaken identity.

All this, surely, is simply a matter of play-making. Why, in the first place, so many marriages (two of Congreve's masked ones, and also another that is deceptive, in one play)? Because the plays are comedies; and in the Renaissance and for two centuries after, without marriage comedies were none. In Shakespeare, Molière, and throughout the Renaissance, they furnish the regular, and fairly

⁵ To support his plea for realism in Restoration comedy, Mr. Dobrée (*ibid*) cites the case of Dr. Pelling, chaplain to Charles II, "who, having studied himself into the disorder of mind called the hyp . . . imagined himself pregnant"—like Lord Nonsuch in Dryden's *Wild Gallant*, says Mr. Dobrée. In every asylum today, no doubt, there is a parallel.

prescriptive conclusion for comedy, as death does for tragedy. And at the Restoration they are so often fraudulent because that comedy was not romantic but (though amorous) licentious and cynical. Yet the deception involved is only like the other deception, which abounded, and not only in Restoration comedy but the Elizabethan and the French, the Italian and the Spanish. Disguise and impersonation, false witness, slander, and forgery, on the one hand, and, on the other, gullibility—unnatural lack of acquaintance with the features, voice, gait, and inner nature of friends and relatives, or want of ability to tell true metal from false—which all have from the beginning been warp to the woof of not only dramatic but narrative fabric—to that huge system of comic imposture, not to any conceivable society, the hymeneal pretences belong. And it is quite in keeping with this system that, as we have seen above, the mock marriage should come to light as such, but that the real marriage of the tricksters should hold them fast. The comic possibilities of the situations must be realized; the innocent disentangled, but the faulty caught.

Does now this abundance of imposture and gullibility in comedy (and in tragedy too) not only in England but all over Europe, and lasting nearly throughout the action—does this prove the society there depicted a real one, like society in the rest of Europe? Abundance of evidence proves nothing, misapplied. The late William Archer once declared that if the Comedy of Manners had represented the age "the British nation would never have emerged from such a morass of levity, cynicism, corruption, and disease [meaning the venereal]"; and of the morass of fraud and deception he might have said the same. Mr. Trevelyan admits that it did not represent the nation; but how could the "society represented, only a small part of England," be, as thus represented, a "real society," or, on such terms, how could it endure? Who can seriously say that "these are real men and real women, living according to the rules of a real society" or even that this is "a faithful picture of contemporary fashionable life?" Such wholesale imposture, one would think, would defeat itself: everybody would have his eyes peeled. But the deception is equalled only by the gullibility and unconcern. The fast set hoodwink and prey upon one another, and (curiously enough) are preyed upon by those not so fast. High life is not kept apart from low life—does not itself keep apart, as in reality it is above all other things solicitous to do. What war-

rant is there in the actual, documentary social history of the Restoration, or in human nature itself, for the decent and respectable ladies' consorting unsuspectingly with a bawd, in Farquhar's *Twin Rivals*; or the boisterous but gentlemanly Wildair's repeatedly taking Angelica for a harlot and her house for a bawdy-house, in the *Constant Couple*; or Sir Francis and his family's taking a bawdy-house for an inn, and, still worse, his worthy uncle's leaving him in the dark about it, in Van Brugh's *Journey to London*? This is all for the situation, even as the tricky marriages are.

That people think otherwise is, however, not surprising. For do not our minds, even the best of them, often, though without our knowing it, move in circles? When the historians or the critics say that this or that incident is typical or characteristic of the age—the Elizabethan or the Restoration, that of Queen Anne or Louis XIV—or of either high or low life then, from where, most effectively and vividly, have they got their notion of that? From diaries, memoirs, newspapers, records, documents? And the best comment on Mr. Trevelyan's point of view, I think, is Mr. Abercrombie's: "a striking story of Restoration life rivalling the plot of a Restoration play. But I think it is only because it does this that it seems characteristic of the time."⁶

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WIHTGARABURH

The conquest of the Isle of Wight by Cerdic and Cynric in 530 A. D. constitutes an important phase in the history of the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Great Britain.¹ According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which in the main agrees with Asser's version of the event, the climax of the raid was the capture of *Wihthgaraburh*, obviously the stronghold of the native Celtic inhabitants of the Island.² Four years later, in 534, Cerdic is said to have died and

⁶ *Progress in Literature* (1929), p. 23.

¹ For a discussion of the Jutish and Saxon invasions of the Isle of Wight see my monograph *The Place-Names of the Isle of Wight* (in the press), pp. xxvi ff., in which the present study will appear as one of the introductory chapters. [This book has now come out, in Sweden, but will not be available here until after the War.—Ed.]

² Asser (p. 4) makes Stuf and Wihthgar conquer Wihthgaraburh after the

to have been succeeded by his son Cynric, who reigned for twenty-six years. Before his death, however, Cerdic with the consent of Cynric gave the whole of the Isle of Wight to their two kinsmen (*nefum*) Stuf and Wihtgar; the latter died in 544 and was buried at *Wihtgaraburh*.

The name *Wihtgaraburh*, whether ever a place-name or not, occurs only in references to the conquest of Wight by Cerdic and Cynric. It was never employed in later times, and the attempt to identify it with the 14th century beacon-place *Wyghtbergh*³ is a mere conjecture without any linguistic or documentary foundation (see below). Moreover, *Wihtgar* and *Wihtgaraburh* occur in the historically least reliable portion of the Chronicle, which makes any connection between them seem suspect. *Wihtgar* need not be discarded as a fictitious hero;⁴ on the contrary, the discrepancy, although small, between his name and the first part of *Wihtgaraburh* may perhaps tell in favor of his authenticity.⁵ But the original form of *Wihtgaraburh* has suffered from his coincidental presence.

Wihtgaraburh appears in the following spellings:

on *Wihtgaræsbyrig* 530 ASC (A, D⁶)

on *Wihtgarasbirig* 530 ASC (E)

on *Wihtgarasbyrig* 544 ASC (E)

on (*apud*) *Wihtgaresbyri* 544 ASC (F, F Lat⁷)

island had been given to them by their uncle Cerdic and their cousin Cynric. . . . "Stuf et Wihtgar . . . qui, accepta potestate Unectae insulae ab avunculo suo Cerdic rege et Cynric filio suo, consobrino eorum, paucos Britones eiusdem insulae accolae, quos in eo invenire potuerunt, in loco, qui dicitur Guuihtgaraburh, occiderunt." To reconcile the Chronicle version of the conquest with Asser's we need only assume that Stuf and Wihtgar took part in Cerdic's and Cynric's raid of the Isle of Wight and were rewarded with the overlordship of the island; according to William of Malmesbury Wihtgar was "as dear to his uncle by the ties of kindred, for he was his sister's son, as by his skill in war" (transl. by J. A. Giles, London, 1911, p. 18).

³ *Antiquity* 5, p. 457.

⁴ "Wihtgar is a mere abstraction to account for the place-name"—Plummer, ASC 2, p. 14.

⁵ "It is not beyond the reach of the long arm of coincidence that a Wihtgar should have ruled in Wight"—Stevenson, EHR 14 (1899), p. 37.

⁶ MS D has been published by E. Classen and F. E. Harmer in *An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from British Museum, Cotton MS, Tiberius B. IV*, Manchester, 1926. The entries from D cited above occur, however, in the late 16th century interpolations and are consequently of little value.

⁷ A photostatic copy of the Latin version of MS F (Cotton Domitian A.

Witgaresburg 530 HH,⁸ *Witgaresbrig(e)* 544 HH
Withgaresber 528 MP,⁹ *Wihtgares-berih* 544 MP
Withgaresbi 528 RW,¹⁰ *Withgarus-berith* 544 RW
Gwihtgaraburhg Asser
on Wihtgarabyrig 530, 544 ASC (B, C)
on Wihtgarabyrg 544 ASC (A, D)
Wihtgaraburg 530, 544 FW¹¹

We see that the above spellings are of two distinct types: one with and the other without a medial *s*. Whilst all other MSS generalize one or the other of these types, MSS A and D of the Chronicle exhibit the spelling with *s* under 530, without *s* under 544; an explanation of this inconsistency will be suggested below. No one doubts that *Wihtgares-* (*-æs*, *-as*) is a regular genitive singular, whereas the peculiar form *Wihtgara-* has caused much discussion. Some scholars hold that *Wihtgara-* reflects the old genitive singular of an original *u*-stem,¹² in support of which they generally adduce the Erfurt gloss *ætgaru*. Since the Epinal and Corpus Glossaries have *ætgaru* here, the Erfurt spelling must be a scribal error, an explanation suggested by Chadwick as early as 1899¹³ and later adopted by Malone¹⁴ and Dahl.¹⁵ There is consequently no evidence for a *u*-stem inflexion of OE *gār* (the second element of the personal name *Wihtgār*), a fact that also rules out the possibility that *Wihtgara-* is the genitive of OE *Wihtgār*.

It may perhaps be objected that such an early interpretation of

VIII) has been kindly placed at my disposal by Professor F. P. Magoun, Jr., of Harvard University.

⁸ *Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum*. Ed. Th. Arnold, London, 1879 (Chr. and Mem. 74).

⁹ *Matthæi Parisiensis Monachi Sancti Albani Chronica Majora*. Ed. H. R. Luard, London, 1872 (Chr. and Mem. 57).

¹⁰ *Rogeri de Wendover Chronica sive Flores Historiarum*. Ed. H. Coxe, London, 1841.

¹¹ *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis*. Ed. B. Thorpe, London, 1848.

¹² Cf. P. J. Cosijn, *Taalkundige Bijdrage* (Haarlem, 1878), 2, p. 272; Sievers § 273 Anm. 2; Wright, *Old English Grammar*, § 397; Stevenson, *EHR* 14 (1899), p. 37; A. H. Smith, *The Parker Chronicle (832-900)*, London, 1935, p. 13, footnote.

¹³ H. M. Chadwick, *Studies in Old English* (London, 1899) p. 157; also *The Origin of the English Nation*, p. 21, note 1.

¹⁴ *Anglia Beiblatt* 47, p. 219 f.

¹⁵ I. Dahl, *Substantival Inflexion in Early Old English, Vocalic Stems* (Lund, 1938), p. 148.

Wihthgarabirig as *id est in civitate Wihtgari* (FW) indicates how the compound was understood in those days. Very likely, however, FW had culled the interpretation from some Chronicle transcript, e. g. the Latin version of MS F, which explains *Wihthgaresbyri* as meaning: *Hoc est in curia Wihtgari*; cf. also *quae sic ab eo* (sc. Wihthgar) *vocatur* (HH), *in loco qui de nomine ipsius . . . appellatur* (RW, MP). Or, what is equally possible, he may have etymologized the name independently of his sources. Stevenson's claim¹⁶ that "in his time the name could not be explained in this way without violence of grammar" is not convincing. Popular etymology has never been known to respect such trivialities as points of grammar.

The genitive ending *-æs* of MS A has been explained by Dahl¹⁷ as an early West-Saxon spelling. He thinks that we must "reckon with the possibility that isolated forms may have been handed down from sources considerably older than the hand-writing," a statement that is repeated later¹⁸ in the following words: "Either these *æ*-forms are to be regarded as archaic spellings incidentally used by the scribe, or else they have been taken over from early originals." *Wihthgaræs-* is, however, the sole instance of *-æ(s)* for *-e(s)* registered by Dahl from his Chronicle material, and as such it does not warrant any conclusions as to its age or provenance. It may to all intents and purposes be a scribal error or perhaps even a compromise between *-gara* and *-gares*. Moreover, the reading *-æs* does not seem to be definitely established. It is true that Plummer has it, but Thorpe reads *-garas* here, and Petrie¹⁹ hesitates between *-garas* and *-garæs*.²⁰ Similarly the ending *-as* in *Wihthgaras-* should not be explained as a late West-Saxon spelling but simply as a compromise between *-gara* and *-gares*.

Obviously *Wihthgara-* is the form that comes closest to the original. It occurs not only in the fairly early MSS B and C of the Chronicle and in the 544 entry of MS A (and D), but it also appears in Asser, who renders it in the Welsh spelling *Guwithgara-*

¹⁶ Asser p. 173.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.* 39

¹⁸ *Op. cit.* 196.

¹⁹ In the Chronicle edition printed in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*.

²⁰ A. H. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 13, note, gives the Parker MS reading as *Wihthgarasburg*, which must be due to an oversight; it should be either *Wihthgarasbyrg* as in Thorpe or *Wihthgaræsbyrg* as in Plummer.

burgh.²¹ Now Asser is supposed to have had access to a version of the Chronicle that was older than MSS A, B, and C,²² probably even their archetype. This lost chronicle apparently had *Wihgtara*, which was copied unaltered into B and C, but was 'emended' to *Wihgtaræs*- by the scribe of A when making the entry under 530; for some reason, however, he omitted, or forgot, to make the corresponding 'emendation' under 544. He must have found *Wihgtara*- a peculiar form, so he tried to bring it into conformity with the normal genitive of all other personal names in *-gar*.²³ Undoubtedly he was struck with the great similarity between *Wiht* (the OE name of the island), the personal name *Wihgtar* and the fort *Wihgtaraburh*, and very likely had his own idea of their meaning. If, as McClure suggests,²⁴ he was aware that *Wihgtara*- might well mean 'of the people of Wight,' this may be the reason why he did not alter it the second time. It is difficult to believe that he did not see its connection with the *Wihware*. This toponymic term appears in MS A (661) as (*gesalde*) *Wihwaran* and (*brohte*) *Wihwarum* and in MS E (661) as (*gesealde*) *Wihwarum*²⁵ and (*brohte*) *Wihwarum*. Under the year 449 MS E has, besides, *Cantwara* 7 *Wihwara*, the latter term being explained as *seo megd þe nu eardaþ on Wiht* (the tribe that now lives in Wight), evidently a translation of Bede's Latin definition of *Uictuarii* as *ea gens quae Uectam tenet insulam*.²⁶ The corresponding entry in MS A reads *Cantware* 7 *Wihware*, þ' ys seo mæið ðe nu eardað on Wiht, but it is unfortunately an interpolation from the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century. In the OE version of Bede the corresponding Latin passage has been translated like this: *Of Geata fruman syndon Cantware, 7 Wihtsætan; þæt is seo ðeod þe Wiht þæt ealond oneardað*.²⁷ Why *Wihtsætan* has been used instead of *Wihware* is not apparent. One would have thought that the Latin parallel *Cantuarii et Uictuarii* in conjunction with the OE term

²¹ Asser also writes *Gegunis* for OE *Gewis*.

²² Stevenson, Asser § 54 (p. lxxxv ff.).

²³ E. McClure, *British Place-Names in their Historical Setting* (London, 1910), p. 145, note 1, cites *Hrothgares* (Beowulf 668) and *Æthelgares* (Battle of Maldon 605).

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ This dative is a grammatical error, for the context is: [*Wulfhere*] *gesealde Wihwarum Æthelwolde Suð Seaxena cinnga*.

²⁶ Bede p. 31.

²⁷ EETS 95, p. 52.

Cantware would have automatically called up the corresponding word *Wihtware*, as it did in the above Chronicle passage from MS E. The only plausible explanation I can offer is that *Wihtware*, at that time, was no longer the current designation of the inhabitants of Wight as it may have been when the Chronicle was first compiled. Yet even the Chronicle form may have been archaic at the time of compilation, although it was used as a natural parallel of *Cantwara* (MS E) to render *Cantuarii et Uictuarii*; consistency then prompted its use also under the year 661. This suggestion would agree with Langenfelt's view²⁸ that there was a slight semasiological difference between compounds with *-sæta* and those with *-ware*, viz. that *-sæta* was "as a rule restricted to lesser localities and [was] never used for political purposes," whereas *-ware* could be used "to denote politically fixed peoples (*Romware*)." Politically the *Wihtware* were played out in 686, when Ceadwalla conquered their island, and as the inhabitants of a West-Saxon province they may gradually have become known as the *Wihtsæta*. However that may be, *Wihtgaraburh* is now generally believed to be a corruption of **Wihtwaraburh* (cf. *Cantwaraburg* 754 ASC for Canterbury). Plummer²⁹ translates *Wihtgaraburh* as 'the burg of the Wight-dwellers,' adding that *Wihtgara* is "a genitive plural = *Victuarius*." This explanation is accepted by McClure and Chadwick,³⁰ but it is disputed by Stevenson,³¹ who bases his opinion on the

²⁸ G. Langenfelt, *Toponymics, or Derivations from Local Names in English* (Uppsala, 1920), p. 88.

²⁹ ASC 2, p. 14.

³⁰ *The Origin of the English Nation*, p. 21, note 1; Chadwick construes the original name as *Wihtwaraburg*.

³¹ Asser p. 173. Stevenson is in error when arguing that **Wihtwaraburh* could not be the OE form we should expect; he postulates instead *Wihtwarenaburh*. Now OE *ware* 'people' belongs to the *i*-stems (R. Girvan, *Angelsakssch Handboek*, Haarlem, 1931, § 280, Dahl, *op cit* 164 ff.), and its regular gen. pl. is *wara*, which occurs in all the place-name compounds with this element, e.g. *Cantwaraburg*. *Ware* could also be inflected according to the weak declension (cf. *Cantware* in the OE version of Bede and *Wihtwaran* in MS A of ASC, etc.), and there seems actually to have existed a weak masc. sing. *wara* to judge by *ceastergewara* for Latin *civis* in Ælfric's Grammar (Langenfelt p. 82, Bosworth-Toller); to my mind this *wara* is merely an analogical singular to the weak plural *waran*. The occurrence of such analogical forms, however, does not justify the assumption that the regular forms could not be used side by side, and the many place-name compounds with OE *ware* are proof enough that they did.

erroneous supposition that OE *gār* was a *u*-stem (cf. above) and argues that no change of *w* to *g*³² is known in OE, in support of his explanation he also adduces the doubtful *Wihtgara* of the Tribal Hidage (see below). Nevertheless nothing prevents us from assuming a more or less deliberate change of **Wihtwaraburh* into *Wihtgaraburh* to make the name conform with the supposed derivation from *Wihtgar*. Alternatively this highly plausible "confusion between *Wihtgar*'s name and a place-name *Wihtwaraburg*,"³³ which according to Malone³⁴ caused the *burh* in question to be known "now as *Wihtgareshurh* 'the stronghold of *Wihtgar*,' now as *Wihtwaraburh* 'the stronghold of the men of *Wight*,'" may automatically have resulted in a blend *Wihtgaraburh*. This blend need not, however, be due merely to the scribe. On the contrary, it is in my opinion even more probable that it resulted from a process of long standing, one which began as soon as *Wihtgar*'s name became coupled with **Wihtwaraburh*. Eventually *Wihtwaraburh* was completely ousted by *Wihtgaraburh* in oral tradition, and the latter form was tentatively etymologized by the scribe of MS A as *Wihtgareshurh* 'Wihtgar's stronghold' (written *Wihtgarasbyrg*); in MSS B, C, E, and F the coupling of *Wihtgaraburh* and *Wihtgar* has been completed. My suggestion above that the term *Wihtware* was archaic when the OE version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* was prepared, and that it may have been so even at the time of the first Chronicle compilation, would render the preservation and general acceptance of a blend *Wihtgaraburh* still more likely.

We should perhaps also, as Magoun³⁵ suggests, reckon with the possibility that *-gara* arose from an early Welsh spelling *-guara* for *-ware* as in *Cantguaraland*.³⁶ This explanation, which reduces the origin of the blend *Wihtgaraburh* to scribal interference alone, may find some support in Asser's spelling *Gwihtgaraburhg*. The prerequisite of the supposed change would then be a Welsh spelling **Gwihtguaraburhg* in some document used by the compiler of

³² *Ibid.* note 3. Stevenson writes "the change of *g* to *w*," which is obviously a mistake for "*w* to *g*" (actually the wording in EHR 14, p. 37).

³³ Chadwick, *op. cit.* 21, note 1.

³⁴ *Anglia* Beiblatt 47, p. 220.

³⁵ F. P. Magoun, Jr., *Territorial, Place-, and River-Names in the Old-English Chronicle, A-Text*. Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, Vol. 20 (1938), p. 99.

³⁶ Nennius § 37 (quotation from Chadwick p. 39).

the archetype of the Chronicle; such a spelling might, indeed, have been a strong inducement for the scribe to render the name in English as *Wihthgaraburh*.

Stevenson is perfectly right in his statement that no change of *w* to *g* is known in OE and that compounds with *-waru* and *-ware* always retain their *w*; in ME place-name forms, however, the loss of unstressed *w* seems to be normal as in Canterbury: *Canterburie* 1086, Canterton (Hants): *Cantortun* 1086, Conderton (Worcester): *Cantuaretun* 875 BCS 541, *Cantertun* c. 1170,³⁷ etc. A phonetic explanation of *Wihthgara-* instead of the postulated *Wihthwara-* is difficult, indeed, although perhaps not quite impossible. The change of the intervocalic velar fricative *g* to *w* is a regular ME feature, e. g. in ME *drawen* < OE *dragun*, and the opposite development might therefore be conceivable under specially favorable circumstances. In the compound *Wihthwaraburh* there are no less than three labial consonants following closely upon one another, two of them (*w*) having, in fact, strong velar modification. Again, the second *w* is immediately preceded by the palatal combination *ht*, which, through partial assimilation, may have tended to enhance the velar characteristic of the following *w*. At the same time a dissimulatory tendency may have been at work, reducing the labial quality of the second *w*, so that the final result was a kind of weak velar (or palato-velar) fricative sound, which resembled the normal fricative *g*, by which it was soon replaced. I do not want to stress this possibility too much, since to my knowledge *Wihthgaraburh* would be the only instance of the postulated series of changes, but I cannot help feeling that it may, in some measure at least, have furthered the folk-etymological change of *Wihthwara-* into *Wihthgara-*, or been furthered itself by the association of *Wihthgar* with *Wihthwaraburh*.

The obscure *Wihthgara* (800 hides) from the ancient census record called the Tribal Hidage³⁸ has also been adduced in this connection and has actually been identified by some scholars with the first part of *Wihthgaraburh*. Thus Maitland³⁹ and McClure,⁴⁰

³⁷ E. Ekwall, *A Concise Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1940), and *The Place-Names of Worcestershire* (Cambridge, 1927), p. 115.

³⁸ *Cartularium Saxonum* (= BCS), ed. W. de Gray Birch (London, 1885-93), No. 297.

³⁹ F. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1897), p. 507, note.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 145, note 1, and p. 331, note 6.

while mentioning the possibility that *Wihtgara* may refer to Wight, seem nevertheless to hesitate about their identity, and Stevenson points out,⁴¹ with reference to Martland's discussion, that the hidage of *Wihtgara* is only half of that given by Bede, that *Wihtgara* appears to relate to a non-West-Saxon district and that it is possibly a mistake of the copyist for *Wihthaga*, since it precedes *Norgaga* and *Ohtgaga*; he adds that from its position in the list it should be somewhere near the Chilterns. On his orientation map of the Tribal Hidage districts, Corbett places *Wihtgara* in Warwickshire.⁴² Brownbill,⁴³ on the other hand, not only identifies *Wihtgara* and Wight, but, in order to eliminate the discrepancy in hidage between *Wihtgara* and Wight (1200 hides according to Bede), he adds to it the *Aro-sætna* (600 hides), from the mistaken notion that the first part of that name is reflected in the name of King Arwald⁴⁴ of Wight. *Arosætna* refers, however, as Goodall⁴⁵ has shown, to the district on the river Arrow in Warwickshire (*Aro-sætna* means 'the Arrow-dwellers'), an identification accepted by Ekwall⁴⁶ and with hesitation by the editors of *The Place-Names of Warwickshire* (pp. 195 and xviii, note 2). In the Tribal Hidage *Wihtgara* occurs after *Gifla* and *Hicca*, which should undoubtedly be linked with *Ivel* (river) and *Hitchin* (town) in Hertfordshire,⁴⁷ and the district of the *Wihtgara*⁴⁸ was probably to the west of *Hicca*; they all belonged to what Goodall terms "the enlarged Mercia." It is true that Wulfhere, king of Mercia, raided Wight in 661 and some years later gave it to King Æthelwald of Sussex,⁴⁹ but since the West-Saxon districts, which were also conquered by Wulfhere, are not included in the Mercian areas as listed in the Tribal Hidage, there is no support in this short Mercian overlordship of Wight for the identification of *Wihtgara* with Wight.

Finally a few words should be said about the identification of

⁴¹ EHR 14 (1899), p. 37, note 19.

⁴² *Trans. of the Royal Historical Society*, 1900, p. 187 ff.; the map in question faces p. 202.

⁴³ EHR 27 (1912) p. 639.

⁴⁴ EHR 40 (1925) p. 499.

⁴⁵ ZONF 1 (1926) p. 173.

⁴⁶ *Op cit.* under *Arrow*.

⁴⁷ *The Place-Names of Hertfordshire* (Cambridge, 1938), p. xvii.

⁴⁸ In the several MSS of the Tribal Hidage *Wihtgara* appears as *Ffitgara*, *Fitgara*, *Wythgora*, *Wight-gora* (BCS 297).

⁴⁹ Bede IV: 16.

Wihthgaraburh with modern Carisbrooke. It goes back to Camden,⁵⁰ who was of the opinion that "*Caeresbrok*, an old castle," was "so, call'd by a strange mangling of the name for *Whitgaresburg* (from one *Whitgar* a Saxon . . .)." Curiously enough Plummer⁵¹ also thought that *Wihthgaraburh* had been corrupted into Carisbrooke, an assumption to which Stevenson⁵² rightly took exception. Yet I am not willing to subscribe to Stevenson's statement that we must "relegate *Wihthgaraburh* to the category of unidentified place-names in early OE history." For the impossibility of a phonological connection between two names need certainly not exclude their topographical identity. *Wihthgaraburh* may well have occupied the site of Carisbrooke castle, even though the old name did not survive. The present name has been known for 900 years, and the earliest castle structure seems to have been erected on the foundations of some ancient defensive earthworks.⁵³ In point of fact the spot would have been strategically ideal for an old Celtic fort: a steep hillspur, commanding the valley of the Medina and the access to the fields and pastures of southern Wight; to the north-west and north-east dense woodlands, still recognizable in the names of Parkhurst, Northwood, Staplers, Combley, and Chillingwood, would have given added protection against surprise attacks by invaders. The early and complete disappearance of *Wihthgaraburh* and the survival of Carisbrook (originally the name of Lukely Brook) presumably indicate that *Wihthgaraburh* never was, or became, a place-name proper, but that it was only a short-lived, ephemeral designation of the important Celtic fort by whose capture the Jutes managed to subdue the whole of Wight.

A recent identification of *Wihthgaraburh* with the 14th century beacon-place *Wyghtbergh*⁵⁴ is, as already pointed out, a fallacy.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ *Camden's Britannia, Newly Translated into English . . .*, publ. by Edmund Gibson (London, 1695), 128.

⁵¹ ASC 2 p. 14.

⁵² Asser p. 173 f.

⁵³ According to W. Ormsby Gore, *Illustrated Regional Guides to Ancient Monuments*, Vol. II, *Southern England* (London, 1936), p. 73, there are under Carisbrooke Castle "the remains of a late Roman fort, the walls of which can be seen."

⁵⁴ O. G. S. Crawford in *Antiquity* 5 (1931), p. 457.

⁵⁵ This erroneous identification has unfortunately been accepted by M. Hoffmann-Hirtz in *Une Chronique Anglo-Saxonne* (Strasbourg, 1933), p. 35, note 1.

If *Wyghtbergh*⁵⁶ were really descended from *Wihtgaraburh*, as Crawford claims, what happened to the medial syllable *-gara*? It can hardly have vanished without leaving the slightest trace in the ME spelling. Moreover, the terminals of the two names are different, that of *Wihtgaraburh* being clearly OE *burh* 'fort,' and that of *Wyghtbergh* equally clearly OE *beorg* 'hill.' No doubt the similarity between Wight and the first part of *Wyghtbergh* gave the impulse to this identification. *Wyght-* is, however, merely an inverted spelling of OE *hwit* 'white,' showing not only the early coalescence of initial *hw* and *w* but also the partial or complete disappearance of the voiceless fricative [ç] before *t* in such words as *bright*, *light*. From other evidence we know that the palatal was considerably weakened or had ceased to be pronounced by the end of the 14th century, but our spelling antedates the process by approximately fifty years. We may compare such spellings as *Wyghtfeld* (Gloucester) 1386, 1391, and *Wyghthull* (Oxfordshire) 1437.⁵⁷ From the position of *Wyghtbergh* in the list of beacon-places it appears to have been near Carisbrooke, and I am convinced that *Wyghtbergh* 'the white hull' referred to one of the high downs round Whitcombe (< OE *hwit* + *cumb* 'valley') or was the original name of Alvington Down, on the slopes of which there are chalk-pits and near which we find Whitepit and Whitelane Homestead, which, as early forms show, should be derived from OE *hwit* + *pytt* and *land*⁵⁸ respectively.

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FINNSBURG FRAGMENT, 5 a

One of the most tantalizing half-lines in the *Finnsburg Fragment* is 5 a, which according to Hickes's transcription is: *Ac her forþberað*.¹ Some editors, like Wyatt-Chambers and Sedgefield, assuming that two half-lines, 5 b and 6 a, have accidentally been omitted by Hickes, print lines 5 and 6 in this way:

⁵⁶ *Wyghtbergh* occurs in a list of Isle of Wight beacon-places published in *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, Vol. 2, p. 209 f.

⁵⁷ *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, London 1890—.

⁵⁸ *The Place-Names of the Isle of Wight*, pp 180 and 111.

¹ Fr. Klaeber, *Beowulf and The Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd ed., Boston 1936, p. 247.

ac hēr forþ berað,
 fugelas singað.²

Others have tried to supply the allegedly missing half-lines, e. g., Rieger, who inserts *fyrðsearu rincas*, / *fýnd ofer foldan*, and Bugge, who adopts *fyrðsearu rincas* from Rieger but adds *flacre flānbogan*.³ As pointed out by Wyatt-Chambers, Hickes indicates no gap, and the two half-lines make sense individually.⁴ Heyne-Schucking⁵ amend *hēr* to *fēr* (< *fār*), combining the two half-lines as 5 a and 5 b. Holthausen and Klæber follow Hickes's text strictly, printing the whole line *ac hēr forþ berað, fugelas singað*, but interpret *forþ berað* differently (see below).⁶

Translators, too, have wrestled with the obscure passage. Clark Hall⁷ takes ll. 4-5 to mean "nor here do this hall's gables burn, but hither forth they (the enemy) fare, the birds (of battle) sing," which in the appended verse translation is rendered: "Nor do the gables burn here in this hall of ours, / But hither forth they fare, birds of battle sing." R. K. Gordon⁸ translates: "nor are the gables of this hall here burning, but they are launching a sudden attack, the birds are singing." And William Ellery Leonard, following Wyatt-Chambers, gives this interpretation:

Nor are aflame our gables here in hall tonight
 But hither cometh, bearing
 Now sing the birds of prey⁹

The interpretation of *forþ berað* is certainly a crux. Holthausen suggests that "die feindlichen Krieger" should be supplied as the subject of *berað* (cf. Clark Hall above), and that *berað* should be

² A. J. Wyatt and R. W. Chambers, *Beowulf with the Finnsburg Fragment*, Cambridge, 1920, p. 158; W. J. Sedgefield, *Beowulf*, 3rd ed., Manchester, 1935, p. 93.

³ Cf. Klæber, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁴ See Wyatt-Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁵ M. Heyne and L. L. Schucking, *Beowulf*, 11. und 12. Aufl., Paderborn, 1918, p. 97.

⁶ F. Holthausen, *Beowulf*, Heidelberg, 1921, Vol. 1, p. 104, and Klæber, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁷ J. R. Clark Hall, *Beowulf and the Finnsburg Fragment*, London, 1911, p. 156.

⁸ R. K. Gordon, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, London, 1930, p. 71.

⁹ William Ellery Leonard, *Beowulf Translated into Verse*, The Heritage Press, 1939, p. 119.

rendered by "dringen."¹⁰ This is also the opinion of Schilling and Dickens,¹¹ who translate *forþ berað* 'press forward' (cf. Gordon's translation above). Klaeber, disapproving of this intransitive use of *forþ berað*, assumes instead that the "war equipments specified afterwards are the object of *berað*" and compares this passage with Beowulf 291 b-292 a: *Gewitaþ forð beran / wāpen ond gewæðu*.¹² The principal drawback to Klaeber's suggestion is that there is no enumeration of the weapons to be carried forth; we are only given a graphic description of warlike preparations: *gūðwudu hlynneð, / scyld scefte oncwyrð*. Moreover, *berað* has no subject, which makes it necessary to supply "they," i. e., the enemy. Klaeber's explanation is, therefore, not very attractive.

It seems to me, however, that an acceptable interpretation is possible without either emending the text or assuming that the subject as well as the object of *berað* is understood. Klaeber prints lines 4 and 5 thus:

ne hēr ðisse healle hornas ne byrnað;
ac hēr forþ berað, fugelas singað

The semicolon after *byrnað* is Klaeber's, for in Hicckes's transcription every half-line is followed by period. Nothing prevents us consequently from running lines 4 and 5 together, making *hornas* the subject both of *byrnað* and *forþ berað* and putting the period or semicolon after *berað*. In that case, of course, *forþ berað* cannot well mean 'carry forth' or 'press forward.' For the use of *forþ* here I think we should compare *Ic sceal forð sprecan*, Beowulf 2069 b, 'I shall continue to speak (go on speaking),' where *forð* alliterates with the two words of the preceding half-line: *frēondscipe fæstne*. *Berað* itself apparently has the sense of 'support, hold up,' so that the meaning of the whole half-line would be 'but here (the gables) continue to support (hold up, keep holding up / the roof /)'; or more freely, 'continue to stand.' True, there is only scanty evidence of *beran* in this specific sense of 'support' in OE, the sole example given in Bosworth-Toller (Supplement) being *Sio eax byrþ Callne ðone wæn* from Alfred's Boethius, but such a secondary meaning is what we should expect to find even at the earliest period of OE. What, besides, favors the rendering 'continue to support,

¹⁰ Holthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol 2, p. 177.

¹¹ Klaeber, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

¹² Klaeber, *ibid.*

keep holding up' is the conjunction *ac*, which clearly connects 5 a with the preceding line while at the same time implying its contrasting content: "here the gables of this hall are not burning but they are still standing (they keep holding up) here."

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ANOTHER APPETITE FOR FORM

In the *Legend of Good Women* Chaucer writes.

As matere appetyteth forme al-vey,
And from forme in-to forme hit passen may . . . 1582-3

And:

Thou giver of the formes, that hast wrought
The faire world, and bare hit in thy thought
Eternally, or thou thy werk began . . . 228-30.

Three definite ideas are stated here: first, matter appetites form; secondly, matter may pass from one form into another; and thirdly, God the giver of forms has borne them eternally in his mind.

Regarding the first of these passages Skeat says that Chaucer is following Guido, who writes: "*Scimus enim mulieris animum semper urum appetere, sicut appetit materia semper formam.*"¹ Concerning the second he says that Chaucer is paralleling Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, III, met. 9:

. . . Tu cuncta superno
ducis ab exemplo, pulcrum pulcerrimus ipse
mundum mente gerens, similique in imagine formans *

Recently Mr. W. R. Moses suggested that Chaucer's conception of reality comes ultimately from Augustine, who believed that God impregnated matter with seeds which gave it form.²

No one, however, has attempted to explain "from forme in-to forme hit passen may"; and I fail to see why matter should desire, or "appetyte," form simply because the seeds of form have been

¹ W. W. Skeat, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1894, III, 328-9.

² *Ibid.*, 340-1.

* W. R. Moses, "An Appetite for Form," *MLN*, XLIX (1934), 226-9.

planted in it. Since Guido uses the term *appetite* to express the inclination of matter to seek an appropriate form, may we not suppose it likely that the writer who gave him the expression would also have an explanation for it?

Salomon Ibn Gebirol (Avencebrol), a Jewish philosopher of the eleventh century, developed a system in which he conceived of God as creating a Cosmic Spirit composed of universal matter and universal form. This Cosmic Spirit divides itself in the process of degenerating emanation and produces two new lines of being, spiritual and corporeal. Each of these exists within the cosmic matter and form and contains therefore a plurality of matters and forms.⁴

God, then, is the giver of forms:

M Forma erat in scientia dei excelsi et magni per se, et postea composita est cum materia, sed hoc sine tempore.⁵

Further:

. . . sed extra substantias simplices nihil est nisi ille qui creavit eas excelsus et sanctus, et propter hoc dicuntur esse perpetuae, propter aeternitatem eius qui creavit eas.⁶

God has always borne the forms in His mind, even before He created the world; and it is He who gave them to matter. Regardless of where Chaucer got his expression, we must admit that here the idea is stated clearly and in full.

As to why "materie appetiteth forme," Avencebrol also gives a complete answer. *Appetitus*, *desiderium*, and *amor* are used interchangeably, and all three mean inclination or yearning.

M. Materia mobilis est ad recipiendum formam. exemplum autem motionis suae ad recipiendum formam et applicationis formae cum illa est motus animae priuatae aliqua scientia ad inuicendum eam et recipiendum; et cum accesserit forma illius scientiae. ad animum et extiterit in ea, anima fiet per eam sciens, id est sustentatrix formae illius scientiae. similiter cum forma accesserit materiae facta est materia per eam formata et sustentatrix formae.

D. Quae est causa compellens moueri materiam ad recipiendum formam?

M. Causa in hoc est appetitus materiae ad recipiendum bonitatem et

⁴ See Maurice De Wulf, *The History of Mediaeval Philosophy*, I, 228 ff.

⁵ Avencebrol, *Fons Vitae*, v, 27, trans Iohanne Hispano and Dominico Gundissalino, Munster: Beitrage zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, 1892, p 306.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v, 24, p. 301.

delectationem, dum recipit formam, similiter dicendum est de motu omnium substantiarum, quia motus omnium substantiarum est ad unum et propter unum, hoc est quia omne quod est appetit moueri ut assequatur aliquid bonitatis primi esse.⁷

And matter in its movement toward perfection may pass through many forms:

. . . dicendum est de materia naturali, scilicet substantia quae sustinet praedicamenta, quia haec etiam materia mouetur ad recipiendum formam qualitatum primum, et postea ad recipiendum formam metallinam, deinde formam uegetabilem, deinde sensibilem, deinde rationalem, deinde intelligibilem, donec coniungatur formae intelligentiae uniuersalis. et secundum hoc etiam considera motum omnium uniuersalium; et secundum hoc oportet ut materia prima sit desiderans recipere formam primam, ut acquirat bonitatem, quae est esse. similiter dicendum est de omni quod est ex materia et forma, quia quod ex eo est imperfectum, mouetur ad recipiendum formam perfecti; et quo magis ascenderit esse, fient pauciora motus et desideria, propter suam propinquitatem ad perfectionem.⁸

Thus matter must always appetite form and pass from one into another until it reaches perfection. It is the desire of prime matter and prime form, once together in the Cosmic Spirit, to return to their original being. It is the yearning of all things to return to their Creator, the cause and end of every desire and every motion.

Here in Avencebrol's theories of emanative monism and a plurality of matters lies, I believe, the explanation for the two passages from the *Legend of Good Women*. We need not assume necessarily that Chaucer went to the *Fons Vitae* for his lines; it is likely, as Skeat suggests, that he used Guido and even Boethius. But to find an explanation of the ideas behind them he had only to go, as Guido probably did, to the philosopher who championed one and formulated the other: Avencebrol.

JOSEPH ALLEN BRYANT

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SHIRLEY'S RETURN TO LONDON IN 1639-40

Some years ago, Professor A. H. Nason presented an hypothesis to account for the presence of Shirley's dedication in the quarto of his *The Maid's Revenge* dated 1639: "it resulted not from a visit to London about April 12, 1639, but from Shirley's return in the

⁷ *Ibid.*, v, 32, p. 316.

⁸ *Ibid.*, v, 34, p. 320.

spring of 1639/40. The date '1639' upon the title-page means—translated into New Style—that the play was published between March 25, 1639, and March 25, 1640." Thus he concluded that the presence of the dedication "may be best explained on the assumption that Shirley returned [from Ireland] to London early in the spring of 1639/40."¹ That the play was published late in 1639 or early in 1640 seems evident from certain typographical indications. The catalogue of Shirley's plays in *The Humorous Courtier* of 1640² was apparently printed from the same setting of type from "TRaytor" through "Revenge"³ as the same catalogue in *The Maid's Revenge*. The same large, damaged "T" (in "TRaytor"), the same "F" (in "Witty Faire one") with a fragment of type on the extended, lower serif, the same damaged "v" (in "Love in a Maze"), the same damaged "R" in "*Maides Revenge*"), and many other examples show that the same types were used. Moreover, rulers connecting two full stops on a copy of each play cut the same letters in the same places.⁴ Since it seems hardly probable that the printer (Thomas Cotes) would have left this catalogue standing in type over a period of several months, we must suppose that the quarto of *The Maid's Revenge* was printed late in 1639 or early in 1640.⁵ If, then, the presence of the dedication indicates that Shirley was in London, it indicates that he was there late in 1639 or early in 1640.

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¹ Arthur Huntington Nason, *James Shirley, Dramatist; a Biographical and Critical Study* (New York: Arthur H. Nason, 1915), pp. 116, 118.

² "Printed by T. C. for William Cooke, and are to be sold by James Becket, in the Inner Temple. 1640." The catalogue appears on sig. A2r. In *The Maid's Revenge* ("Printed by T. C. for William Cooke, and are to be sold at his shop at Furnivalls Inne Gate in Holbourne. 1639."), it appears on sig. A2v.

³ That is, the entire page exclusive of the head-piece; heading; the "*Humorous Courtier*," the signature, and catch-word added to the later list; and the tail-piece omitted from the catalogue in *The Maid's Revenge*, the earlier.

⁴ Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 183.

⁵ Even supposing that *The Humorous Courtier* was postdated, we can hardly push the date of publication of the two quartos back far enough to affect our conclusion.

JOSHUA POOLE AND MILTON'S *MINOR POEMS*

In the preface to his edition of Milton's *Minor Poems* (1785) Thomas Warton, noting the scarcity of early allusions, declared that he found not "the quantity of an hemistich quoted from any of these poems" in Joshua Poole's collection of phrases from contemporary poets, *The English Parnassus*, 1657. This statement, repeated in the revised but posthumous edition (1791), was emphatically denied by Todd (1801) and by William Godwin, who, in his *Lives of Edward and John Philips* (1815), asserted that Milton's *Minor Poems* "appear to be cited as often as the writings of almost any other author. Nearly the whole of the Ode on the Nativity is inserted in different extracts; the quotations from L'Allegro are copious . . ." In his *Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (1922) Professor R. D. Havens supplied what the others had neglected to supply—nineteen page references to Poole, as evidence. And there the problem has been allowed to rest.

Since early references to the *Minor Poems* are, in any case, rather scarce, it would surely be of interest to know the exact extent to which Poole made use of Milton's verses. Consequently, with John Bradshaw's *Concordance* I have checked, line by line, that entire section of *The English Parnassus* devoted to poetic phrases.¹ The results may or may not justify the labor involved, but I shall be satisfied if the matter is settled once and for all.

Of all Milton's minor verse the "Nativity Ode" proved most useful to Poole, who collected the following illustrations: 64-68 (*Calm*, p. 273);² 155-164 (*Day of Judgment*, pp. 358-9 [408-9]);³ 235-236 (*Fairies*, pp. 290-1 [340-1]);⁴ 68 (*Halcyon*, p. 335

¹ I have, of course, ignored the dictionary of riming monosyllables and the subsequent dictionary of epithets. Only the phrases could be proved borrowed, and even with these there are some dubious examples, as I shall show. The collection of phrases occupies pp. 229-572 of the first edition, 1657, and pp. 221-614 of the 1677 reprint. Pages 289-622 of the first edition, which I used for this study, are misnumbered 239-572 consecutively.

² The first figures refer to the number of the lines in Milton's poem. The word illustrated and the page reference in Poole follow the line references.

³ I have given Poole's numbering with the correct numbering.

⁴ These lines are illustrative of Poole's frequent habit of paraphrasing lines from Milton.

[385]); 174-175, 179-180 (*Oracle*, p. 435 [485]);⁵ 53-58 (*Peace*, p. 441 [491]); 172 (*Serpent. v. Snake*, p. 477 [527]); 117-124 (*Sweet sounding*, p. 511 [561]); 133-135 (*Sweet sounding*, p. 512 [562]); and 101-108 (*Sweet sounding*, p. 512 [562]). Next in usefulness was "L'Allegro," from which Poole selected the following: 80 (*Beautifull*, p. 251); 1-2 (*Melancholy*, p. 390 [440]); 49-50 (*Morning*, p. 403 [453]); 41-44 (*Morning*, p. 407 [457]); 63-68 (*Morning*, p. 408 [458]); 6-7 (*Sad, Melancholy place*, p. 449 [499]); 142-150 (*Sweet sounding*, p. 514 [564]). From "Lycidas" Poole collected five illustrations: 98-99 (*Calm*, p. 273); 139-141 (*Flowers*, p. 309 [359]); 187 (*Morning*, p. 402 [452]); 168-171 (*Morning*, p. 403 [453]); 136-141 (*Vale. Valley*, p. 535 [585]). "The Passion" furnished three illustrations: 8-9 (*Elegies. v. Lamentable* p. 272 [322]); 29-35 (*Elegies. v. Lamentable*, p. 272 [322]); and 29 (*Night*, p. 418 [468]). So, likewise, did "Song, On May Morning": 1 (*Lucifer*, p. 379 [429]); 3-8 (*May*, p. 388 [438]); and 1-2 (*Morning*, p. 398 [448]). From "Upon the Circumcision" Poole perhaps took two descriptive phrases: "winged warriours and flaming powers" (*Angels*, p. 238). Two other possible borrowings are "glittering ranks" (*Angels*, p. 238) and "the shady gloom" (*Night*, p. 418 [468]) from the "Nativity Ode," 114 and 77-78.

Poole did not make use of "Comus," "Il Penseroso," "On Time," "At a Solemn Music," "Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester," "On Shakespeare," "On the University Carrier," or the sonnets. Todd is over enthusiastic in stating that "there are few pages in which quotations may not be found from Milton's poetry." Of the 393 pages of phrases in *The English Parnassus* (1657) about twenty-five contain Milton quotations. The evidence shows that only about one-fifth of the "Nativity Ode" is "inserted in different extracts." The quotations from "L'Allegro" are fairly

⁵ The inaccuracy of Poole's selections are best exemplified by these lines:

An hideous voyce,
Runs through the arched roof in words deceiving,
A nightly trance or breathed spel,
Inspires his pale ey'd Priest from the Prophetick cell.

Milton wrote:

No voice or hideous hum
Runs through the arched roof in words deceiving
No nightly trance, or breathed spell,
Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell.

copious considering the length of the poem. To judge from the long list of authors supposedly quoted, Poole may well have cited Milton's *Minor Poems* "as often as the writings of almost any other author," as Godwin stated; but this can only be determined when every line in *The English Parnassus* has been checked for its author—doubtless an unlikely prospect.

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AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF ARNAUD BERQUIN

Arnaud Berquin, a lesser luminary who enjoyed during the last decades of the eighteenth century considerable popularity as an adaptator of foreign literature¹ and a writer of works for children and adolescents, showed a particular interest in German letters. Early in his career he conceived the plan of building for himself two German libraries, one for his Paris residence, the other for his country home.²

Two letters he wrote in this connection to the heirs of Weidman and Reich, Leipzig booksellers, have come down to us. Both are dated 1776 and were written from the Hôtel de Lyon, rue de Grenelle-St.-Honoré, where he was living at that time. The first, dated February 8 and to be found in the *Archives historiques de la Gironde*, xxx, 227, shows him anxious to secure two copies of the complete works of Bodmer, Breitenbach, Breitingen, Canitz, and Cramer. He wants the finest and the best editions available. In exchange for whatever the Leipzig booksellers may furnish him, he will give copies of his own books worth the same amount. The second letter, written on March 15 and still in manuscript form, is an answer to the heirs of Weidman and Reich, who have agreed

¹ See Daniel Mornet, *Le Sentiment de la Nature en France, de J.-J. Rousseau à Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*, 1907, 173-176; also my previous articles, "Berquin's Adaptations from English Periodical Literature," *PQ.*, July 1934, 248-260; "A French Adaptation of Sandford and Merton," *MLN.*, April 1935, 238-242; "Berquin's Adaptations from German Dramatic Literature," *SP.*, Oct. 1935, 603-617; "Notes on Arnaud Berquin's Adaptations from English Poetry," *RR.*, Oct.-Dec. 1935, 335-340.

² See letter written to the heirs of Weidman and Reich, booksellers in Leipzig, *Archives historiques de la Gironde*, xxx, 227.

to this proposition. The original is to be found in the Gratz Memorial Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.³ It has seemed to me that the publication of this document would make a minor contribution to the history of German literature in France in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Messieurs,

En écrivant à la fois à plusieurs libraires de votre ville, j'étois bien éloigné de penser que ma proposition pût être du goût de tous ceux à qui je la faisois. Mais comment démêler d'ici celui que le genre de son commerce mettroit à portée de l'accepter? Etant dans l'intention d'indemniser ceux à qui elle ne conviendrait pas, ou en leur faisant rembourser les frais que je leur aurois occasionnés, ou par un présent qui les en dédommageât, j'ai pris le parti d'écrire à plusieurs d'entre vous pour que ma proposition pût rencontrer dans le nombre celui à qui elle pouvoit convenir. Si je n'avois écrit qu'à un seul, en le priant, au cas que ma proposition ne fût pas son affaire, de la communiquer de ma part à celui qu'il jugeroit le plus disposé à l'agréer, j'avois à craindre par l'exemple journalier de nos libraires que ma lettre ne restât dans son portefeuille, et qu'il ne fallût m'adresser successivement à chacun de vous en particulier, ce qu'il valoit mieux faire tout à la fois. Voilà, Messieurs, la raison des *duplicata* de ma lettre.

Comme notre littérature se cultive de plus en plus en Allemagne, j'ai pensé à ouvrir à mes ouvrages un débouché de ce côté là. Il n'y avoit que des échanges qui pussent faire réussir mon projet, parceque mon ouvrage devenant en quelque manière livre de fonds de celui qui me donne en Echange des livres, il doit naturellement les pousser et les faire circuler comme ses propres, ce qui doit étendre et faciliter leur consommation, et j'y trouve l'avantage de me former une bonne bibliothèque de bonnes poésies allemandes dont je fais mes délices.

Comme il m'a paru par votre lettre que si vous étiez seul chargé de mes ouvrages, vous ne vous refuseriez pas à un échange pour les articles de votre fonds, je prendrais 4 Exemplaires (beau papier) des œuvres complètes de Gellert, de Weisse, et de Wieland, deux pour moi, et deux dont mon libraire se chargeroit pour son compte. Je vous donneroie en échange le nombre de mes idylles, de mes Romances et de mon *Pygmalion*⁴ (8 gravures, un frontispice et le texte gravés, prix 3#) qui répondroit à la somme à laquelle s'élèveroient les quatre exemplaires de chacun des trois livres de votre fonds. Vous seriez les seuls libraires de Leipsick à qui j'en enverrois. Vous en feriez le débit le plus prompt possible dans vos foires et dans vos

³ I wish to express my most sincere thanks to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for permission to publish this letter. Its existence was first brought to my attention by Professor Richmond Laurin Hawkins of Harvard University many years ago, when I was a graduate student at that institution.

⁴ This work, published in 1775, is a poetic version of Rousseau's *Pygmalion*.

negociations avec vos correspondans. Si vous trouviez jour a en placer un plus grand nombre, ou chaque fois que je publierois un nouvel ouvrage, nous ferions de nouveaux echanges pour d'autres livres de votre fonds, ou pour ceux que je vous ai demandés dans ma note et que vous pourriez vous procurer dans l'intervalle.

Si cela vous convient envoyez-moi une note des bons ouvrages de poesie et de litterature de votre fond ou de ceux dont vous pouvez disposer dans le fond de vos confreres. Si cela ne vous convient pas indiquez-moi une voye par laquelle je puisse vous rembourser a vous et a ceux a qui j'ai ecrit inutilement les frais que j'ai occasionnés, ou acceptez pour eux et pour vous un exemplaire d'un ouvrage richement orné que je vous ferai passer par la voye qu'il vous plaira de m'indiquer.

L'editeur des poesies italiennes⁵ dont je vous ai envoyé un fragment, celui de notre almanach des Muses dont il y a 12 Vol (prix 15# 6 Brochés) et Mr Imbert,⁶ un de nos meilleurs poetes dont les œuvres forment 3 volumes grand in 8°. enrichis de belles Estampes, l'un de contes, l'autre de fables, le troisième de petits poemes,⁷ me chargent de vous proposer ces ouvrages pour un exemplaire qu'ils prendroient chacun de la petite edition des oeuvres de Gellert, de Weisse et de Wieland.

Je suis tres parfaitement en attendant votre Réponse,

Votre tres humble
Et tres obeissant serviteur,
Berquin avocat

Paris, Le 15 Mars 1776.

hotel de Lyon, rue de Grenelle
St Honoré.

J.-M. CARRIÈRE

University of Virginia

⁵ Berquin is referring to the *Collection des Auteurs Italiens*, a work published in forty-two volumes and containing the writings of outstanding Italian poets. The *Collection* is advertised in the *Almanach des Muses* of 1775 and 1776 as being sold at Delalain's, "Librairie, rue & à côté de la Comédie Française."

⁶ Barthélemy Imbert was born in Nîmes in 1747 and died in Paris in 1790. He came to Paris at the age of twenty and soon achieved great reputation as an imitator of the poet Dorat. Unfortunately his early literary success spoiled him, and he never really did justice to himself. He wrote very extensively. Weak as an author of tragedies, he was more successful as a writer of comedies and light poetry.

⁷ From a list of contemporary publications inserted in the *Almanach des Muses*, 1775, p. 326, we learn that Berquin is referring here to the following works of Imbert: *Jugement de Paris (Œuvres mêlées)*, 1772; *Fables nouvelles*, 1773; and *Historiettes, ou Nouvelles en vers*, 1774.

NED. SUPPLEMENT: "SHERLOCK (HOLMES) V. INTR."

The only specimen given for the use of the full name as a verb reads: "1929 G. W. DEEPING *Roper's Row* iv. § 1 Let's do a little Sherlock Holmesing. Soames, you'll be Watson."

An earlier and different use occurs in James Joyce's *Ulysses* (Paris, 1922), p. 590: "He had been meantime taking stock of the individual in front of him and Sherlockholmesing him up, ever since he clapped eyes on him."

JOSEPH PRESCOTT

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REVIEWS

The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre. Vol. iv: Le Roman du Fier de Gaderes d'Eustache, essai d'établissement du texte. Par E. C. ARMSTRONG et ALFRED FOULET. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1942. Pp. viii + 110. (Elliott Monographs, Vol. 39). Vol. v: *Version of Alexandre de Paris: Variants and Notes to Branch II.* With an Introduction by FREDERICK B. AGARD. Princeton, 1942. Pp. vi + 250. (Elliott Monographs, Vol. 40).

Volumes 39 and 40 of the Elliott Monographs contain studies of an episode of the Alexander story which evidently had an independent existence before its incorporation into the great compilation assembled by Alexandre de Paris, an episode known as the *Fier de Gaderes* (Englished in the *Book of Alexander* as the "Forray of Gadderis"). In volume 39 an attempt is made to reconstruct the earliest French version of this episode—by a certain Eustache—from scraps of Latin prose, from references in other texts and from later reworkings of various sorts. Volume 40 is devoted to these reworkings, especially to the versions that appear in manuscripts of the compilation by Alexandre de Paris; it also includes notes, variants and corrections for Branch II, previously published in volume 37 of the same series.

The task of recovering and establishing the text of a non-surviving poem from disparate related material resembles that of archaeologists who seek to reconstruct lost monuments on the basis of fragments embedded in later rebuildings, in nearby débris, in descriptions and cognate art forms. Only those who know inti-

mately an enormous mass of evidence—men, like Bédier, who tried to bring to light an early version of the Tristan tale in this fashion—can be trusted to make such reconstructions. Fortunately, in the present instance we may well have faith in the knowledge and wisdom of our literary archaeologists. At every stage of their labors they have faithfully weighed and judged each intricate problem, presenting in lavish detail all the testimony underlying their conclusions.

That the difficulties inherent in their task are at times insuperable the authors themselves realize, for, as they admit (vol. 39, 37), it is possible that they have occasionally given us the words, not of Eustache, but of Alexandre de Paris. By using all the resources available, for example, they infer that Eustache's poem opened with the lines:

Tant chevauche Alixandres, qui d'aler ne s'oublie,
Qu'il vit les tours de Tyr et la terre a choisie.

They regard this opening as vivacious, clean-cut and wholly justifiable (see pp. 39-40 for the arguments). Yet it seems intrinsically unlikely that any poem would begin thus without preamble, and the words "Tant chevauche Alixandres" would imply that Alexander was riding from some place already in the reader's mind.¹ These facts, combined with the absence from the sources of any exact parallels to the lines, suggest that in this instance we may well have the words of some writer other than Eustache. But whether the words are his or not, would it not have been more prudent to have introduced the poem with a dotted line, indicating that something unrecoverable had been lost?

Another basic difficulty is manifest in these volumes. The *Roman d'Alexandre* is so composite a work that one stands, as it were, in the presence of a painting where successive artists have added to or blotted out the strokes of their predecessors. It is accordingly quite natural that our editors should spend most of their effort upon X-raying layers of pigment in order to ascertain the designs of the original. That they have performed their task admirably is obvious. Yet the emphasis upon this one problem seems excessive and tends unduly to obscure all others. Proofs of stratification accumulate—turgidly and repetitiously at times—until matters of prime importance appear to be merely incidental to them. Nor do the meager indices speed the reader's search. With difficulty one discovers a treatment—much too casual—of the style of Alexandre de Paris (vol. 39, 24), of the language and versification of Eustache's poem (35-36), of the date of the *Gadifer Version* (vol. 40, 106-107), etc. Although the authors consider Eustache's poem a "petit chef-

¹ I translate: "Alexander, who hastens to push forward, rides until he sees the towers of Tyre . . ." The words "qui d'aler ne s'oublie" are not exactly rendered by the authors' "*jamais las de pousser plus avant.*" See the examples of *oublier* with the reflexive pronoun in Marie de France, Chrétien and the *Histoire de Gille de Olyn*.

d'œuvre," they do not discuss its literary merits or seek to justify their judgment. (It must be confessed that, despite some vivid scenes and striking lines, one reader at least found the pattern of the whole too monotonous and undiversified for acceptance of this verdict.) Other material of potential significance receives scant or no consideration in the extensive notes, e. g. the reference to Roland's sword (AdeP II, 973; neither "Durendal" nor "Challemaine" appears in the indices).

However, as has been intimated, the source material is exhaustively investigated. For good measure two Latin versions of the episode are presented in new, critical editions. In this connection, the fact that Eustache's French poem was seemingly translated into dubious Latin as a school exercise raises a perplexing question (see pp. 15 ff.). Here we have a case, not of the adequate Latinization of a vernacular text (like Guido's translation of Benoît, or Petrarch's of Boccaccio), but rather of the type of thing we find in the Hague fragment's version of the William of Orange story. Now, our authors accept Hauvette's identification of the manuscript in which this awkward Latin paraphrase is found as one copied by Boccaccio himself, though they hasten to deny the possibility of Boccaccio's authorship. Yet one cannot help asking why a Latinist of Boccaccio's accomplishments should transcribe such poor stuff. Is it possible that, despite Hauvette and Oskar Hecker, neither of whom analyzed this text, the folio containing our school exercise is not in the hand of the autograph pieces? In any case a superficial comparison of the plate reproduced opposite p. 16 with Hauvette's plates does not reveal the peculiarities of the *h*, *l*, *b* and *s* that Hauvette considered characteristic of Boccaccio's script (*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 14, 1894, p. 103, n. 1; plates after p. 274).

In conclusion it should be said that if the trees of discovery do not always emerge above the forest of research in these volumes and if the sign-posts through the forest sometimes seem inadequate, the trees are nevertheless there and those who seek will find them. For example, the contribution of the Crusades to the Alexander poems is suggestively revealed (vol. 39, 10); the persisting influence of the *chansons de geste* is everywhere apparent (cf. the "regrets" mentioned on p. 24); the "lectures" of Eustache are indicated (p. 35); the problem of the transformation of proper names receives new illumination from observing the stages by which Gaza became in turn Gadir, Gadres, and Gazara (32-33); and so on. With each new volume of the *Roman d'Alexandre* it is evident how bravely and conscientiously a difficult and complicated task is being faced. Although we are still awaiting impatiently more in the way of synthesis than has as yet been vouchsafed us, our impatience testifies to our continuing interest, hope and confidence.

GRACE FRANK

The European Ancestry of Villon's Satirical Testaments. By WINTHROP HUNTINGTON RICE. New York: The Corporate Press, 1941. Pp. 244. (Syracuse University Monographs, no. I; also published, same press and date, as a Columbia University thesis.)

Gaston Paris and others have tried to appraise Villon's use of the facetious testament against the background provided by earlier and later examples of the same form, but in the present study for the first time we have a convenient grouping and interpretation of most of the pertinent material, Latin, German, English, Spanish and Portuguese, as well as French. If no new conclusions regarding "sources" and "influences" are reached, that is not due to any lack of acumen in our critic, but to the originality of François Villon. Indeed, besides satisfying our natural interest in the predecessors of the *Lais* and *Testament*, Rice's book serves the equally, if not more important, function of revealing that, as the author says (p. 230), "this is one more case where a great poet has caught up an age-old theme and revived it through the force of his personality and genius."

The work manifests good judgment and a mature point of view throughout, witness the sensible interpretation of the phrase "je fuyois l'escolle" (30) and the inferences regarding Villon's erudition (36). It is only in respect to a few minor details that objections may be raised. One misses at least a passing reference to William Dunbar's *Testament of Maister Andro Kennedy* and to Guillaume de Machaut's *Voir Dit*, especially when a poem as foreign to Villon's time and temper as the *Testament de Martin Leuter* is considered (220). One also misses some allusion to Jenkins's article, *Villoniana*, in *MLN*. 23 (1908), 163 ff., which contains a short but sane discussion of satirical wills. It is hardly exact to say (147) that Villon cites Rutebeuf's *Miracle de Théophile* (he alludes to the legend of Theophilus, but this was known from a large variety of sources in Villon's day), and it would have been well to equate Coussemaker's statements about Adam de la Halle, especially about his marriage and his allusion to the Abbey of Vaucelles (164), with the later studies of Guesnon and Langlois. Even if the posited reminiscence of *Aucassin et Nicolette* in the poem about En Buch and his horse be valid (and the preference of Hell to Paradise in satirical writings of all times makes this doubtful: see the references in Walther Suchier's tenth edition of *Aucassin*, p. 39), it is nevertheless hard to understand why "the possibility that the unknown author of *En Buch* knew the story of Aucassin is supported by the reputedly Spanish origin of the tale" (109). These are small matters, however.

Perhaps more important is the extent of Villon's indebtedness to Deschamps. This seems to deserve greater emphasis than it receives

(178, 228): since Deschamps' facetious testament contains more of the special flavor of Villon's works than any other and since Villon surely knew and imitated his predecessor's poems elsewhere—the *Ballade des langues envieuses* more closely parallels the earlier *Ballade des langues des médisants* than the note on p. 173 might suggest—is it in truth "reasonably certain" (230) that Villon "had no particular previous example in mind as he wrote"? Opinions on this point will probably continue to differ (see 169 ff. for a summary), but on the basis of Rice's own evidence his conclusions seem slightly timorous to me. Nevertheless, here as elsewhere the evidence is fairly and extensively presented so that the reader may judge for himself. In addition, the book admirably shows that, whatever Villon's debt to the past may have been in the matter of the form of his poems, the debt was small and repaid with compound interest.

GRACE FRANK

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The Evolution of Balzac's Comédie Humaine. Edited by E. PRESTON DARGAN and BERNARD WEINBERG. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois [1942]. Pp. xi + 441.

The title of the volume is misleading. The general title of the series "Studies in Balzac" would have been more appropriate, for the book is composed of the following studies erroneously called "chapters": 1. Balzac's method of revision, by E. Preston Dargan; 2. Development of the scheme of the *Comédie humaine*: Distribution of the stories, by BRUCIA L. DEDINSKY; 3. Variations in *Le Curé de Tours*, by Rachel Wilson; 4. An introduction to a critical edition of *Le Secret des Ruggieri*, by William L. Crain; 5. Summaries of variants in twenty-six stories, prepared by different students and put together by Bernard Weinberg; 6. A General conclusion by the editors; 7. An appendix, discussing the Zweig manuscript proof of *Une Ténébreuse affaire*, by Wells Chamberlin. As it is seen, with the exception of Miss Dedinsky's contribution and partially Mr. Crain's, the volume is composed of routine investigations of variants in Balzac's works under the very able guidance of the much regretted Professor Dargan. The reader will find an excellent summary of Balzac's method of revision in Professor Dargan's contribution.

For the student who is more generally interested in Balzac Miss Dedinsky's investigation is the most useful. Miss D. traces systematically the history of the publication of Balzac's novels and discovers that the scheme of his *Comédie humaine* was the result of a definite plan conceived very early and brought to a happy conclusion. She also shows that within the general scheme the distribution of the stories and their classification have a *raison d'être*. The method she uses, however, is extremely mechanical.

She gives the impression that she is putting together the pieces of a picture puzzle that have been sawed with geometrical regularity and can fit in only one spot. In almost every case Miss D. concludes, with appropriate variations of course, somewhat as follows: "Since in this novel Balzac has realistically depicted political, administrative, and financial Paris, it remains an indispensable part of the 'Scènes de la vie parisienne.'" No play is given to imagination and there is no room for questioning the reasons of the "master mind." Curiously enough even Balzac's choice of a general title can be explained arithmetically:

References to Dante increase steadily in Balzac's work between 1829 and 1841. . . . During that period I have noted fifty-one direct and several miscellaneous and incidental allusions. These are significant, and, I believe, led to the use of the title *Comédie humaine*.

Frequency of allusions doesn't prove the choice of a title. It shows, if anything, that Balzac did not live in a vacuum and that he shared his contemporaries' enthusiasm for Dante, and that there may be in these allusions an element of opportunism. Lamartine writes:

Dante semble le poète de notre époque, car chaque époque adopte et rajeunit tour à tour quelqu'un de ces génies immortels qui sont toujours aussi des hommes de circonstance.

The italics are mine. I don't think anyone has doubted that Balzac, in the choice of his title, may have been inspired by the title believed by most of his contemporaries to have been given by Dante to his masterpiece, and the rapprochement was made by Vigny:

Une des choses curieuses de notre époque, c'est l'orgueil des prétentions littéraires démesurées. L'un (Soumet) appelle son livre *la Divine Épopée*; l'autre, la *Comédie humaine*.¹

There remained to show that the term *Comédie* could be applied to the novel. Curtius² did this adequately by showing that the terms *Comédie* and *Comédie humaine* were "in the air." Mme. Durry clinched the argument by citing Stendhal's reflexion which is analogous to Balzac's idea: "Je regarde le Roman comme la Comédie du XIX^e siècle."³ The only problem that remains to be solved is when Balzac decided to use the general title. Jackson's argument for 1838 cannot be rejected until a satisfactory explanation is found for the numerous interpolations in the Calmann-Lévy edition of Balzac's *Correspondance*. Certainly so many interpolations are not without some kind of foundation.

EMILE MALAKIS

¹ For my Lamartine and Vigny citations and for many others of a similar kind, cf. Albert Counson, *Dante et les Romantiques français*, *RHL.*, xii (1905), 361 ff.

² The title of Curtius' work is *Balzac*, and not as given in the bibl., p. 184. The page reference, n. 542, is wrong and should read 418-22. I did not find the name in the index to check further. I do not wish to imply carelessness in the references.

³ "A propos de 'La Comédie humaine,'" *RHL.*, xliii (1936), 96-98.

L'Abbé Laurent Bordelon et la lutte contre la superstition en France entre 1680 et 1730. Par JACQUELINE DE LA HARPE. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1942. (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, xxvi, no. 2, pp. 123-224.)

The abbé Bordelon (1653-1730) was a prolific writer, possessed of little originality, but widely read and interested in effecting mild reforms by the use of satire and erudition. Miss La Harpe considers him quite mediocre, of far less importance than his contemporaries, Bayle and Fontenelle. She describes his efforts to combat superstition, his opposition to reverence for comets, magic, divination of various kinds. She lists his works—dialogues, treatises, novels, plays,—shows the confusion of his methods, the faults of his style, the poverty of his thought: “il reste à terre et marche, là où les autres volent.” She has investigated his work, not because she admires him, but because he exemplifies, better than more distinguished men, tendencies of the times in which he lived.

The bulk of Bordelon's work is so much more impressive than its quality that a much more extensive treatment would not have been justified, and the general impression that Miss La Harpe gives seems correct, but his curious contribution to the theater should have been more carefully studied. Bordelon was sufficiently familiar with Molière, Poisson, and the Théâtre Italien to recall them to his readers' minds. The methods he employed to bring about this result might well have been discussed. On p. 148 Miss La Harpe expresses the opinion that *Arlequin misanthrope* may have been by Bordelon, but there is much better reason to believe that it was the work of Louis Biancolelli,¹ whom she fails to mention. If she had read Poisson's *Lubin ou le Sot vengé*, to which she refers on p. 179, she would have learned that harmony was restored to Lubin's household, not by means of the magic formula, but by the application of the accompanying stick. Bordelon, in suggesting a different method of managing women, was protesting, not against magic, but against violence. On p. 208, where she lists most of Bordelon's plays, there was no reason to mention Gherardi (Vol. II), for he does not concern himself, as she implies, with Bordelon's *Arlequin aux Champs Elysées*, but publishes Regnard's *Descente de Mezzetin (Arlequin) aux Enfers*, quite a different production. If she had examined the second edition of *Arlequin aux Champs Elysées* (Paris, Seneuze, 1694), a copy of which is in the Library of Congress, she would have discovered that two playlets by Bordelon were there added, *La Baguette* and *Arlequin Roland furieux*, this last a parody of Quinault's opera, *Roland*.² By follow-

¹ Cf. my *History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, Part IV, pp. 47, 672.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 704-5.

ing Beauchamps (I, 446-8), she has been misled into confusing this *Baguette*, which may also have been called *La Baguette de Vulcain*, with a play of the latter name by Regnard and Dufresny. She lists among Bordelon's plays: "Le Droit bossu, Le Ridicule des Spectacles, Le Derrière du Théâtre. Dans *Gomgam*, Paris, 1711." Now the first two of these are merely the titles of comedies by Dirit, a character in *Gomgam*, where Bordelon briefly analyzes them, but does not give their text. There is no reason to suppose that there ever was a text of either. As for *Le Derrière du Théâtre*, it is not mentioned as a play in the 1711 edition of *Gomgam*, though it probably is discussed in the second and enlarged edition, one that appeared in 1712 and is not accessible to me. It should not be confused with the *Le Derrière du Théâtre* by Brueys and Palaprat, a play that Brueys read to the actors on June 9, 1693³ and was subsequently published in his *Œuvres*. Here she was not misled by Beauchamps.⁴ Finally, she lists as comedies by Bordelon "Le Clam et le Coram, Les Grands et les Petits, Les Riches et les Pauvres, Les Revenants. Dans *Mital*, Paris, 1708." Though the first two consist merely of a series of largely unconnected scenes, without a plot and with part of the text given only in résumé, they may deserve to be called plays, but no interpretation can make plays out of the brief mention in *Mital* (pp. 408 and 416) of *Les Riches et les pauvres* and *Les Revenants*, for no text is given of either.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Critical Theory and Practice of the Pléiade. By ROBERT J. CLEMENTS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942. Pp. xviii + 288. \$3.00. (Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, 18.)

By "the Pléiade" Mr. Clements means the usual seven poets plus Des Autels, La Pérouse, Peletier, Héroët, Magny, Passerat, Tahureau, and Grévin. From "critical theory" he excludes considerations in regard to prosody and genres. He concerns himself but incidentally with choice of material and with vocabulary. He recognizes the fact that the critical statements of the fifteen poets have already been collected, but he has found that their remarks about other authors, numerous though they are, have not been considered in this connection:

³ Cf. my *Comédie Française*, p. 138.

⁴ Her reference (p. 208) to p. 431 of his second volume should be to pp. 448-9. On p. 204 she states that the 1708 ed. of *Mital* has xvi + 438 pp., though the copy at the Library of Congress has x + 422. On p. 205 she mentions only one ed. of *Poisson comédien*, that of 1710, though there is another, Paris, Pierre Prault, 1712, 12°.

By classifying the many unexploited judgments of the *Pléiade* on classic, mediaeval, and Renaissance writers and delving into poems which have sometimes been considered of secondary importance, one brings into relief several sides of the *Pléiade's* aesthetics which might otherwise escape notice (p. 255).

These sides are considered under the heads of Truth and Sincerity, Glory and the Revolt against Glory, Clarity and Obscurity, Sweetness and Utility, and Art and Nature. Mr. C. finds that the poets did not distinguish clearly between poetic truth and historic truth and that their attack upon flattery was made despite their ample practice of that art. He studies in detail the poets' revolt against "gloire," as well as their better known reverence for it. While they endorsed oracular and erudite obscurantism, they showed progress in the clarity of their writings. They leaned decidedly towards sweetness rather than utility, a fact that Mr. C. develops in his study of their fondness for the swan motif, for the theme of bees and honey, and of their belief in distilling "ever sweeter styles in the poetic alembic out of the *prima materia* of past writings." Finally, his discussion of art and nature shows that they inclined to set genius above art, though they held that a genius must work and acquire "both a humanistic and a prosodic education."¹

The book is attractively printed. It is illustrated with an "emblem from the *Théâtre des bons engins*" and with portraits of Dorat, Baif, Ronsard, and Du Bellay. It does credit to its sponsors, Harvard University, the M. L. A. and the A. C. L. S. It is a learned work, one that shows its author has read widely and reflected deeply over the problems involved. I regret only that Mr. C. has been so profoundly immersed in his subject that, like the *Pléiade*, he has distilled into his own vocabulary words from authors he has perused in various languages. It is true that the Oxford Dictionary admits *arcane*, *genethialogy*, *megacosm*, *recidivism*,² and *amoristic*, but their presence in Mr. C.'s book may well set a reader less learned than he against Ronsard and his tribe and cause him to cry out for a new Malherbe.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

¹ On p. 225 C. remarks that "astrology and astronomy contributed two new words to the French vocabulary of the Renaissance," *bien-astré* and *en-astré*. As he admits that these did not remain in use, a better example would have been *désastre*, which Baif employed and which Henri Estienne regarded as new; cf. Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle*, s. v. *désastre*. On pp. 262-3 he announces a discovery in regard to Desportes, that his sonnet beginning "Vante-toy maintenant" (Michiels ed., p. 486) is derived from a sonnet by Petrarch that begins, "Lasciato hai, Morte."

² It defines the word as "the habit of relapsing into crime," a severe definition when the offense is merely riming *ciel* and *miel* (p. 173).

Guinea's Captive Kings: British Anti-Slavery Literature of the XVIIIth Century. By WYLIE SYPHER. Chapel Hill, 1942. Pp. xiv + 340. \$3.00.

Interest in primitive man is perennial. We are readier than ever before to learn from savages and other untutored folk—an attitude that is illustrated by every exhibition of modern painting and sculpture, by the manners of the young, by the encouragement given to the 'native' arts of the Red Indians, by the current distrust of foreign missions, and by the sound of the tom-tom in much modern music. The present study of the Noble Negro, entitled 'Guinea's Captive Kings,' indicates that the interest of scholars in the origin and significance of the subject is not on the decline. Here, then, is an account of that phase of eighteenth century literature which touches the anti-slavery movements in Great Britain. The collection of material for the use of scholars is full, adequate, and apparently complete. The book gives evidence of a vast amount of reading and of unwearied care in the ordering of detail; and it will take its place beside Professor Fairchild's similar account of the Noble Savage (1928), and the Reverend Dr. Bissell's study of the Red Indian (1925). Those in search of illustrative material will long have reason to be grateful to Dr. Sypher.

It is perhaps to be regretted that the study is not carried on into the nineteenth century, where its connection with topics of lasting concern to all men would have made its significance even more apparent. No doubt Dr. Sypher has the further development of his theme already in mind. Its relation to the abolitionist movement in New England and to the astonishing development of foreign missions in the mid-century is obvious. The subject is fascinating still. A few months ago Mr. Morris Bishop published in the *New Yorker* (a humorous journal published in the metropolis) an account of Cinque, the captive prince from Sierra Leone, who was for some weeks a familiar figure in the city of New Haven, and who, with his fellows, gave exhibitions of his native dances and songs on the historic green. A professor in Yale College, J. W. Gibbs (father of the mathematician) succeeded, against incredible odds, in getting into conversation with him; and the citizens raised money for his education, and assisted in getting him and his fellows returned to Africa. Cinque's portrait, depicting a strikingly handsome young man in his early twenties, was painted by Jocelyn, and is a significant document in the history of the subject with which Dr. Sypher is concerned. One is delighted to learn that this splendid chap was at last safely delivered back to his distant home.

But why is one pleased? Why is one still interested in Omai, in Ignatius Sancho (painted by Gainsborough), in Thayandenagea (painted by Romney), in Lee Boo, in Cinque, and in a hundred

others? Why is their career in the western world of any significance to us? Is it not, in truth, because we are concerned to know whether such children of nature were made happier or better by their contact with what we are pleased to call civilization? Do their experiences justify us in disturbing the noble savage in his natural home, and striving to teach him a still nobler way of life? Is it not possible that his happiness depends upon being left alone? What principle of human happiness does the subject illustrate? What, in other words, is the happy state for man?

The theme leads us back, inevitably, to the liberal notions growing out of the deistical philosophy of the eighteenth century. That liberalism required a renunciation of the Christian doctrine of the fall of man, a theory which represents the creature as in a lost and ruined state from which he must be rescued, if at all, by supernatural aid. The newer way of thought inquired, naturally enough, why it is necessary to regard man as in a fallen state. May not the cause of his misery be found elsewhere—in the history of civilization, perhaps? Is there any reason to suppose that man in a state of nature is miserable, or, indeed, in any important respect, imperfect? Hence the prevailing interest in primitive peoples. If it can be shown that man in a state of nature is, relatively speaking, in a satisfactory condition, without need of external improvements, the aim of civilization must, plainly, be so to alter and reduce modern conditions that we may approximate to that simple life which Nature and Nature's God intended us to lead. See Rousseau *passim*.

Now the studies of primitive man, growing out of this eighteenth century liberalism (including the important treatise before us), agree in disclosing the fact that in our attitude to the noble savage there mingles a vitiating element of sentimentalism and roseate romanticism. Most of the children of nature who were brought to the western world were either destroyed or ruined by the experience. They acquired the vices without retaining the blessings of the higher state. Neither Omai nor Cinque could regain happiness in his native home. The children of nature, indeed, illustrate only too vividly the Christian doctrine of man's proneness to fall. Where, then, is the happy state to be found? If we must surrender not only the Christian but the Deistic view, where are we to turn?

The nineteenth century, with its evolutionary theory of the gradual development of mankind from a lower state, placed its whole confidence in the *future*. We must be patient, and await the long result of time. The happy state is indefinitely but not permanently postponed, and meanwhile we should derive satisfaction from the evidence of progress all about us. Most writers on 'primitivism' have been content to study the subject from the angle imposed by that theory; and the inevitable result has been the ever-growing tendency to let primitive peoples alone with their own

'folk-ways' and their tribal gods. But with the recent convulsions of society this pleasant theory of 'progressivism,' as I suppose it must be called, has collapsed, and we are left without any view at all, unless it is that there is no hope of ameliorating man's estate. It is not, to be sure, a consoling view, and for that reason books about primitive man—Dr. Sypher's among them—are not invigorating reading, since they all suggest that our efforts are likely to come to naught. And yet, in opposition to such a disheartening view, stands man's unalterable conviction that he—along with the savage and the sentimentalist—is capable of better things, and in defense of that conviction a considerable section of the human race stands to-day embattled.

C. B. TINKER

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Anthony Trollope's England. By JOHN H. WILDMAN. Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University, 1940. Pp. x + 135. \$2.00. (Brown University Studies, v.)

This is a good book. It is not a mere description of the novels, but an interpretation of them in reference to their representation of phases of social life in England in the mid-nineteenth century. And the social life is confined to the class between the aristocracy and the humble. The people that appear in the Barchester novels represent not the urban, but the urbane; the clergy, the "broad-acres" families, and comfortable men and women; removed from the eccentricities of genius and the curse of desire for fame.

This book could not have appeared at a better time. Trollope's Autobiography had an effect on his reputation similar to what would happen to a godly divine if he left a posthumously-printed confession showing he had been a sensualist. For the Autobiography seemed almost shamefully confessional in its cynical attitude toward "inspiration," in its insistence on mechanical work. Also, "realism" as then understood, was fading. Trollope died in 1882; in 1883 came *Treasure Island* and in the nineties Romantic fiction was in full bloom. Then later came a realism that would have seemed to Trollope's people as insane as modern war or modern finance.

Trollope said he would not be read in the twentieth century, but he was never so popular as now; which shows that it is as difficult to classify a period as it is an individual. With so many in breathful adoration at the feet of Messrs. Hemingway, Steinbeck, Caldwell, Faulkner, Anthony Trollope is enormously popular. As Mr. Wildman suggests, it is partly because he made an accurate picture of a whole period of English life. Leslie Stephen in the nineties said that his earlier love for Trollope had faded; he tried

to reread one of the novels, and found it "as insipid as yesterday's newspaper." But he also said posterity might find him instructive; we certainly do, but we also find him delightful. It is refreshing to read novels that are written for entertainment; that have no "purpose" and are never social tracts.

The late Paul Cohen-Portheim, in his book, *England the Unknown Isle*, said the English gentleman was the highest point ever reached by evolution. He also said that in Germany the *cities* had personalities—Leipzig, Munich, Dresden, Cologne were different; whereas Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester were very much alike—but that the cathedral towns in England were individual. These towns in rural surroundings form the main scene of Trollope's novels. They lend their own character to his people. Another reason why we read Trollope today is supplied by Hawthorne who said Trollope's books are

solid, substantial, written on the strength of beef and through the inspiration of ale, and just as real as if some giant had hewn a great lump out of the earth and put it under a glass case, with all its inhabitants going about their daily business, and not suspecting that they were being made a show of.

Was Trollope a genius? The admirable Richard Garnett, writing in the nineties said he was not, because no one could be a genius and write so routinely; but perhaps it took genius to write routinely and yet make his characters alive. Genius is inexplicable; and Trollope's "explanations" of how simple it is to write novels are like the explanations made by magicians.

Thorstein Veblen wrote *The Theory of the Leisure Class*; but Trollope gave us pictures of the leisure class more true than any scientific analysis. One of the best things about Professor Wildman's book is his demonstration of Trollope's immense contribution to social history.

WILLIAM LYON PHELPS

Yale University

Literary Scholarship; its Aims and Methods. By NORMAN FOERSTER, JOHN C. MCGALLIARD, RENÉ WELLEK, AUSTIN WARREN, WILBUR L. SCHRAMM. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. xii + 269. \$3.00.

It is a good sign when the teachers of a subject publish a book on the method of studying and teaching that subject. In America, the exploiting of methods has fallen too much into the hands of professors of "education" who lack an inductive knowledge of the subjects they attempt to discuss. So far so good for this book. Mr. Foerster, to take the leading name in it, has long been a professor of "English"; he is also a man of unusual intelligence;

and he has had the good sense to consult discussions of method by other, better, and more productive scholars than himself, among them, notably, the lamented Albert S. Cook, who was not only a scholar in the technical sense, but a philosophic teacher such as all teachers of literature and language would wish to be.

Unfortunately, not one of the names on the title-page is that of a scholar known for productivity in research, so that the book is hardly one whose influence, wholesome though it be, will long endure. The perspective of the writers is not long and deep. Mr. Wellek's Bibliography, for example (pp. 239-55), is "a chronological list of some twentieth-century studies." It ends properly enough with Mr. Wellek's *Rise of English Literary History* (1941). It does not include John Spargo's excellent *Bibliography*, of which a new edition has just come out; nor do I find a reference to Joachim Wach and his monumental work, *Das Verstehen*, a detailed history of linguistic and literary interpretation and criticism in Germany from the times of Schleiermacher and Boeckh, and before them, to our own day. Missing also is Cook's fine volume, *The Higher Study of English* (1906).

Now for my part I have for years been trying to induce good men like Mr. Foerster and his fellows to assimilate the best elements of the Continental method in this realm of scholarship as they are set forth in the great *Encyklopädie* of Boeckh. Boeckh developed his system under the influence of the more spiritual Schleiermacher; both men, of course, were conscious inheritors of the best theory and practice of the ages; their line goes back through Classical and Biblical scholars to Italy, and thence back to ancient times; their theory and practice are founded in Biblical and Classical scholarship, and among ancient scholars, of course, founded upon Aristotle and Plato. Mr. Foerster, by the way, does some injustice in his overvaluation of Aristotle (p. 5) when he does not recognize the debt of "Longinus" to Plato for what the treatise *On the Sublime* can add to the treatises of Aristotle on interpretation and criticism.

The pupils of Cook, and their pupils, owe much to his insistence upon the study of Boeckh's *Encyklopädie*; and similarly the following of Théodore Reinach in France. Not one of them, teachers or pupils, would be likely to confuse interpretation with criticism, as Mr. Warren does (p. 133) at the beginning of his essay on Literary Criticism.

My chief quarrel with the book is its failure to grasp the meaning of "science" and "scientific" in a Platonic, Socratic, Aristotelian way; the authors do not realize that learning or science is and always has been and always will be one. As Whitehead finely says in *The Organization of Thought* (p. 23), "You may not divide the seamless coat of learning." After accepting Bacon's concept of the advancement of learning, we must go on to Boeckh's distinction between the Physical and the Ethical Sciences, which, though distinct, constantly interpenetrate one another; this distinction opens

the right entrance into literary and linguistic study and into that wider business of reliving and reliving the best of the past (up to the recent past which we call the present), that study to which we apply the name Philology in the full sense of the word. Cook's presidential address, *The Province of English Philology* (PMLA. 13 [1898]; *Higher Study of English*, pp. 1-33) expresses more fully and better than I can what I am here trying to say; add thereto Grandgent's presidential address, *The Dark Ages* (PMLA. 28 [1913], xlii-lxx); for I think these two addresses are more helpful on the subject of literary scholarship than anything to be found in the volume under review (where the present writer is glad to find himself mentioned).

Whitehead is mentioned in the Index; *The Organization of Thought* is not. We find surprisingly little to grip on in the text when we look up many notable names in the Index. And I do not think that humane scholarship is in such a bad way as the drift of this volume suggests. After-days are the wisest witnesses of a present which you cannot study fairly until you can see it steadily in the past.

But I would not end on a note of censure for a book from which I have learned a good deal in detail, and could learn yet more, especially from the Bibliography and from Mr. McGalliard's essay on Language. Rather, in closing I prefer to quote from the Preface by "The Authors" (p. viii): "The future of literary scholarship belongs to the young men and women in our graduate schools. . . . If we are to keep faith with them, we shall have to do more than make them like ourselves; we shall have to suggest ways by which they may one day become better than we are." I recommend that we induce them to study Boeckh.

LANE COOPER

Cornell University

The Tragical History of Christopher Marlowe. By JOHN BAKELLESS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942. 2 vols. Pp. xvi + 376, viii + 432. \$7.50.

There is not a word in the author's preface to explain why he comes forward with this formidable treatise, which "was entirely in print in 1941" and was therefore hard on the heels of a book of half its size but similar scope published by him in 1937. Though both studies lie before the reviewer, no reviewer can afford time to check them through to see whether both record (they do) the two-pence received by the woman who scoured the kettle in which, a quarter of a century before the poet's birth, one Friar Stone was "parboiled" at Canterbury in the supposed interests of justice, or whether the municipal record of John Marlowe's becoming a free-man of the same place is fully quoted in the first as well as in the

second of these books (it is not). Falling back therefore on the jackets, we were assured by the earlier that in his eighteen years of research the author had already examined "every known original document bearing on Marlowe," while the later announces

abundant new data on the early life of Marlowe's father; his family's economic status, the poet's relations with his family while at the University; his father's later life, the relation of the Government Intelligence Service to some of his ideas, his relationship to Shakespeare's work and to a surprising number of other plays and poems, including the apocryphal plays and poems falsely attributed to him; the sources of the plays, with abundant quotations from books and manuscripts not ordinarily available; and a great mass of information on the social and historical background of the times.

Into the new book, which has been beautifully produced by the Harvard University Press, Dr. Bakeless appears to have dumped all his notes as well as his documentation. The result is an impressive record of industry in research rather than a "definitive life," as the jacket calls it; but it contains a great deal of valuable material for the student of Marlowe, and indeed all scholars must be grateful to Mr. Bakeless for collecting it.

The significant facts about the poet's life remain far from numerous, but on a number of more or less related topics Mr. Bakeless weaves, in his first chapters, a substantial tapestry. How, for instance, Gloriana came with pomp and ceremony to Canterbury is described in a graphic and interesting passage, though few will follow the author in concluding that "hence, probably," were derived the lines

Is it not passing brave to be a king
And ride in triumph through Persepolis?

In *TLS*. (January 29, 1938) notice was taken, in a generally favorable review, of the author's progress "along the old and easy path which leads from the statement that there is no way of proving . . . past the 'in all probability' . . . to the blessed certainty."

The researcher who, in the midst of varied and distracting pursuits, endeavors by concentration on a single author to keep his hand in the game of active scholarship runs obvious risks but as a rule deserves good marks for his zeal instead of a long face over his slips. Neither that principle, however, nor his own good will, absolves a reviewer from his duty. As recently as 1937 Mr. Bakeless was apparently unaware of the Bad Quarto hypothesis and what it had done to the theory of Marlowe's responsibility for *1 Contention* and *The True Tragedy*. The name of neither Professor Alexander nor Professor Doran appears in the index to *Christopher Marlowe. The Man in His Time*, though eight and nine years had elapsed since their respective contributions. Miss Doran's name is still absent from the index to the new book (it appears in a footnote on a special point); but an argument is now included, to me a quite unconvincing one, for the old theory. One can not with safety arrive suddenly on the Bad Quarto front and

fight a local action without reference to how matters are going all along the line. The measure of Mr. Bakeless's grasp of the now widely accepted theory may be gauged by his stating (II, 221) that *1 Contention* and *True Tragedy* are "universally admitted" to be the sources of *2* and *3 Henry VI*, and by his failure to include in his summary of the "main views" on this problem the one which now prevails, that *1 Contention* and *True Tragedy* are illegitimate and later texts of Shakespeare's *2* and *3 Henry VI*!

With the problems of the Henry VI plays is inextricably entangled the question of Shakespeare's indebtedness to Marlowe. Mr. Bakeless repeatedly exaggerates that indebtedness, the existence of which no one as far as I know denies. Mr. Bakeless's treatment of it is warped by his evident retention of the old notion, which is steadily being discarded by Shakespeareans, that the world's greatest artist was less original than a number of even his minor colleagues. That is one of the queerest ideas that ever arose in connection with a creative talent of the first rank. To some extent, of course, the question revolves on dates which can not be fixed; but that Marlowe learned from Shakespeare more than Shakespeare learned from Marlowe seems probable—if it makes any particular difference. In *Edward II* Marlowe is beginning to profit by Shakespeare's methods in the Henry VI plays, and in part the Marlovian influence on *Richard II* was Shakespeare's influence once removed. As I have suggested elsewhere, the idea that *Tamburlaine* is the source of the merits of *Richard III* involves our supposing the best of poets so thick-skulled that it took half a decade or more for the lesson to sink in. Marlowe was a tyro when he wrote *Tamburlaine*, and a tyro quite without Shakespeare's flair for the stage. After the Henry VI material had moved the theater to cheers and tears, Marlowe abandoned what was left of his old faulty technique. The main reasons for the structure of *Richard III* must be sought outside Marlowe's dramas. That Mr. Bakeless's general approach is less appropriate than it would have been twenty years ago (which does not, to be sure, prove it wrong) is indicated by his choice of the epithet "talented young bumpkin" for Shakespeare.

Among other blemishes are: the absence of Kyd from the picture of the London theatrical situation when Marlowe arrived; the downright declaration that Marlowe was "Shakespeare's schoolmaster in stagecraft"—whatever Marlowe was master of, and it was plenty, it was emphatically not stagecraft; the statement that Collier's forgery of evidence for Marlowe's being an actor proves "nothing at all, except that Collier wanted to believe in Marlowe's stage experience"—strike out the exception; the assumption that *2 Tamburlaine* was an afterthought; the exaggerated praise of Barabas's outburst against Abigail and the consequent assertion that "no other man who ever trod the stage or planet" was capable of it; the acceptance as genuine of Collier's forged addition to the elegy on Burbage with its list of roles, including the "red-haired

Jew"; the serious treatment, in handling the date of *Edward II*, of the notions that localization of scenes is a good test for chronology and that if a character in an Elizabethan play says he is going to hide in a bush that is what the actor did on the Elizabethan stage; the placing of the chapter on *Dido* after the one on *Edward II*, in the face of the author's decision for an early date for the former; the repeated misspelling of the given name of Edmond Malone; the citation, in the sections on Marlowe's influence, of numerous parallel passages which are entirely without significance; the statement that the (mistaken) allegation of R. B. in "Greene's Funerals" lends "some weight" to the (no longer held) view that Greene charged Shakespeare with plagiarism; the waving aside in a footnote of the theory (right or wrong) that Shakespeare was a Pembroke writer, which if correct would invalidate one of the author's objections to the generally accepted view of *1 Contention* and *True Tragedy*; and the suggestion that the problem of *The Taming of a Shrew* is relatively simple.

On the other hand, there are very systematic accounts of the charges against Marlowe and of his death. The notes on stage history are interesting. There is a useful analysis of Marlowe's blank verse. Though the discussion of the textual problem of *Faustus* is inadequate, and the authorship of the comic scenes is not discussed at all, it is good to see that in common with most American scholars Mr. Bakeless sticks to c. 1589, Dr. Boas to the contrary notwithstanding.

Despite minor eccentricities in form, shared by the footnotes, the bibliography is extensive and valuable. In general, the book is far too long and should have been subjected to rigorous editing; but there is much good stuff scattered through it.

HAZELTON SPENCER

This Great Argument: A Study of Milton's De Doctrina Christiana as a Gloss upon Paradise Lost. By MAURICE KELLEY. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. xiv + 269. \$5.00.

Milton's Literary Craftsmanship: A Study of A Brief History of Moscovia: With an Edition of the Text. By ROBERT RALSTON CAWLEY. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. viii + 105. \$2.00.

Poetry as a Means of Grace. By CHARLES GROSVENOR OSGOOD. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. viii + 131. \$2.00.

Recent stress on the history of ideas, on the seventeenth century, and on Milton in particular, has given students of literature a new theological consciousness, if not always a new theological equip-

ment, and has made impossible the older cavalier attitude toward the most subtle of sciences. Various articles by Professor Kelley have inspired a special confidence in his theological learning and acumen, and that confidence is more than sustained by a volume which unifies and extends his critical analysis. After a prolonged examination of the evidence Mr. Kelley concludes, against Mr. Sewell, that the *Christian Doctrine*, however early it originated, was virtually complete by about 1658-60 (though amplified in some details later), and that it therefore embodies Milton's religious beliefs as they stood when he was composing *Paradise Lost*. The body of the book is a running argument for and illustration of the theological harmony between the two works. To mention only a few points, Mr. Kelley holds that Saurat's already discredited theory of "retraction" is untenable; "that in *Paradise Lost* v, 603-06 Milton is setting forth not the actual production or generation of the Son, but rather his accession to power as king"; that Milton's conception of the importance of the Holy Spirit has been sometimes unduly minimized; that the Muse he invokes is a power higher than the Third Person, namely, "a personification of the various attributes of God the Father"; and that, although anti-Trinitarianism is less distinct and obvious in *Paradise Lost* than in the *Christian Doctrine*, there is no doctrinal passage in the poem which cannot be interpreted in a manner consistent with Milton's Arianism. These and many other less controversial topics are handled with a lucid authority and weight of evidence which come as close to the definitive as any scholar or theologian can be said to come, and this main part of the book establishes itself at once as an indispensable companion to *Paradise Lost*.

While paying tribute to the solid fruits of the author's historical method, one may lodge a small caveat against the rigors of his theory and occasional practice. Mr. Kelley criticizes some scholars who have neglected systematic theology, although he himself neglects everything else; he is tied so closely to the *Christian Doctrine* (which of course is his subject) that he slights Milton's characteristic fusion in *Paradise Lost* and elsewhere of biblical with classical and humanistic ethics. On another plane, Mr. Kelley's historical conscience rebels against Mr. Tillyard's "impressionistic" and "intuitive findings" in regard to what that critic called the "unconscious meaning" of *Paradise Lost*. Mr. Kelley seems to give the impression that, because *Paradise Lost* contains the *Christian Doctrine*, therefore the *Christian Doctrine* must contain *Paradise Lost*. He allows, to be sure, for Milton's imaginative embellishment of his action, but not, apparently, for those things in poetry which analysis of its explicit ideas cannot always plumb. One may suppose, for example, that the lines about Mulciber near the end of the first book would be, on Mr. Kelley's principles, nothing but a hostile description of the pagan god; but Mr. Kelley

knows as well as anyone that the emotional tone and the verbal and rhythmic beauty of the lines are an implicit or unconscious contradiction of the expressed condemnation. Or, again, is there much "evidence," apart from intuition, that in *Samson Agonistes* Milton did something more than dramatize the life of a Hebrew hero? But this is looking through a glaz'd Optic Tube at a spot in the Sun's lucent Orb, and Mr. Kelley's book as a whole is inform'd with radiant light.

Milton's *Brief History of Moscovia* was given a popular reprint by Prince Mirsky in 1929 and was included in the Columbia edition, but Professor Cawley's attractive text has a substantial introduction of 38 pages. The title of the book is perhaps a little spacious for a study of one of Milton's minor works in prose, but Mr. Cawley's familiarity with the narratives of the voyagers especially qualifies him to follow and analyze Milton's handling of his sources in Hakluyt and Purchas. When Milton put this sketch together, he showed himself skilful and accurate in selecting, condensing, and arranging, and he managed to retain details of human interest and color. And while much of the work was objective compilation, Milton was not the kind of man who would dim the lustre of England or brighten the darkness of Russian civilization—or fail to give Russia credit for religious tolerance (in "Samoedia") and a sane law of divorce. These and other things are amply illustrated in Mr. Cawley's very competent essay.

Professor Osgood's book contains five lectures delivered to students of the Princeton Theological Seminary, lectures intended primarily to help young ministers to find a great poet to live with, but also addressed to all young people who wish to keep flowing the springs of their spiritual life. After an introductory discourse on the needs of the spirit and the essential nourishment of great writing, Mr. Osgood deals with four of his favorite authors, authors who among other things embody a positively religious attitude toward life—Dante, Spenser, Milton, and Johnson (the last as man and talker rather than as poet—or anti-Presbyterian). The fact that his hearers were dedicated to religion and were at the same time relatively unsophisticated in letters compelled the lecturer, very happily, to concentrate on fundamentals. With unobtrusive learning, and of course without gush, Mr. Osgood distills the mellow and earnest wisdom of a lifetime's devotion, and the lectures make admirable and winning introductions to the several authors. It is well for readers and scholars of all kinds and ages to be reminded of the real reasons and the real rewards for the study of literature.

DOUGLAS BUSH

Harvard University

Reading Poems: An Introduction to Critical Study. By WRIGHT THOMAS and STUART GERRY BROWN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xiv + 781. \$2.75.

It was Coleridge who said that as a student at Christ's Hospital he had learned "that Poetry . . . had a logic of its own, as severe as that of science; and more difficult, because more subtle, more complex, and dependent on more, and more fugitive causes." Only lately, and thanks mainly to the influence of Mr. I. A. Richards, has anyone tried again to teach poetry as Bowyer seems to have taught Shakespeare and Milton. That there is much to be said for what Bowyer taught Coleridge, no one would be likely to deny. For if poetry is not as serious and exact a study as science, but only a matter for 'appreciation,' then we can hardly justify its place in our curricula. The danger in this reaction is not so much in Mr. Richards' argument as in the possibility that experienced scholars will refuse to give that argument a serious and critical hearing, to the impoverishment of customary teaching practices and the eventual corruption of Coleridge's insight.

The present textbook, one of a number of recent attempts to make a practical application of Mr. Richards' argument, has several evident advantages over both the 'survey' and the 'types' anthologies. The poems are arranged in what the editors hope is the order of their difficulty rather than according to some one of the conventional classifications which not only are meaningless to those who are not already able to understand the poems, but frequently inhibit the power to understand. The annotation is on the whole directed to the matter in hand, which is the understanding of the poems' precise meanings. Here, however, a curious confusion appears. When Mr. Brown is annotating *The Waste Land*, considerable learning is brought to bear, directly and unobtrusively, on the problem of reading the poem. But a great deal of time, as when Mr. Thomas is annotating *In Memoriam*, a quite different course is followed. Here two paragraphs of elementary biographical and historical data, unrelated to the poems' meanings, are followed by the observation that "Tennyson is a master-craftsman in his images, rhythm, sound, and organization." This stultifying combination of unrelated history and unsupported critical generalization is in the worst style of the old-fashioned 'survey' anthology; it is exactly the kind of thing the method of this book is supposed to make unnecessary. This confusion of intention which appears in the annotation probably also produced the very considerable discrepancy between the careful reading of each poem which is required by the editors' theory and the three hundred and fifty-three poems they print. One of the unsolved problems Coleridge raises, as Mr. Richards has himself pointed out, is how to combine the benefits of this microscopic kind of reading with the benefits of extensive

reading. *Reading Poems* demonstrates this problem without confronting it.

It also demonstrates what is probably the most serious difficulty in the way of our making a practical application of Coleridge's insight, the difficulty of dealing successfully with the ontological and value problems involved. It is poetry which raises these problems, and we ought not to shy away from them, any more than physicists shy away from their equally difficult problems. The pedagogical task is to find a way to teach our students "how to generalize, as opposed to how to learn general formulas" about these matters. *Reading Poems* has not found that way. Its critical essay, instead of using its theorems "for the construction of problems," is full of dangerously oversimplified formulas. Most of these formulas are attempts to counteract common prejudices about poetry. But such prejudices will hardly be overcome by doctrine, certainly not by dubious doctrine. The common notion that poems are not 'true,' for example, is met by the argument that "if the reader understands that the statement is not made . . . to assert its truth . . . but for the sake of expressing feeling" all will be well. This is to fall into the trap Ruskin set so long ago in the famous chapter on The Pathetic Fallacy, the dangers of which ought by now to be manifest. Another common prejudice, that poetry is not very significant, is met by the argument that a poem communicates an experience. We are at first told that this is not the poet's original experience but "the experience which *these words* 'mean' to him." But the actual discussion of this topic continually ignores this distinction, which is, in any event, theoretically inadequate. This is surely to make a bad enough matter a good deal worse. We are also told that for the purpose of *Reading Poems* imagination is to be conceived as "the power of forming mental images which correspond to the experiences of the senses." Apart from the theoretical ineptness of this definition, the dangers of encouraging the image-making habit in this way, as any reader of Mr. Richards should know, are very great. Most of these formulas seem to be consequences of an initial oversimplification to which the editors themselves are apparently committed, that "a poem is not in existence at all until we [as readers] create it in our consciousness."

These are difficulties, some of them inherent in Coleridge's idea, some created by the editors of *Reading Poems*. They are difficulties which can probably be overcome and which are certainly well worth overcoming if the result will be, as it well may be, to provide us with a means for making our students aware of that severe, difficult, subtle and complex logic of poetry which Coleridge early learned, as must all good readers of poetry, to respect.

ARTHUR MIZENER

A Concordance of the Poetical Works of Edgar Allan Poe. By
BRADFORD A. BOOTH and CLAUDE E. JONES. Baltimore: The
Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. xiv + 211. \$5.50.

At the close of their boyish and effusive Introduction, the compilers of this volume say (p. xiv): "We are not concerned with the problems of identification surrounding the Poe canon. We include all the lines printed by Killis Campbell, as well as the short poems from *Notes and Queries* and Mabbott's edition of *The Selected Poems*, without inquiring into the validity of the ascriptions in our sources." The sources are listed on pp. vi-xiii.

The task the compilers set themselves has been done with some, not too much, care. In a private way I learn that Professor Robert L. Ramsay has found in the work various bad lapses of attention; he particularly censures the failure to separate homonyms. Under art I note: "Thou art an emblem of the glow" and "The playful mazziness of art" (*To the River*, lines 3 and 5). My *Concordance to Wordsworth* does better than that with homonyms, but, as Mr. Ramsay properly observes, not too well. Since the method Messrs. Booth and Jones have used came partly out of Ithaca, and has been improved there, those who build upon it elsewhere ought to go on improving it. They ought now to seek advice from Professor Harris Fletcher of Illinois, who with great intelligence and ingenuity, and with the use of tabulating devices he secured from the International Business Machines Corporation, seems to have developed by far the best way of producing concordances and the like with accuracy and speed. I am afraid that this *Concordance of Poe* falls below the standard we now have a right to expect in such works. Yet the book will serve its purpose well in the hands of any one who knows how to use a verbal index.

I have some notes and queries. Did Poe consistently spell *for ever* as one word? Compare Calverley's poem of this name, and "for ever and ever" at the end of the Lord's Prayer. And where did Poe pick up the spelling *Loeda* for *Leda*? From a Medieval source, or a later? No one who was looking for the lady would readily find her in this book. Poe's references in verse to classical mythology are few, and similarly his allusions to other writers, and indeed to other real persons. His "pallid bust of Pallas" we naturally recall offhand. Otherwise in some minutes of search I turn up only Zeno and Locke; John Locke is brought in for contrast with Joe Locke in *Lampoon* (misprinted, p. 106, *Lampon*). The search otherwise leaves us with an impression of a dearth of ideas in the mind of Poe. In Lewis Carroll's *Poeta Fit, Non Nascitur*, the man of experience tells the young inquirer: You must use words like *wild* and *weary*, *strange* and *lonely*. What, says the budding poet,

Take them in a lump
As: "The wild man went his weary way
To a strange and lonely pump"?

Poe uses the four adjectives liberally, and does not use *pump* or *lump*. He also uses the rime *furled*—*world* which Calverley sports with in *Lovers, and a Reflection*. On page 68 the head-word *Frog* should be *Frog-pond*. On page 73, in the line from *Al Aaraaf* 2. 24, "And rays from Gods shot down," read "God." On the last page, under *Zinghis* (which should have an apostrophe), for "The zinghis' yet re-echoing fame" (in *Tamerlane*), read "The Zinghis'," etc.

Messrs. Booth and Jones evidently think that Poe was intrinsically and historically worth a concordance. At all events they have been willing to do as Leonardo da Vinci advises (*Notebooks*, ed. by Macurdy, p. 80): "Shun those studies in which the work that results dies with the worker."

LANE COOPER

Cornell University

The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence. Edited by W. S. LEWIS. Volumes IX and X: *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with George Montagu*. Edited by W. S. LEWIS and RALPH S. BROWN, JR. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. lvi + 418 + 560. \$15.00.

The great undertaking of the *Yale Walpole* moves steadily forward. The two volumes of the correspondence with William Cole appeared in 1937; the six volumes of the correspondence with Madame du Deffand were published in 1939; and now we have, in 1941, two more stately volumes containing the very witty and entertaining correspondence with George Montagu. It consists of 449 letters—262 from Walpole and 187 from Montagu. There are five early letters from Walpole dated from King's College, Cambridge, in 1736 and 1737; but the consecutive correspondence begins in 1745 and extends through 1770, when the friendship begun when Walpole and Montagu were schoolboys at Eton lapsed as a result of the indolent Montagu's growing indifference. It is most voluminous in the decade of the 1760's.

Save for a few brief passages prudishly omitted by earlier editors, all of Walpole's letters in these volumes have already been printed. Of Montagu's, however, only two have been hitherto published in full, and 36 others in considerable fragments. Until the year 1760 only a very few of Montagu's letters have survived; but beginning with that year one can now for the first time read Walpole's letters against the background of his friend's rejoinders. When Montagu takes the trouble to be at his best, he shows an excellent mastery of the epistolary art, with witty turns of phrase very similar to those of Walpole. Mr. Lewis in his Introduction (p. xxv) apparently regards Montagu as Walpole's model: "Much of what in Walpole's

style we find most Walpolian can be traced, it now seems clear, to "George Montagu." But is it not quite as likely that Montagu caught these qualities from Walpole?

The work of editing this correspondence has been done with the same scrupulous accuracy and attention to minute detail that we have learned to expect from the *Yale Walpole*. The gossiping character of the correspondence has called for an exceptionally full commentary in explanation of its allusions to persons and events, many of which are obscure. Only rarely have the editors had to confess that they have been baffled. Almost every question that the reader will ask is clearly and concisely answered at the foot of the page, with full indication of the sources to which he may turn for verification or for more detailed information. A minutely analyzed index to the correspondence fills 208 double-column pages of small type.

ROBERT K. ROOT

Princeton University

The Oxford Companion to American Literature. By JAMES D. HART. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, [1941]. Pp. viii + 888. \$5.00.

Professor Hart has followed the general plan used in Sir Paul Harvey's *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (1932). His book is intended not for the scholar but for the general reader and the undergraduate. For such readers there are excellent sketches of all the more important writers and somewhat less satisfactory sketches of many minor writers. Where scholarly biographical and critical studies were available, the compiler has performed his task admirably, but he has had difficulties with the many writers whose work has not been carefully studied. One cannot help regretting that he found it impracticable to carry out his original intention of calling upon experts for many contributions. He has included synopses of nearly nine hundred novels and of many poems and plays, and he has given brief informative discussions of such varied topics as the Library of Congress, Pulitzer Prizes, Boston, Reconstruction, the *Atlantic Monthly*, Transcendentalism, etc. He has interpreted literature in a very wide sense; and in spite of the excellence of his critical comments, the emphasis in the book is social, historical, and journalistic rather than literary.

The compiler warns his readers that the space given to a particular topic is not the measure of its importance, but there are many instances in which the allotted space seems either too much or too little. Francis Hopkinson, definitely a minor writer, receives more space than Sidney Lanier; and Stiegel the glassmaker is

given fuller treatment than *American Speech* or *American Literature*, two magazines of considerable importance for the readers of such a book as this. Bronson Alcott and Jack London are given the space usually allotted to major authors. William Pinkney, lawyer and diplomat, is given more space than his son the poet, and another poet, Philip Pendleton Cooke, is given no fuller treatment than his uncle, a forgotten general. William Taylor, missionary and evangelist, is treated as fully as Sara Teasdale. In many instances the sketchiness of the treatment is due to the lack of materials, but there is no dearth of materials on Sidney Lanier or Edward Coote Pinkney. The compiler has included many contemporary writers whose published work bears little or no relation to American literature and who are more fully treated in *Who's Who in America*. The omission of such names as these would have made space available for brief bibliographical notes listing standard editions and biographical and critical materials. Presumably the reader who consults so useful a work as this would welcome references to additional sources of information.

There are some omissions which should be remedied in later editions. Among lesser Southern writers, for example, one finds William J. Grayson (omitted in *The Dictionary of American Biography*, although discussed by Parrington) but not Francis Orray Ticknor or James M. Legaré. There is a sketch of Robert Munford, Revolutionary soldier and dramatist, but none of his son William, the first American translator of Homer. Among literary magazines we find the *Reviewer* and the *Frontier* but neither the *Texas Review* nor its successor, the *Southwest Review*. Among the names of living historians one finds Samuel E. Morison and James Truslow Adams but not Thomas J. Wertenbaker or James G. Randall. If we look for the names of scholars in the special field of American literature, we find Fred Lewis Pattee, Arthur H. Quinn, Percy H. Boynton, and Emory Holloway but not—to name only New England scholars—Kenneth Murdock, Howard Mumford Jones, Stanley Williams, Perry Miller, Francis O. Matthiessen, or George Whicher, whose sketch of Emily Dickinson the compiler has used as a model.

Profesor Hart is a careful workman, and errors of fact are not numerous when one considers the enormous field he has covered. I list a few which I hope will be corrected in later editions. *The Cambridge History of American Literature* appeared in 1917-1921, not in 1917-1920. Amy Lowell's "Patterns" is not free verse but an irregular poem in rime. Longfellow's "The Building of the Ship" is a narrative poem and not an "ode." The scene of George Cary Eggleston's *A Man of Honor* is Virginia and not Indiana. There are occasional discrepancies in dates. Augusta J. Evans's *St. Elmo* is variously given as 1866 and 1867. *Sunderland Capture* is listed among Pulitzer Prize poems but not in the sketch of its

author, Leonard Bacon. There is an excellent brief sketch of Achille Murat which omits what is for students of American literature the most significant fact in his life, his friendship with Emerson.

JAY B. HUBBELL

Duke University

The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712. Edited by LOUIS B. WRIGHT and MARION TINLING. Richmond: Dietz Press, 1941. Pp. xxx + 622. \$5.00.

Through their knowledge of the shorthand system perfected by William Mason in the late seventeenth century, Mrs. Tinling and Dr. Wright have made available the first of three considerable segments of Byrd's Diary, a diary which they argue with conviction was probably kept throughout his adult life. Plans are already completed for the publication of the second section covering the years 1739-1741.¹ As for the third, 1717-1721, now owned by the Virginia Historical Society, we can only deplore with Dr. Wright the unexplained perversity of that body in continuing to suppress it.

The present volume gives us Byrd in his middle thirties, several years married and the owner of something like 30,000 acres of land. He is an English-bred gentleman, but already adjusted to the routine of his Virginia plantation. It is that routine indeed which, although somewhat monotonous to read about, presents in its cumulative effect an invaluable understanding of Byrd. The following is a typical entry:

31 March. I rose at 6 o'clock and read a chapter in Hebrew and 200 verses in Homer's *Odyssey*. I said my prayers and ate milk for breakfast. I danced my dance. Mr. Haynes came to see me and I appointed him to receive the President's tobacco. We made an end of sowing the oats. I ate nothing but boiled beef for dinner. My wife was out of humor for nothing. However I endeavored to please her again, having consideration for a woman's weakness. I played at billiards with the ladies. I read Italian. In the evening we walked about the plantation. My wife was out of order so we went to bed soon. I had good health, good thoughts, and good humor, thanks be to God Almighty. I said my prayers. This month was remarkable for abundance of rain and wind without frost

The evidence of Byrd's linguistic ability is for the first time conclusively established. And his reading is not haphazard; he stays with an author, like Lucan, for instance, consistently until he knows him, just as he reads in Geometry day in day out for weeks. And he dances his "dance," obviously a form of calisthenics, virtually every morning.

Byrd liked to gamble, though the sums he lost or won were not large. Thirty shillings one way or the other was an average day's venture, but at that the picture of members of the Council of

¹ This volume, edited by Maude Woodfin and Marion Tinling, is now in

Virginia shooting craps in a Williamsburg Inn or lodging house might tend to disillusion those who would idealize Virginia culture of the first century after colonization. For the colony was still one in which a healthy, systematic gentleman—if Byrd was a typical figure—might write amiable satires against his contemporaries, serve as a judge in the colonial court, doctor his slaves, purging them or bleeding them, or be compelled to thrash them soundly when they were recalcitrant. He was an extremely busy person. The *Diary*, in brief, presents not the Byrd of publicized Westover but a detailed picture of a relatively young man, a man of many occupations, who still can find time to send seeds to the Bishop of London for experimental planting. It affords an invaluable picture of life in the early colonial South.

RICHMOND CROOM BEATTY

Vanderbilt University

William Warner Bishop, a Tribute, 1941. Edited by HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG and ANDREW KEOGH. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. Pp. vi + 204. \$3.00.

The ambassadorial function exercised in the international library world by William Warner Bishop, librarian emeritus of the University of Michigan, accounts for the presence of seven European, English, and Canadian librarians among the contributors to the volume of studies recently published in his honor. And because Dr. Bishop for many years has devoted his extra-routine energies to tasks of coordination and organization at home and abroad, the essays contributed by his associates are for the greater part concerned with large aspects of library administration. Reading them one experiences a broadened conception of the library function in the organization of modern scholarship.

In the study by Keyes DeWitt Metcalf (Harvard) of "Some Trends in Research Libraries," the grim picture of excess in growth, cost, and complexity of the large library of today is relieved somewhat by the examination of factors which indicate that Nature and Man are working together for relief of the situation. The discussion of "Optima in Library Service for the South by 1950," by Louis Round Wilson (Dean of the Graduate Library School, University of Chicago) is less impressive, perhaps, for the eventuation implied by its title than for its record of the splendid achievement of the library movement throughout the South in the past forty years. The recataloguing of the Vatican manuscripts through the agency of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, with Dr. Bishop as adviser and intermediary, is described by Eugène, Cardinal Tisserant (The Vatican Library), into whose capable hands was placed the task of adapting modern cataloguing

technique to the problems presented by manuscripts of the ancient and mediaeval world. "Sir Henry Ellis in France," by Gerhard Richard Lomer (McGill), recalls to memory a Principal Librarian of the British Museum whose virtues have not survived in memory the wave of reform which supplanted him in 1856 in favor of the great Panizzi, a bit of library history with lessons alike for librarians and the committees which investigate them. Of contributions to the volume purely scholarly in character one recalls particularly the palaeographic study by Sir Frederick George Kenyon (British Museum) on "Book Divisions in Greek and Latin Literature"; an informative account of "Palm Leaf Books," by Otto Kinkeldey (Cornell University); an entertaining piece of literary and bibliographical investigation entitled "Rinaldo Rinaldini (*Capo Brigante*) and George Washington," by Jens Christian Bay (John Crerar Library, Chicago); and "The Yale Library of 1742," by Andrew Keogh (Librarian emeritus, Yale University). One reads with pleasure at the beginning of the volume the comments of Frederick Paul Keppel (Carnegie Corporation) and Harry Miller Lydenberg (retired Director, New York Public Library) upon the personal and professional characteristics of Dr. Bishop. This reviewer, recalling a youthful first visit to the Library of Congress and the helpful kindness of the Superintendent of the Reading Room, understands the note of friendly affection for William Warner Bishop which runs through these two articles. Other contributions were made to the volume by Herbert Putnam (Librarian emeritus of Congress), Isak G. A. Collijn (Royal Library, Stockholm), A. C. de Breych-Vauthier (League of Nations Library), Marcel Godet (National Library of Switzerland), and Tietse Pieter Sevensma (Librarian, University of Leiden).

LAWRENCE C. WROTH

The John Carter Brown Library

The Gentle Hertford, Her Life and Letters. (Wellesley College Series.) By HELEN SARD HUGHES. New York: Macmillan, 1940. Pp. xiv + 506. \$4.00.

This collection of letters, poems, and journals written to, by, or about the patroness of Thomson and Shenstone includes correspondence with members of Lady Hertford's immediate family, and with several more notable contemporary figures, including Lady Luxborough, Elizabeth Rowe, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, and Isaac Watts. Most of the material is in manuscript form in the library of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle; to this has been added material from the British Museum and from the Wellesley College Library. Although she was for ten years lady-in-

waiting to Queen Caroline, Lady Hertford's interests centered about the doings of her immediate family and in country life at Marlborough Castle, rather than in those of the town. Her letters reveal a preoccupation with the new fashions in landscape gardening; in the considerable remodelling of Northumberland House; in literary gossip, which includes the publication of *Robinson Crusoe* and the controversy over Glover's "Leonidas"; and, during her later years, in the Methodist movement. Lady Hertford and her friends limited their concerns to a small canvas—"in little scenes and trivial incidents," as Professor Hughes puts it, and one must not look beyond this scope, expecting to find a clue to many of the larger movements of the period.

Because of Lady Hertford's acquaintance with some of the men of letters of the period, one wishes that in her editorial comments Professor Hughes had allotted more space to this subject. Although James Thomson and Stephen Duck are mentioned very briefly, one wishes for a recapitulation, either in the notes or in the commentary, of Professor Hughes's findings on Lady Hertford's connections with Lady Winchelsea, Dyer, and Shenstone—findings which Professor Hughes has published in learned journals during the past twelve years, but which might well have been indicated here, however briefly. Furthermore, one wishes that the extent of Lady Hertford's literary benevolences had been more fully pursued for the light it would have thrown on the obscure condition of eighteenth-century patronage. For example, when Walter Harte, the protégé of Pope, published his "Poems On Several Occasions" (1727, I have access to the reissue of 1739 only), he included an effusion "To the Right Honourable Lady Hertford, Upon the Birth of Lord Beauchamp." Her Ladyship returned the favor by subscribing to five copies of the book. Similarly, Mrs. Mary Barber's "Poems On Several Occasions," published in 1734, include verses "Occasion'd by reading the Memoirs of Anne of Austria, Inscrib'd to the Countess of Hertford." In the catalogue of subscribers the Countess is listed for five copies. One wonders how extensively her Ladyship practised this form of encouragement.

Still another point invites comment: the editorial section preceding the extremely interesting collection of letters centering about the Methodist movement might well be fuller. The statement that "The revival of personal religion within [the Established Church] was the undertaking of a group of zealots who came to be called Methodists" (p. 350) is likely to be termed a piece of oversimplification. One wishes that a clear distinction had been drawn between the Methodist branch led by George Whitefield—the group of "genteel Methodists" in which Lady Hertford's friend, the Countess of Huntingdon, was a leading spirit—and the more extreme Non-conformist group. The distinction helps to explain Lady Hertford's interest in the Evangelical movement, in

spite of the fact that all her life she remained an unswerving member of the Established Church.

In making available the letters and journals included in this collection, Professor Hughes' primary object has been to convey a knowledge of the daily life and interests of a well-bred and cultivated member of the English court. The result is an instructive and attractive index to contemporary taste as it was followed by a circle whose interests were distinctly less urban than were those of the group connected with Lady Hertford's contemporary, Alexander Pope.

HELENE MAXWELL HOOKER

Brentwood,
Los Angeles, California

Whittier, Bard of Freedom. By WHITMAN BENNETT. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. xvi + 359. \$3.50.

This handsome book, modest in pretension, is large in merit. The author (a New York book dealer born in eastern Massachusetts) has undertaken no fresh research; but he has made an admirable synthesis of printed materials. From it emerges the clearest biographical portrait we have yet had of Whittier.

It is quite rightly as a social humanitarian—a man of stature and force who helped to direct the social movements of mid-nineteenth century America—that Whittier holds the most importance for Mr. Bennett. Yet Whittier's verse and in smaller compass his periodical prose are sympathetically and sensibly weighed. The several instances in which Mr. Bennett's honest enthusiasm for individual poems by Whittier impels him to perhaps excessive praise, merely give point to the biographer's general soundness of judgment.

This quality shines in the caustic dismissal of Mr. Albert Mordell's attempt, nine years earlier, at a Freudian interpretation of Whittier's life. Mr. Bennett carefully relates what facts are known about Whittier's chronic frail health. And where facts have had to be supplemented by conjecture, Mr. Bennett's strong common sense completes a picture that is restored to proportion and right color. Here, serious students of Whittier will probably agree, is the true portrait of the man, now happily cleansed of mud and indeed brought out in its essential values more clearly than in any previous biography.

A few particularly good passages in the book merit mention. There is the wise assessment of John Quincy Adams, and of Whittier's joint labors with him as an Abolitionist. Noteworthy also is Mr. Bennett's careful accounting (pp. 139-45) of Whittier's delicate

health. And, if the title of the biography is appropriate, Bennett's conception of Whittier as of 1843 is excellent and may here be quoted:

In all these events—and in the greater events now pending—appeared from time to time the weaving hand that belonged to a politically minded, impoverished, semi-invalid Quaker poet of Amesbury, Massachusetts. But though the hand worked as a shadow, scarcely traceable, the voice spake as a trumpet to all the world, for it had a special endowment for saying true and terrible things in simple and homely rhyme which echoed and reechoed in the minds of average men and women.

A few minor faults, chiefly of style, are of no particular account here. Mr. Bennett's book is a fine achievement. In it he gives a deserved nod to another which was bound to raise the level of works about Whittier—Mr. T. F. Currier's superb bibliography.

JOHN A. POLLARD

Russell Sage College

A Bibliographical Manual for Students of the Language and Literature of England and the United States. A Short-title List.

Compiled by JOHN WEBSTER SPARGO. Second edition. Chicago: Packard and Company, [1941]. Pp. x + 260. \$1.50.

Some fairly extensive changes have been made in the new edition of Spargo's *Bibliographical Manual*. A number of items have been dropped, but nearly a hundred others have been added, and the entries have been brought up to date. This is as much as one has a right to expect in the revision of such a work, but in addition the whole of Part One ("Works of General Reference") has been recast under new headings and in a new arrangement. The result is a greatly improved book, the best available manual of its type.

Yet I suspect that such book-lists produce the same effects as anthologies: they completely satisfy no one but the compiler. An alphabetical arrangement, for instance, sometimes brings together the strangest bedfellows in defiance of size, scope, language, or chronology—an arrangement for which the only remedy, I suspect, is such extreme refinement of classification and sub-classification as in the end to produce almost as much irritation as the defect it is designed to avoid. It could also be wished that in the section on "History and Resources of Libraries" Mr. Spargo had treated Europe (26 entries), or at least England, as thoroughly and systematically as he has treated the United States (62 entries). Now that European libraries are inaccessible it is more important than ever to be able to find and use such information as their catalogues afford.

Some confusion, too, is visible in the sections on "Learned

Journals" and "Periodical Publications." The first apparently includes only journals that are current, the second only those that are defunct. Some disconcerting omissions result: e. g. *The Edinburgh Review* is included, but not *The Quarterly*. It may be matter for debate whether *The Criterion*, *Scrutiny*, and *The Mask* (all of which are omitted) are learned journals or merely periodicals, but it is quite as important that a graduate student should be familiar with them as with say, *Modern Philology* or *Angla*. The danger is that he should think Mr. Spargo's lists exhaustive or, if not exhaustive, sufficient; though such a danger Mr. Spargo has done his best to obviate by his generous provision of blank versos for the insertion of additional items.

R. C. BALD

Cornell University

Three Tours through London in the Years 1748, 1776, 1798. By
WILMARTH SHELDON LEWIS. New Haven, Yale University
Press: 1941. Pp. xii + 135. \$2.50.

Mr. Lewis's lectures delivered at Brown University early this year have now been printed, fortunately for those of us who were not lucky enough to hear them. The modest pose adopted is that of a twentieth-century tourist visiting London on three occasions through fifty years; the traveller sees for himself, eats for himself, smells for himself, and draws his own usually astonished conclusions. This device makes possible the delightful informality of the book, the charmed feeling that we have the best guide possible, a guide who like ourselves has his prejudices, his likes and dislikes, friends and enemies in that far away world, but is willing to show reason and puts his footnotes right there to confound us if we get argumentative. It is true that in the third lecture we are likely to forget that we are tourists, except perhaps in the section on Strawberry Hill, but that makes little difference in our interest. The other aspect of Mr. Lewis's scheme, bringing the traveller to London in three widely separated years, stimulates the reader's mind with the feeling of vitality and change in the nation's varied activities. Not in this book are we invited to think of conditions in eighteenth-century London as static; boys grow to men and men's clothes and houses and amusements and ideas keep changing. This is the rather special virtue of Mr. Lewis's little book and sets it apart from its many competitors. There is nothing particularly esoteric about most of the source material (indeed it is strange that so little use is made of newspapers and periodicals), but the author certainly has an eye for significant detail and is surprisingly successful in keeping most of his references close to the year assigned for special study. Sometimes the remarks of foreign travellers are not qualified

with precision, like that of Moritz on the "insupportable stench" of London streets. One wonders whether German cities were much cleaner than London at that time and remembers that Londoners thought the stench of Edinburgh insupportable. Sometimes the remarks quoted bear implications misleading for the unwary, like Defoe's "an honest drunken fellow is a character in a man's praise," or Dr. Johnson's "a man is never happy in the present unless he is drunk." Mr. Lewis does correct the shocking suggestion of this last in a footnote. One suspects that familiarity with Walpole has made Mr. Lewis supercilious about Dr. Johnson. He makes Dr. Johnson's remarks on luxury equivalent to approval of Mandeville's theories and in another place mentions Dr. Johnson's negro servant, Frank Barber, in the same sentence with Wilberforce in a way that may confuse some.

WILLIAM HENRY IRVING

Duke University

Ralph Waldo Emerson's Reading, A Guide for Source-Hunters and Scholars to the One Thousand Volumes Which He Withdrew from Libraries Together With Some Unpublished Letters.
By KENNETH WALTER CAMERON. Raleigh, North Carolina: The Thistle Press, 1941. Pp. 144. \$3.50.

In 1932 Dr. Arthur Christy published, in his *The Orient in American Transcendentalism*, a valuable bibliographical appendix on the Oriental reading of Emerson, Alcott, and Thoreau. Now Dr. Cameron has published his bibliography of Emerson's borrowings of books from the Boston Athenaeum (1830-1873), the Harvard College Library (1817-1868), and the Harvard Divinity School Library (1827-1829). A comparison of the two bibliographies shows that Mr. Cameron has corrected a few errors and supplied some lacunae in Mr. Christy's entries for Emerson. The importance of Mr. Cameron's work lies in its fullness, exactitude, and rich suggestion. Like Mr. Christy, he has gone directly to the charging records. We now know precisely when Emerson borrowed a book and when he returned it; in addition, except in a few instances, Mr. Cameron has identified the edition of whatever book Emerson withdrew. Anyone who has gone to these charging records knows their incompleteness in this respect; and Mr. Cameron has performed a necessary and valuable service by filling in the details.

This bibliography confirms much of what we have known about Emerson's reading, its depth and its range. Mr. Cameron has already said in his Introduction what any reviewer must say about the charging records: that they contain "dozens of possible research

subjects" (p. 11), and not in Emerson alone. The graduate student or the already established scholar will discover in this book fresh hints and new directions. I have space to mention only one perhaps significant fact: the recurrent interest that Emerson evidently had in Wieland's works, which he borrowed, in the original, from the Athenaeum in 1834, 1835, 1837, 1845, 1854, 1857, and 1869. After Professor Rusk's *Letters* and this work the scholarship in Emerson will proceed with greater assurance than before.

This work is carefully cross-referenced. In addition, Mr. Cameron prints a list of Emerson's contemporaries, some of whom are prominent in our literature and in Transcendentalism and whose book borrowings are listed in the charging records of the Boston Athenaeum. Here is a hint which, I take it, is obvious: the future historian of American Transcendentalism will do well to go to these records.

CARL F. STRAUCH

Lehigh University

Browning's Star-Imagery. By C. WILLARD SMITH. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. x + 252. \$3.50. (Princeton Studies in English, 21.)

This study of a detail of Browning's poetic imagery suggests a certain kinship with the works of Wilson Knight, and Caroline Spurgeon. While the worth of this approach to the writings of a poet is undeniable, the extent to which it throws light on the warp and woof of the complex fabric of structural design in the works of Shakespeare and Browning remains a matter of controversy.

Mr. Smith has made a thorough and painstaking investigation of the symbolic meanings of Browning's star-imagery. He has shown how constantly the poet linked stars with the ideas of resolution, aspiration, hope, intellectual and poetic decision. It is in keeping with the spirit of an artist who, while delving deeply into mundane life, never ceased to be an idealist at heart, that the image of the star should be frequent in his poetry. Yet in the main the symbolic interpretations he attaches to it are the universal connotations familiar to men. It is the abundance of allusions to stars, not their originality that is striking.

Differences of opinion are more apt to arise in connection with Mr. Smith's convictions regarding the structural functions of Browning's star-imagery than with his explanation of the symbolism involved. A single detail of poetic design, even though a favourite one, is a slim basis to be considered a guide to the organic structure of the writings of such a catholic intellectual and imaginative genius as Browning. While occasionally star-imagery does

have a bearing on poetic design, its function, in my opinion, is much more limited than that Mr. Smith seeks to establish. The findings of such an excursus stand in constant need of correction in the light of that richer and more fruitful insight only to be gained by a comprehensive study of the content, development, and outline of Browning's poetry. Even in such poems as *Pauline* and *Paracelsus*, where Mr. Smith regards star-imagery as of particular structural importance, a number of his conclusions might be sharply challenged. Nor does he, through his insistence on his thesis while dealing with a labyrinth of detail, always escape the danger of breaking a butterfly upon a wheel.

Nevertheless the book contains sound and scholarly discussions of such themes as the relation between the poet's references to the stars and his general vision of light, the associate images linked with the stars, the dominance of star-symbolism in certain writings of Browning and its subordination in others, the connection between the star-imagery and the general artistry of the poet and his intrinsic ideals. In handling a plethora of material, some of it of a minute variety, Professor Smith has striven to relate Browning's star-imagery to the aesthetic and philosophic principles which lie at the core of his contribution to English literature.

WILLIAM O. RAYMOND

Bishop's University

Emerson's Montaigne. By CHARLES LOWELL YOUNG. New York: The Macmillan Company (for Wellesley College), 1941. Pp. xii + 236. \$2.50.

James Hall Literary Pioneer of the Ohio Valley. By JOHN T. FLANAGAN. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1941. Pp. vii + 218. \$2.50.

A thorough search would have brought to light much evidence of Emerson's readings in Montaigne which Mr. Young did not find and would have prevented several slight errors which he has made. But in general such shortcomings have no very important effect upon the value of this book, which is welcome mainly for its painstaking appraisal of Emerson's interpretation of Montaigne.

We are made to realize once more that Emerson was not a scholar except in his own sense of the term. He betrays no recognition of the fact that Montaigne's skepticism had a traceable growth. Though the question of Montaigne's sincerity in the "Apology," a question which Sainte-Beuve answered with a surprising display of feeling in *Port-Royal*, must be left undecided, it is noteworthy that Emerson seems quite unaware that there can be any such

question. In spite of all his concern with Montaigne, he may never have read—or at least never completely read—the greatest of all the essays. As for the famous lecture on Montaigne, it is, to a great extent, not on Montaigne, and the “doubts or negations” listed in it are really of Emerson’s own collecting.

We are on less certain ground, but not without the warrant of many a passage, if we accept Mr. Young’s emphasis on the significance of Emerson’s failure to express full sympathy with Montaigne’s insistence on discipline. Likewise there is much, but not complete, justification for the old complaint, repeated by critics for a hundred years past, against Emerson’s eagerness to see good in man and in nature and to ignore the tragic flaw which he well knew had been so effectively exposed, not only by Calvinists and other Christians, but long before them by the Ancients.

Flanagan’s pioneer biography of Hall is hardly so much a biography as a miscellany. Chapters called “Ancestry, Birth, Youth,” “Down the Ohio,” “Lawyer and Journalist,” “Politician and Editor,” and “Editor and Banker” follow a chronological scheme ending with 1868, the year of Hall’s death. Criticism is mostly relegated to the remaining chapters—“Romancer and Historian,” “Hall as Literary Critic,” “Hall as Storyteller,” “Hall as Poet,” “Characteristic Ideas,” and “Hall and the Critics.” A dozen pages at the end contain brief bibliographical notes and index.

There is much new and detailed information. The most valuable part of it, because hitherto least accessible, is biographical. Unfortunately, however, this is rather thin—the author “deliberately reduced the biographical chapters to a minimum.” What biographical facts do appear are not very skillfully used. Hall never quite comes alive as a human being.

In the second half of the book there are a good many sensible comments on Hall’s writings, but his significance in our literature remains much what it was before. Hall is historically important for the leading part which he had in a unique and extremely interesting epoch of cultural growth. In his time, he stood in the first rank of observers and recorders of frontier life. The most memorable of his writings are his Western tales. In them he sometimes came near being a realist. As a realist he certainly might have been much more valuable to us than he turned out to be. Losing his grasp on realism, he too often fell a victim to an inordinate liking for picturesque details, melodramatic incidents, and sentimental moods and so stumbled weakly into the same slough of mediocrity that engulfed many of his literary contemporaries.

RALPH L. RUSK

Columbia University

Thackeray: A Critical Portrait. By JOHN W. DODDS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. vii + 257. \$3.00.

It is a sad irony that our knowledge of Thackeray has grown as slowly as his reputation grew in his own day, that we know so much about many inconsequential Victorians and so little about him. Any contribution to that little, whether biography or criticism, is welcome. Professor Dodds's book, says its preface, is not a critical biography, but rather a "criticism with some biographical infiltration—an attempt to trace the growth of a mind and at the same time to identify the quality of an art in fiction."

Believing that the early writings best show Thackeray's intellectual and artistic development, Professor Dodds has given more than a third of his book to the years before *Vanity Fair*. In those years the young Thackeray labored hard to see through the outer coverings of things; and he soon achieved "a healthy, antiseptic hatred for shabbiness and insincerity of spirit." All the early essaying and reviewing and story-telling presents his case against humbug. But at the same time private misfortune was helping him to a deep sense of man's sorrow and pitifulness. "There is little in the later novels," says Professor Dodds, "which is not implicit by 1847."

The analyses of the novels are excellent, especially that of *Vanity Fair*, which offers a kind of key to the others. There are good discussions of Arthur Pendennis, of Colonel Newcome, and the old matter of Esmond and his Rachel; all considerably illuminated by pertinent "biographical infiltration." The fine picture of Thackeray himself is the likeness of many another great Victorian—the likeness of an uncomfortable man. "Thackeray," says Professor Dodds, "was by no means a Victorian unawares. He was a Victorian with roots in the eighteenth century, flowering in an age which seemed often to wish, with Sir Thomas Browne, that men could propagate like trees."

Professor Dodds has written his book with sharpness and humor and with a full knowledge of the Victorian background. Though he may have strained after a bright effect here and there, he has generally succeeded in handling entertainingly a trying critical problem. To the Thackeray heirs he has expressed his gratitude for permission to use Thackeray's unpublished letters. It is too bad that that gratitude cannot be made more general by the publication of the collected correspondence.

EDWIN M. EVERETT

University of Georgia

Carlyle and the Saint-Simonians, and the concept of historical periodicity. By HILL SHINE. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. xiv + 191. \$2.25.

The title of Professor Shine's book arouses keen expectation; for the Saint-Simonians brought together in their doctrines the poles of nineteenth-century thought, romanticism and positivism, and almost succeeded in uniting Carlyle and John Stuart Mill in a constructive compromise of the highest potential value for Victorian England. But the subtitle limits the study to "The Concept of Historical Periodicity," leaving "the social aspects of the relation for later treatment," although the 180 pages of text do not seem too small compass for the entire subject. Without a preliminary account of the men who made up the Saint-Simonian society and of the origin and European significance of their doctrines such as E. M. Butler's *Saint-Simonian Religion in Germany* supplies to give the reader his bearings, Dr. Shine, preferring ideas in chemical purity, enters directly upon an abundantly documented exposition of the Saint-Simonian version of the age-old conception of alternate epochs in history. Then in a careful mapping up of ground traversed by scholars attacking larger objectives, notably by Elie Halévy and Dr. Louise Young, he states more precisely and accurately than any one hitherto what Saint-Simonian publications Carlyle read, when he read them, and what were his personal relations with the French thinkers. With equal care he disengages from Carlyle's conception of periodicity, into which among other things Goethe's theory of "ages of faith" entered, the clarifying and systematizing influence of the Saint-Simonians, who incidentally contributed the terms "palingenesis" and "organic" and "critical" epochs. In following this influence in Carlyle's writings subsequent to its first appearance in *Sartor Resartus*, Dr. Shine suggests that the Frenchmen helped relieve him of the fear that the chaos of his time might be permanent, and permitted him to predict with confidence an organic future, thus strengthening him in the prophetic role which links his historical writing with his criticism of contemporary society. This valuable generalization is almost hidden in a microscopic examination of Carlyle's thought, for Dr. Shine has brought over unaltered into a book the scale and scope of an article for a learned journal. Austerely "scientific," he even resists the temptation to remark that the present state of the world has made very much alive the theory of alternate periods of social decay and growth.

EMERY NEFF

Columbia University

Der Umstrittene Ruhm Alexander Popes. By RUDOLF STAMM.
Bern: A. Francke, 1941. Pp. 116. Fr. 6.50. (Swiss Studies
in English, 12.)

Professor Stamm musters in these 116 pages almost all the critical utterances on Pope's poetry between Wordsworth and Leslie Stephen, with even a side-glance at the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, yet his book remains something considerably better than a florilegium. The reason is two-fold. In the first place, the author inherits from recent criticism a poetic theory that permits him, without erecting into absolutes either the 'classical' or 'romantic' concepts of poetic art, to recognize "in den zwei Dichterbildern verschieden geartete, von verschiedenen Zeitemständen bedingte Besitzer derselben dichterische Kraft gespiegelt" (p. 33), and accordingly his work is substantially the first review of the nineteenth-century controversy which deals impartially with both the 'classical' poetry and its 'romantic' commentators, as well as one of the few appreciations of Pope which is not based upon the hidden premise that he was a 'Vorromantiker' after all. Just at this crucial point, unfortunately, Professor Stamm stops short. Where his personal observations are concerned, he is content like too many others to describe the quality of his own responses rather than the qualities of the poetry that produced them.

In the second place, Stamm derives from the 'protocol' experiments of Mr. Richards an analytic method which he uses with unusual acumen in distinguishing the several sorts of prejudice that intervened between the nineteenth-century sensibility and the poetry of Pope. Among them he stresses particularly (p. 8) "das Eingeschorensein auf eine besondere Theorie von der Dichtung . . . das Misstrauen gegen die Werke aus moralischem Abscheu vor der Person des Autors, die Feindschaft gegen seine philosophischen und theologischen Überzeugungen, die Abneigung gegen den Geist der sozialen Schicht, welche ihm meistens seine Stoffe geliefert hat," and Stamm's dextrous unfolding of these various 'Voreingenommenheiten' as they swirled and shifted through a century of criticism constitutes the primary value of his book. Here, as he himself suggests, the student acquainted with Mr. Richards' protocols will be forcibly reminded that obdurate 'doctrinal adhesions,' 'mnemonic irrelevances,' and 'general critical preconceptions' are not confined exclusively to Cambridge undergraduates; and here, too, as he might have added, it is made unforgettably apparent that criticism as well as propaganda can establish 'truths' not by demonstrating but by repeating them.

MAYNARD MACK

Yale University

BRIEF MENTION

Anales del Instituto de Lingüística. Universidad Nacional de Cuyo. Mendoza. 1942. Pp. iii + 222. Primera e interesante publicación del "Instituto de Lingüística" de la Universidad de Cuyo, en la República Argentina. El director del Instituto, Juan Corominas, discípulo de Menéndez Pidal y de Jakob Jud es autor de tres artículos: *Nuevas etimologías españolas* (allende, aquende, caruncho, caracol, hueco, joroba, jorobado, vera, beira, tatarabuelo, tataranieto, tropezar); *Aportaciones americanas a problemas pendientes* (orondo, embadurnar, tripular); *Problemas por resolver* (alondra y golondrina, orín, lindo). Leo Spitzer contribuye con un artículo de *Estudios etimológicos* (sicrano zutano, percevejo, chinche, insimprar, bandullo, pandorga, enseres). Dos jóvenes investigadores, Salvador Canals Frau y José Santiago Arango, tratan respectivamente de "bagual" y "melesca." Robert Salmon, de la misma Universidad publica un largo artículo sobre *El problema central de la crítica literaria*, basado principalmente en materiales y bibliografía francesa; estudia los elementos de la obra literaria, su agrupación y el empleo del método comparativo. Al final del volumen hay un informe del Dr. Corominas respecto a los trabajos realizados por el Instituto y que corresponden a cuatro actividades directivas: 1. Formación de una biblioteca especializada. 2. Publicaciones. 3. Preparación de un fichero lingüístico que consta ya de 28500 papeletas. 4. Vinculaciones científicas con otras instituciones e investigadores. El "Instituto de Lingüística" de la Universidad de Cuyo merece, a juzgar por este volumen, la atención más favorable de los interesados en las cuestiones de lingüística hispana. Como nos indica la Dirección en la nota preliminar de estos *Anales*, trabajará de acuerdo con el *Instituto de Filología* de Buenos Aires, pero especializando en la materia lexicológica, vocabulario, etimología, etc. Su campo de acción será el castellano, y más particularmente el de América, sin olvidar las lenguas con él emparentadas.

P. S.

CORRESPONDENCE

RILKE—RODIN: ONCE MORE.¹ Every now and then the problem of Rilke's relationship to the French sculptor Auguste Rodin comes up for discussion. It is not quite as simple as Mr. Peters wants to have it when he bluntly refutes the assertion that Rilke was at any time Rodin's secretary. Certainly, Rilke had good reasons, in later years, to dislike the "legend" of his ever having worked for Rodin in such a capacity, although at the time he was the one who did most to spread it.

Obviously, the misunderstanding begins with the use of the business term "secretary." As far as can be concluded from the existing correspondence, Rilke came to Meudon in September 1905 (after an earlier visit in 1902) upon a special invitation from Rodin. Miss G. Craig Houston's statement that Rilke "was to stay with him at Meudon and to act as part-time secretary"² is only in its first half supported by written evidence;³ In the letter of September 7, addressed to Clara Rilke, Rilke quoted in full the communication he had received from Rodin (written by Rodin's secretary⁴). This contained nothing but the invitation to stay with him at Meudon. Apparently all further arrangements were made orally after Rilke's arrival,⁴ but there can be no doubt that some arrangements were made. In his letter of October 19, to Karl v. d. Heydt, Rilke himself described his position as "eine Art Privatsekretär" (similarly on December 13, to Arthur Holitscher),⁵ and on November 14 he stated to Lou Andreas-Salomé that Rodin wanted him to have enough time for himself and that "die Nachmittage gehören mir ganz."⁶

From this it appears to be a fair assumption that Rodin had suggested, in their discussions in September 1905, that Rilke stay with him in some sort of semi-official position. According to Rilke himself Rodin's motives were most humanitarian and (as Miss Butler puts it) "proceeded from pure kindness of heart." We may be excused if we cast some doubt upon this rosy side of the "legend." Rodin certainly had excellent reasons for trying out the extraordinary experiment, to say the least, of charging a German poet with his French correspondence. If Rilke was informed correctly (letter of September 27), Rodin was unable to find a secretary with

¹ See H. F. Peters' article "Rilke-Rodin: A Correction" in the January issue, 1942, of *Modern Language Notes* (pp. 7/8).

² G. Craig Houston, "Rilke and Rodin," *German Studies*, Oxford, 1938, p. 251.

³ Rilke's letters of September 4, 6 and 7, 1905. *Briefe aus den Jahren 1902 bis 1906*, Leipzig 1930, pp. 249-251.

⁴ That is, according to Miss E. Butler (*Rainer Maria Rilke*, Macmillan, New York, 1941, p. 160) after he had spent ten days with Rodin.

⁵ Exactly the same term is used by Katharina Kippenberg, *Rainer Maria Rilke*, Ein Beitrag, Leipzig, 1935, p. 93.

⁶ *Id.*, p. 271.

whom he could work together harmoniously, a secretary, in other words, with the same deep understanding for his work as Rilke had shown all along. Apparently Rodin was not easy to get on with, as Rilke was to find out for himself in a few months. This probably was Rodin's chief motive for inviting Rilke to Meudon; everything else was of secondary importance. We may, therefore, conclude that Rodin wanted to have Rilke in his immediate entourage and was willing to make his stay in Paris possible by contributing to his living expenses, by providing him at least with free living quarters (there seems to be no proof that Rilke was actually paid).

Yet still another question comes up in connection with Rilke's stay in Meudon. In the letter of 1924 which Mr. Peters quoted in his "Correction,"⁷ Rilke asserted that he had helped Rodin "während fünf Monaten!" (exclamation point Rilke's) in his correspondence. How hard Rilke tried to minimize the official character of his work for Rodin appears not only from the vague term "helped him in his correspondence," but still more from the actual understatement that he had been with Rodin just "five months." From his correspondence, on the other hand,⁸ it becomes quite clear that he lived in Meudon (with short interruptions—for instance, two weeks off at Christmas!) from September 15, 1905 until May 11 (or 12), 1906—in other words over a period of almost exactly *eight* months.

To sum up: there is no reason to give too much credence to a letter (as the one of February 26, 1924) that has so obviously been written in a defensive mood. To try to deduce from it that Rilke had not been Rodin's secretary seems to be mere quibbling over words.

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WORTINDEX ZU GOETHE'S FAUST. In the June number of *MLN*, 1942, Professor Hohlfeld published a sharp attack on my review of the *Wortindex zu Goethes Faust*. I shall not reply to his charges of a lack of understanding of the problem on my part, they cannot be taken seriously and reveal the weakness of his case. At the end of his remarks Professor Hohlfeld practically admits the justice of my criticism. He writes: "Our search for a concise title has exposed us, with some show of at least mechanical if not essential justice, to the charge of 'raising false hopes.' We might wish to have forestalled censure on this ground by adding the somewhat awkward subtitle 'mit Ausschluss der Bühnenanweisungen, Titel und Namen der sprechenden Personen'"

A *Wortindex* to a work of literature is supposed to list the words in that work regardless of context and meaning. That is the generally accepted implication of the term. *Erdgeist* and *Proktophantasmist*, to give two examples, are words found in the *Sprachkunstwerk* entitled *Faust*, to

⁷ *Briefe aus Muzot*, 1921 bis 1926, Leipzig 1936, p. 246 (letter to Alfred Schaer).

⁸ *Briefe 1902-1906*, pp. 249-322.

deny that would be absurd, but if they are found in *Faust*, they should have a place in the *Wortindex zu Goethes Faust*. Professor Hohlfeld either uses *Wortindex* in a sense different from the one commonly accepted or *Goethes Faust* has for him a different meaning. In either case the title should have indicated his meaning, at least no misleading title should have been chosen. The subtitle suggested is awkward, to be sure, but it is true to the facts. It might have detracted from the interest in the volume but it would have spared its purchasers and users keen disappointment. I do not believe that there is one person who seeing the title and reading the announcements of the volume ever suspected that a single word found in *Faust* had been intentionally omitted from the *Wortindex zu Goethes Faust*. Any one has the right to publish a *Wortindex* based upon a part or the greatest part of *Faust* but he has no right to give to such a partial index the comprehensive title of *Wortindex zu Goethes Faust* or to call it *Gesamtschau des Wortschatzes*, when more than 320 words found in the *Sprachkunstwerk Faust* have been intentionally omitted. A *Wortindex* disregarding, as it does, context and meaning cannot and does not make a distinction between the words of the *Sprachkunstwerk* which it treats. To do so is both arbitrary and illogical.

I can only repeat what I stated at the end of my review, it is to be greatly regretted that a mistaken theory has prevented the authors from giving us the perfect *Wortindex zu Goethes Faust*, a goal which they came so near attaining.

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ROSSETTI'S "BORDER SONG." In an essay, "Some Unpublished Stanzas by Dante Gabriel Rossetti," in *MLN* (1933, pp. 176-79), Mr. M. L. Howe observes in connection with Rossetti's ballad, "A Border Song": "I have found no allusion to the poem by any one who wrote or spoke of Rossetti." The poem in question was described in *Notes and Queries* (October 13, 1894, p. 286) as a short ballad, illustrated with a scratchy wood-cut by H. K. Browne, and entitled "A Border Song." Mr. W. F. Prideaux, who contributed this note, found it in *Once a Week*, II, 66. It was signed "D. G. R.," and in Mr. Prideaux's opinion it could not be doubted that the ballad was by Rossetti, though it was not included in the *Collected Works*. He thought that it was probably considered immature by Rossetti and, therefore, not reprinted. In the next issue of *Notes and Queries*, E. Walford, as sub-editor of *Once a Week*, certified from memory that D. G. Rossetti was the author of "A Border Song," as also of several other poems published in *Once a Week*. In *Notes and Queries* for December 22, 1894, Mr. Prideaux expressed his satisfaction at the discovery of the authorship of the ballad and reported that he could not find any other signed poem of Rossetti in the first three volumes of *Once a Week*.

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A NOTE ON JOHN FORD

It has been customary since the time of Ford's first editors to begin a discussion of his plays with a reference to his lost comedy *An Ill Beginning has a Good End*. Such a treatment appears in Sherman's edition of *'Tis Pity* and *The Broken Heart* (1915), p. vi, in Struble's critical edition of *Perkin Warbeck* (1926), p. 16, and in Ellis-Fermor's *The Jacobean Drama* (1936), p. 310. Sherman and Ellis-Fermor further state that this play was acted at the Cockpit in 1613; and Struble, following Weber and Dyce, adds that it was "destroyed by Mr Warburton's servant." That there was such a play is certain; it was performed at Court by the King's Men in the season of 1612-13.¹ But since it was the property of the King's Men, it certainly was not acted at the Cockpit, for that company played regularly at their two houses of the Globe and Blackfriars. It was entered S. R. by Moseley, June 29, 1660, along with two other comedies, *The Royall Combate* and *The London Merchant*, as the work of John Forde; but like many of the plays entered by Moseley at this time it was never published. It appears again in the famous list of plays which John Warburton, the Somerset Herald, declared had been "unluckely burnd or put under Pye bottoms" by the ignorance of his servant, Betty Baker. Here, too, it ascribed to Ford under the slightly different title, *A Good beginning may have a good end*.

One might assume, as do the scholars named above, that this double testimony would establish Ford's authorship of this lost play. Unfortunately, however, the character of the witnesses offering this testimony is by no means above suspicion. Moseley's critical judgment, or lack of it, is shown by the fact that among the plays that he registered in 1660 with a view to publication he in-

¹ See Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, IV, 180.

cluded such novelties as *The History of King Stephen, Duke Humphrey, a Tragedy*, and *Iphis and Ianthe or a marriage without a man*, all of which he attributed to "Will. Shakespeare," just as earlier, Sept. 9, 1653, he had registered the popular old comedy, *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, as "by Wm. Shakespeare," regardless of the fact that it had been reprinted five times before the closing of the theatres without Shakespeare's name on the title-page.

As to Warburton the case is well summed up by Greg, who after an exhaustive study (*The Library*, July 1911) of the curious similarity between Moseley's entries in the S. R. and Warburton's list of plays destroyed by his servant remarks: "I find it extremely difficult to make up my mind as to whether Moseley was a knave or Warburton a liar. Each alternative is intrinsically probable." The truth seems to be, as Greg practically demonstrates, that Warburton's famous list was in the main compiled from Moseley's entries rather than from plays in his own possession. Warburton's testimony to Ford's authorship of the lost play in question may, then, be thrown out of court as little better than hearsay evidence. The same may be said of a second play, *The Royall Combate*, ascribed to Ford by both Moseley and Warburton; *The London Merchant* of Moseley's entry and Warburton's list is probably a mistake for the lost *Bristow Merchant* licensed by *Herbert*, Oct. 22, 1624, as by Ford and Dekker. A fourth lost play assigned by both Moseley and Warburton to Ford, *Beauty in a Trance*, was, we now know, performed at Court by the King's Men on Nov. 28, 1630.²

To return to *An Ill Beginning*, the only scholar recently who has shown any doubt of Ford's authorship is Harbage, who in his *Annals of English Drama* (1940) sets a question mark after Ford's name in his list of plays produced in 1612-13. I do not know what moved Dr. Harbage to this scepticism, but I believe it is possible to assemble evidence against Ford's authorship strong enough to destroy the shaky claim advanced for him by Moseley and Warburton. The only contemporary mention of this play appears in a payment made to Heminge for six plays presented at Court in 1612-13.³ The list is a most interesting one; it opens with *A Bad Beginning* and goes on with *The Captain* (Beaumont and Fletcher),

² See Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, I, 120.

³ See Chambers, as above.

The Alchemist, *Cardenno* (i. e. the lost *Cardenio*, traditionally ascribed to Shakespeare and Fletcher), *The Hotspur* (i. e. *I King Henry IV*), and *Benedicte and Betteris* (i. e. *Much Ado About Nothing*). Evidently the King's Men were putting their best foot forward in this series of performances with plays by their best authors, Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher. *A Bad Beginning*, as it is here called, must have been a very good comedy to have been performed at Court in such distinguished company. Can it have been written by the young and, as a dramatist unknown, John Ford? To me at least it seems more than doubtful.

It happens that we know rather more of John Ford than of many other Elizabethan dramatists. Entered as a student of law in the Middle Temple at the early age of sixteen, 1602, he proved, at least to the rulers of the Temple, an unsatisfactory subject. He was expelled in 1606 for non-payment of "buttery bills," i. e. charges for food and drink, and was only restored on the payment of a fine of forty shillings—no inconsiderable sum at that time—and the expression of "penitence." Later, 1617, he seems to have been involved in a so-called "conspiracy" of the younger members of the society to wear the hats of gentlemen rather than the caps of students at meals and at worship, a demonstration of rebellion against rules which the authorities took quite seriously. His father, who died in 1610, left him a bare £10 in cash compared with £10 a year to John's two younger brothers. It would seem that Ford senior had as good reason to be dissatisfied with his son's legal studies as had Marston's father, who left his son "my law books—whom I hoped would have profited by them in the study of the law but man proposeth and God disposeth." The truth was that young Ford found in the Middle Temple a literary society and atmosphere far more attractive than the study of legal technicalities. He began early to write verse and prose. In the very year of his expulsion, 1606, he published his first poem, *Fame's Memorial*, a long and smoothly polished elegy on the recent death of the great Earl of Devon, Charles Blount, dedicated to the widowed Countess, Penelope, "that glorious star" Ford calls her with evident allusion to her rôle in Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*.

The year 1606 marked the visit of the King of Denmark to his brother-in-law King James. Ford took advantage of the festivities which welcomed the royal visitor to rush into print again. *His*

Honor Triumphant or the Peeres Challenge is a defense in high-flown and rather precious prose of four propositions: Fair lady was never false, etc., maintained by four nobles of the Court in a tilting on March 24, 1606. It is interspersed with various bits of verse and is dedicated to two noble ladies, the Countess of Pembroke and the Countess of Montgomery, wives of two of the tilters, the "incomparable paire of brethren, William and Philip Herbert." A brief note "to the reader" prefixed to the tract contains a sentiment which probably expresses the ideal of the young author at this time:

Let ladies smile upon my lines, I care not
For idle faults in graver censor's eye.

With this tract is bound up a poem, *The Monarchs' Meeting, or the King of Denmark's Welcome into England*, which ends with an "Applause-Song" evidently designed to be set to music and sung at the first meeting of the Kings, a charming bit of lyric verse. It is interesting to compare this courtly work in prose and verse with the gross reality of the orgies that attended the royal visit so vividly described by Sir John Harrington.⁴

After 1606 there is a pause in Ford's literary activity for some years. A prose tract, *The Golden Mean* by John de la Forde, 1614, has been claimed for him. He was certainly the author of *Sir Thomas Overbury's Ghost* (S. R. Nov. 25, 1615), a lost prose tract which Gifford, followed by Ellis-Fermor, apparently mistook for a play or poem. No play on the Overbury case could possibly have obtained a license at the time when the prosecution of his supposed murderers, the Earl of Somerset and his wife, was actually in progress. Moreover, the description of the work in the Registers: "a book called *Sir Thomas Overbury's Ghost, containing the history of his life and untimely death by John Fford, gent.*" shows plainly enough the nature of the work, a timely pamphlet designed to exploit the public interest in the most scandalous sensation of King James's reign. Ford's own interest in the case is shown by a copy of verses *A Memorial to that man of virtue, Sir Thomas Overbury*, prefixed to several editions of that author's posthumous poem, *The Wife*.

It was not until 1620 that Ford once more appeared in print, this time in *A Line of Life*, published by the enterprising Na-

⁴ See the *Secret History of James I*, I, 387.

thaniel Butter. This is a rather heavy ethical treatise dealing with the "Line" which should guide a man, a public man, and a good man, through the maze of life. It is loaded down with quotations from the classics: Plato and Aristotle, Pliny, Plutarch, and even St. Augustine. Its one redeeming feature is a series of examples drawn from the lives of contemporaries: Essex, Biron, and Oldenbarnavelt; a little character sketch of Raleigh breaks off in the middle as if the censor had drawn his pen through Ford's study of the lately murdered Elizabethan hero.

Up to this date, 1620, when he was thirty-four years old, Ford, unlike his contemporaries, Marston, Tourneur, Webster, to say nothing of such a distinguished Templar as Beaumont, had never shown the slightest interest in the theatre. Now, however, there comes a change and Ford turns, almost by accident it might seem, to that form of literature on which his fame depends.

Somewhere about 1620 Ford must have met Dekker, lately (1619) released from a long term of imprisonment and furiously engaged in cobbling up plays for any company that would buy them and with any collaborator who would give him a helping hand. It is easy to believe that Ford, a poet at heart, and, as his later work shows, gifted with a very genuine sympathy for unhappy mortals, should have been attracted to the gifted and penniless Dekker. It must have been Dekker who came to him one day with a pamphlet in his hand telling of the recent trial and execution of a notorious witch. Here was a chance, if they hurried the story into shape for the stage, to sell the players a real catch-penny. Dekker knew Rowley, too, the actor-playwright who acted clown's parts for the Prince's Company. He would join them if there was a good part for him, in fact he could write it himself, and persuade his company to produce it promptly. The partnership was formed; Dekker, Ford, and Rowley worked together and composed *The Witch of Edmonton*. The Prince's Men played it repeatedly with such success that they were called on to show it at Court where it was received "with singular applause." It was the turning of the ways for Ford. Hitherto his courtly prose and verse had attracted little or no attention, but applause at Court for a play in which he had a hand was another matter. He set himself to study stage-craft along with the experienced Dekker; it was some time before he was ready to try his hand again, but in 1624 he and Dekker collaborated on four plays. The first of these, *The Sun's Darling*, licensed in

March of that year, is rather a pageant than a play proper, a "Moral Masque" the title-page calls it, "often presented at Whitehall." The lost *Fairy Knight* was licensed in June; the lost *Murder of the Son upon the Mother, or Keep the Widow Waking*, licensed in September, was a hasty dramatization of a recent matricide incongruously combined with a recent scandalous wedding, in which Ford and Dekker were joined by their former associate Rowley and by John Webster; the lost *Bristowe Merchant* was licensed in October for the Palsgrave's Company. This was probably setting too hot a pace for a gentleman like Ford. At any rate he dropped his connexion with Dekker and for the next four years withdrew, so far as we know, from playwriting. In 1628, however, his *Lover's Melancholy*, licensed in November, was produced by the King's Men with the full strength of the company—seventeen actors' names are printed in the first edition—at Blackfriars, their winter theatre, with such applause that they revived it next summer at the Globe. Ford was so pleased with this success that he promptly gave it to the press; it was published in 1629 with a dedication to a group of friends in the "noble society of Gray's Inn." The prologue implies, if it does not actually state, that this is the author's first unaided play. In 1630 his lost *Beauty in a Trance* was played by the King's Men at Court and in 1632 they produced *The Broken Heart* at Blackfriars. Here was success, indeed, for a playwright who, if not young in years, was after all a beginner in his art. We do not know what led him to break with the King's Men; his remaining plays with the sole exception of the latest, *The Lady's Trial*, were produced by the rival company, which enjoyed the patronage of Queen Henrietta Maria.

This survey of Ford's career as poet, prose writer, and dramatist seems to make it altogether unlikely that he should be the author of *An Ill Beginning*, ascribed to him, as has been shown, on such very dubious evidence. Is it, in fact, conceivable that a young poet, eager as Ford seems to have been for courtly applause, should have composed in 1613 a play good enough to have been presented at Court by the best company in London along with plays by such masters as Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher, and then to have fallen silent for eight years? Or that after such a silence he should have resumed his career as a playwright by collaborating in topical plays for minor companies with such an incompetent and unsuccessful artist as Dekker?

The truth seems to be that *An Ill Beginning* should be struck off the list of Ford's works; it will not fit in at all. Any study of his work as a dramatist must begin with his hesitant collaboration with Dekker and proceed thence to the little group of surviving plays in which he walked by himself and revealed more clearly than most Elizabethan playwrights did, his own puzzled and puzzling personality.

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THE EPITAPH OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

Great pomp and ceremony marked the burial of Sir Philip Sidney in 1587. The extent and magnificence of his funeral procession rivalled that of royalty. He was mourned by men of every degree and commemorated in the productions of literally hundreds of writers. Yet it is a part of the paradox of his fame that no monument should ever have been erected to his memory.

Sidney's body was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral in "the vpper Northeast end of the Isle aboue the Quier by the second pillar."¹ On the pillar above the grave were fixed his crest, coat of arms, and colors, and beneath them a simple tablet of wood bearing an anonymous epitaph.² Probably this crude memorial was placed there at the time of the obsequies or soon thereafter, although there is little evidence to date it.³ In any event, it quickly became one

¹ Thomas Churchyard, *A True Discourse Historicall* (1602), sig. O 2^r. Unless otherwise noted, all books cited here were published in London.

² *Ibid.*, sig. O 2^v.

³ The earliest reference to the epitaph (see below) is a clear echo in Sir Walter Raleigh's elegy on Sidney, first printed in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593), sig. C 1^v:

"England doth hold thy lims that bred the same,
Flaunders thy valure where it last was tried,
The Campe thy sorow where thy bodie died,
Thy friends, thy want; the world, thy vertues fame.
"Nations thy wit, our mindes lay vp thy loue,
Letters thy learning, thy losse, yeeeres long to come,
In worthy harts sorow hath made thy tombe,
Thy soule and spright enrich the heauens aboue."

Sir John Harington referred to Raleigh's elegy two years before its publication, in his notes to *Orlando Furioso* (1591), sig. L 4^v. Thus 1591 is

of the most famous shrines in London. In 1593 John Eliot conducted his imaginary Frenchman on a tour of the principal sights of London, and part of their conversation ran as follows:

Let vs to go to Powles to see the Antiquities.
 Let vs go vp into the Quire
 Who is buried within this wall?
 It is Seba king of Saxons, who conquered this countrie of England.
 See what a goodly tombe there is truly. Who is entombed here?
 Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaster, and sonne to king Henrie the third.
 See there his lance and his target of horne.
 What Epitaph is this?
 Of sir Philip Sidney, the peerelesse paragon of letters and arms.
 Let vs read it I pray you:
 England, Netherlands, the Heauens, and the Arts
 The Souldiours, and the World, haue made six parts,
 Of the noble Sydney: for none will suppose,
 That a small heape of stones can Sydney enclose.
 His body hath England, for she it bred,
 Netherland his blood, in her defence shed:
 The Heauens haue his soule, the Arts haue his fame,
 All Souldiours the greefe, the World his good name.
 Tis great pitie of this yong gentlemans death.
 He is dead, and it is too late to call him from the dead.⁴

And they walk on.

Sidney's epitaph was still one of the sights of the town in 1609, for when Dekker was advising the Gull on "How a Gallant should behaue himselfe in Powles-walkes," he took him first to the top of the steeple, and then,

These lofty tricks being plaid, and you (thanks to your feete) being safely ariud at the staires foote againe, your next worthy worke is, to repaire to my Lord *Chancellors Tomb* (and if you can but reasonably spel) bestow some time vpon y^e reading of *Sir Phillip Sydneys* briefe Epitaph; in the compasse of an houre you may make shift to stumble it out.⁵

the earliest date on which we can be certain of the existence of the epitaph. Its similarity to the elegy just quoted has led some to ascribe the epitaph to Raleigh, although there is no corroborative evidence; see, for example, Mrs. S. M. Davis, *The Life and Times of Sir Philip Sidney*, revised edition (New York, 1875), p. 276.

⁴*Ortho-Epia Gallica* (1593), sig. x 2r. This is the first appearance in print of the epitaph.

⁵*The Gulls Horne-booke* (1609), sig. D 3r.

And although Dekker might poke fun at the attractions of St. Paul's, the epitaph still had power to stir a young man's imagination, as Anthony Stafford showed a few years later.⁶

Sir Francis Walsingham died in 1590 and was buried in the cathedral near his famous son-in-law; like Sidney's, his grave was unadorned with monument. Thomas Bastard found this the occasion for an epigram:

Sir Francis and sir Philip, haue no Toombe,
Worthy of all the honour that may be.
And yet they lye not so for want of roome,
Or want of loue in their posteritie
Who would from liuing hearts vntombe such ones,
To bury vnder a fewe marble stones?
Vertue dies not, her tombe we neede not raise,
Let thē trust tombs which haue outliu'd their praise.⁷

Bastard was evidently making a veiled reference to the magnificent tomb erected in memory of Elizabeth's unpopular favorite, Sir Christopher Hatton, who died in 1591 and was also buried in the choir of St. Paul's. Of this situation, taking his cue from the epigrammatist, "a mery Poet writ thus," according to John Stow:

Philip and Francis haue no Tombe,
For great *Christopher* takes all the roome.⁸

When Henry Holland covered the same ground in 1614, he had "no doubt but the merry Poet was the merry old man *Stow* himself."⁹

⁶ *Staffords Niobe: or His Age of Teares* (1611), sigs. F 10r-F 11r. Here Stafford ends a long eulogy of Sidney by quoting the epitaph in full and saying, "Lord, I haue sinned against thee, and heauen; and I am not worthy to be called thy childe: yet, let thy mercie obtaine this Boone for me, from thee, that when it shal please thee that my name be no more, it may end in such a man, as was that *Sidus Sydneiorum*."

⁷ *Chrestoleros* (1598), sig. H 1r.

⁸ *A Suruay of London* (1598), sig. T 1r. The couplet was probably widely current, for it is written in a contemporary hand opposite the passage quoted above in the copy of *The Guls Horne-booke* formerly owned by Thomas Corser and now in the Library of Congress. See Corser's *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica* (Manchester, 1860-1883), v, 163. In the same place Corser ascribes the "six-part" epitaph to Walsingham, but he gives no reasons for the ascription.

⁹ *Monumenta Sepulchria Sancti Pauli* ([1614]), sig. C 4r.

But the most ironic paradox of all was the fact that Sidney's epitaph was not original, and that it was not even English to begin with. It was merely a clever adaptation of the epitaph written by Joachim du Bellay for Guillaume Gouffier, Seigneur de Bonnivet, who died in 1525. According to William Camden, Sir George Buc's *Poetica* was the first work to note the source of the epitaph.¹⁰ Some years later John Weever expanded this statement and also quoted Du Bellay's poem.¹¹ A comparison of the French with the English is enough to reveal at once their close similarity.

La France et le Piemont, et les Cieux et les Arts,
Les Soldats et le Monde ont faict comme six parts
De ce grand Bonivet: car une si grand'chose
Dedans un seul tombeau ne pouvoit estre enclose.
La France en a le Corps, qu'elle avoit eslevé:
Le Piemont a le Cœur, qu'il avoit esprouvé:
Les Cieux en ont l'Esprit, et les Arts la Memoire:
Les Soldats le Regret, et le Monde la Gloire.¹²

The anonymous paraphrase remained above Sidney's grave at least until the defacing of the monuments.¹³ Whether it survived until the Great Fire of 1666 is not known. John Aubrey claimed to remember seeing Sidney's leaden coffin after the Fire, but he could recall only scraps of the epitaph.¹⁴

And so one of England's greatest heroes has remained without tangible memorial even to the present day. The old epitaph was right; the memory of Sidney would dwarf a monument of mere stone and bronze. Something of this feeling inspired Lord Herbert

¹⁰ *Remaines of a Greater Worke* (1605), sig. g 3^v. Buc's *Poetica* was never printed, and it is not listed among his works in the *DNB*. Presumably Camden saw it in manuscript. Camden's reference to it has been noted in Dr. Mark Eccles's article on Buc in *Thomas Lodge and Other Elizabethans*, ed. C. J. Sisson (1933), pp. 412-413.

¹¹ *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (1631), sig. 2E 4^v. Wordsworth knew Weever's account and was duly indignant that Sidney's memory should be so slighted; see his posthumously published "Country Church-yard," in *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1876), II, 49 f.

¹² *Poésies françaises et latines de Joachim du Bellay*, ed. E. Courbet (Paris, 1918), I, 138 f. Du Bellay had first written a Latin version which is less close to the English; *ibid.*, I, 531.

¹³ William Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral* (1658), sig 2F 1^r. Dugdale says his description is as of 1641.

¹⁴ *Brief Lives*, ed. Andrew Clarke (Oxford, 1898), II, 249 f. Aubrey was writing about 1680.

of Cherbury to write the most graceful of all the poetic tributes, designed to be fastened on the door of St. Paul's:

Reader,
Within this Church Sir *Philip Sidney* lies,
Nor is it fit that I should more acquaint,
Lest superstition rise,
And Men adore,
Souldiers, their Martyr; Lovers, their Saint.¹⁵

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JONSON'S *THE SAD SHEPHERD* AND SPENSER

In the realistic and satiric dramatic fragment, *The Sad Shepherd*, Ben Jonson scornfully disregards most of the conventions associated with pastoral drama. Various derived or invented, two motives of the play seem to owe a modest debt to Spenser, whose poems were not generally pleasing to Jonson.¹

The first passage concerns the lustful and startlingly lifelike swineherd Lorel, who clumsily woos the maiden Earine. This is a commonplace situation deriving ultimately from the wistful overtures of Polyphemus to the sea-nymph Galatea, in Theocritus' Idyll 11; and his editors² have recognized Jonson's familiarity with this famous poem. Two Renaissance analogues have been cited. W. W. Greg³ suggests the analogous situation, also probably from Theocritus, in Drayton's *Polyolbion* (21. 61 ff.) involving the giant Gogmagog (a mountain) and the river nymph Granta. First noted by F. G. Waldron,⁴ a scrap of direct para-

¹⁵ *Occasional Verses* (1665), sig. E 3r.

¹ See *Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden*, ed. David Laing (London, 1842), pp. 2, 9, 12; and *Timber*, ed. Felix E. Schelling (Boston, 1892), p. 57.

² For parallels cf. Wm. Gifford's ed., *The Works of Ben Jonson*, reprinted with supplementary notes by Col. Francis Cunningham, London, 1875. Jonson may have remembered, too, that Ovid (*Met.*, 13) retells the Greek story (cf. Whalley's edition of Jonson, 1756).

³ Cf. his standard edition of *The Sad Shepherd*, in *Materialen zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas* (Louvain, 1905), p. 86.

⁴ Waldron's continuation of *The Sad Shepherd* together with his notes on Jonson's part appeared in 1783; Greg includes both Jonson and Waldron.

phrase from Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* appears in Lorel's boasted possessions (II, II, 600-603) :

An aged Oake the King of all the field,
With a broad Beech there growes afore my dur,
That mickell Mast unto the ferme doth yeild (*sic*).
A Chestnut, whilk hath larded money a Swine . . .

Plainly this is recollected from Spenser's "February," 103 ff.:

A goodly Oake . . .
Whilome had bene the King of the field,
And moche mast to the husband did yelde,
And with his nuts larded many swine.

Apparently, then, "some verses of Spenser's *Calender*, about wyne, betweene Coline and Percy" ⁵ were not the only ones which Jonson had "by heart" in spite of his professed strictures.⁶ And in a passage to be considered presently the *Calender* appears again as Jonson's model.

But pursuing the episodes involving Lorel and his family, one may note further Spenserian reminiscences, not paraphrases of the *Calender*, but plot devices common to the Florimel story in the *Faerie Queene*. Lorel, the uncouth lover, was chiefly inspired by the Cyclops of Theocritus, and Jonson's own knowledge of witch lore accounts for much of the dialogue involving the machinations of Lorel's witch mother, Maudlin. Yet in view of Jonson's immediate familiarity with "the grave the diligent Spenser," the following comparison is presented for what it is worth.⁷ All the analogies

⁵ *Conversations*, p. 9.

⁶ For Aeglamour's vow to carve his revenge in trees, turf, and stones (*S. S.*, I, v, 291-295) Gifford (*op. cit.*, p. 493) compares *Colin Clout*, 634 ff., as "the particular object of Jonson's imitation."

⁷ Waldron seems to have concluded that Jonson followed the Florimel story, for the continuation commences with a Spenserian passage detailing Lorel's naive gifts (15 ff.):

"Look, I ha' brought ye wildings [i. e., crab apples] fra' the wood,
And callow nestlings ta'en while the dam sought food . . . for tho' I
pipe fu' well,
Fit for thine ear I canna' sing mysel;
But ye sall hear these sing, gif ye think meet,
Yer praise, deft lass, in chirps and carrols sweet.
And here's a gaudy girlond for yer locks."

are commonplace; their conjunction in both works may not be a coincidence.

The argument of *The Sad Shepherd*, Acts II and III, clarifies the action relevant to the Florimel story of Spenser:

"The Witch *Maudlin*, having taken the shape of *Marian* to abuse *Robinhood* . . . glorying so farre in the extent of her mischiefe, as shee confesseth to have surpriz'd Earine, strip'd her of her garments, to make her daughter appeare fine . . . in them; and to have shut the maiden up in a tree, as her sonnes prize, if he could winne her; or his prey, if he would force her. Her Sonne a rude bragging swine'ard, comes to the tree to woo her . . . and first boasts his wealth to her. . . . Then he presents her guifts, such as himselfe is taken with, but shee utterly shoves a scorne. His mother is angry, rates him, instructs him what to doe the next time, and persuades her daughter, to show her selfe about the bower: tells her, how shee shall know her mother, when she is transformed, by her broidered belt . . . (Act III). After which, *Douce*, entring in the habit of *Earine*, is persued by Karol; who mistaking her at first to be his Sister, questions her, how shee came by those garments. . . . The sad Shepherd comming in the while, shee runs away affrighted. . . . *Aeglamour* thinking it to be Earines ghost he saw, falls into a melancholique expression of his phansie . . . *Robin* suspecting her [the witch, who appears as *Marian*] to be *Maudlin*, lay's hold of her Girdle sodainely . . . and he returnes with the belt broken . . . the Witch bids him [Lorel] assist a work . . . of recovering her lost Girdle; which shee laments the losse of, with cursings.

These three motives—the primitive wooing, the magic girdle, the disguise—appear with variations in the *Faerie Queene*:

During her sojourn in the witch's cottage Florimel is wooed by the son, who proffers gifts from the forest (3. 7. 17). She escapes, is pursued by a beast sent by the witch, and in her flight loses her magic belt, a symbol of virtue. With this Satyrane binds the beast (3. 7. 36), who returns with it to the witch (3. 8. 2); the girdle is later found by Satyrane (3. 8. 49) and in Book Four it reappears conspicuously as a coveted prize. To comfort her son, distraught by the loss of Florimel, the witch creates a snowy Florimel and decks her in the garments left behind by the true maiden (3. 7. 9). In this disguise false Florimel not only deceives the amorous

Cf. Spenser's "lewd lover" (3. 7. 17):

"Oft from the forest wildings he did bring . . .

And oft young birds, which he had taught to sing

His mistress' praises sweetly carolled.

Garlands of flowers sometimes for her fair head . . ."

Professor Alwin Thaler cites Spenser's character as a plausible original of Shakespeare's Caliban ("Shakespeare and Spenser," *S. A. B.*, x (1935), 192 ff.; see pp. 203-204).

son but all those who had known her true counterpart (4. 2 and 4). But, unable to bind the girdle about her waist, this witch's figment is prevented from winning the badge of chastity (4. 5).⁸

Written after *The Alchemist* and *Bartholomew Fair*, *The Sad Shepherd* contains Jonson's farewell blast at the Puritans. As pastoral church satire the passage is peculiarly interesting. Greg aptly observes that the famous lines from the play "might of course be paralleled from a great variety of writers."⁹ To Gifford's quotation from Jones's *Adrasta* (1635)¹⁰ Greg adds Quarles' *Shepherd's Oracles* (1646), not as a source, but as another instance of pastoral satire directed at the Puritan party. G. Gregory Smith¹¹ remarks that Jonson's "attack on the Puritans [in *The Sad Shepherd*] . . . has all the dignity of counter-protests in *The Shepheard's Calendar* and *Lycidas*." Yet Spenser's Puritan attacks upon the Anglicans have not been studied as the possible original of the passage from *The Sad Shepherd*.

Jonson's theme is superimposed upon the action of the play as a brief digression as Robin Hood thus chronicles the rustic delights of the June season (I, IV, 211 ff.):

Why should, or you, or we so much forget
The season in our selves: as not to make
Vse of our youth, and spirits, to awake
The nimble Horne-pipe, and the Timbурine,
And mixe our Songs, and Dances in the Wood,
And each of us cut downe a Triumph-bough.
Such were the Rites, the youthfull Iune allow.

Clarion. They were, gay Robin, but the sowrer sort
Of Shepherds now disdaine in all such sport:
And say, our Flocks the while, are poorely fed,
When with such vanities the Swaines are led.

⁸ Tasso's famous witch, Armida, dons a girdle when she wants to entice lovers (cf. *Jerusalem Delivered*, 16. 24-25).

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹⁰ Misquoted by Greg from Gifford, the lines should read:

"The curious preciseness
And all-pretended gravitie of those
That sought these ancient harmlesse sports to banish,
Have thrust away much honesty."

¹¹ *Ben Jonson*, English Men of Letter Series (London, 1919), p. 207.

Tuck. Would they, wise *Clarion*, were not hurried more
With Covetise and Rage, when to their store
They adde the poore mans Eaneling, and dare sell
Both Fleece, and Carkasse, not gi'ing him the Fell. . . .

Lionel. O Friar, those are faults that are not seene,
Ours open, and of worst example beene.
They call ours, *Pagan* pastimes, that infect
Our blood with ease, our youth with all neglect;
Our tongues with wantonnesse, our thoughts with lust,
And what they censure ill, all others must.

Robin then recalls an earlier, happier age (255-256) :

Those charitable times had no mistrust.
Shepherds knew how to love, and not to lust.

This is the manner and matter of Spenser's satire in the *Calendar*, particularly of "May." Here Palinode, who corresponds to Robin, recounts the joys of this season (10 ff.) :

Yongthes folke now flocken in every where,
To gather May bus-kets and smelling brere:
And home they hasten the postes to dight . . .
I saw a shole of shepeheardes outgoe
With singing, and shouting, and jolly chere:
Before them yode a lusty Tabrere,
That to the many a Horne-pype playd,
Whereto they dauncen, eche one with his mayd. . . .
Tho to the greene Wood they speeden hem all,
To fetchen home May with their musicall.

Like *Clarion*, the sober *Piers* casts a damper upon the cheer (39 ff.) :

Those faytours little regarden their charge,
While they, letting their sheepe runne at large,
Passen their time, that should be sparely spent,
In lustihede and wanton meryment. . . .
That playen while their flockes be unfedde . . .
But they bene hyred for little pay
Of other, that caren as little as they
What fallen the flocke, so they han the fleece.

Or as in "July," line 189, Thomalin repeats the charge,

They han the fleece, and eke the flesh.

Then the accusations of *Lionel* and *Friar Tuck* recall the bitterness of *Diggon*, in "September" (82-86 and 134-135) :

Or they bene false, and full of covetise,
 And casten to compasse many wrong emprise.
 But the more bene fraught with fraud and spight,
 Ne in good nor goodnes taken delight,
 But kindle coales of conteck and yre . . .
 Yet better leave of with a little losse,
 Then by much wrestling to leese the grosse.

To which Hobbinol rejoins (136-139):

Now, Diggon, I see thou speakest to plaine;
 Better it were a little to feyne,
 And clearly cover that cannot be cured:
 Such ill, as is forced, mought nedes be endured.

Finally, in the manner of Robin's retrospection, Spenser's shepherds recall the days of plenty and innocence. Piers, for example, thus rebukes his companion ("May," 103 ff.):

The time was once, and may againe retorne . . .
 When shepeheards had none inheritance . . .
 But what might arise of the bare sheepe . . .
 Well ywis was it with shepheards thoe.

All in all, the evidence seems to show that Spenser contributed hints for *The Sad Shepherd*. In the motive of the witch family these are mainly commonplace devices which Jonson took over and varied to suit himself; the Puritan passage repeats the manner and much of the language of Spenser's attacks upon Anglican abuses.

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THE ARCHITECTURE OF SPENSER'S "HOUSE OF ALMA"

After the clearing of this particular well of English, so skillfully performed recently by Vincent Foster Hopper,¹ perhaps I should hesitate to muddy these same waters by reference to an inferior interpretation of the twenty-second stanza of the House of Alma. I believe, however, that the earliest explication of the passage should be noted. On April 26, 1636, there was entered in the Sta-

¹ Vincent Foster Hopper, "Spenser's 'House of Temperance,'" *PMLA*, LV, 958-967.

tioners Register a work by William Austin, a Lincoln's Inn barrister, which was printed under the title *Haec Homo; wherein the Excellency of the Creation of Women is described, by way of an Essay*. The popularity of this little discourse is attested by three posthumous printings in successive years: 1637, 1638, 1639. The printing of *Haec Homo*, therefore, antedates by some seven years the issuing of Digby's *Observations*, which has heretofore been considered the earliest commentary on Spenser's passage. Since Austin, who himself had died in 1634, states in a marginal gloss that Spenser had been dead over thirty years, it seems evident that *Haec Homo* must have been written at least around 1630.² Although none of Austin's works was published during his lifetime, he apparently passed copies around among his friends, a group which included James Howell and Edward Alleyn.³

At other points in the *Haec Homo* there appear various references to the House of Alma,⁴ but in particular there are about seven pages given over to a discussion of Spenser's geometrical proportions of the body, complete with illustrations. William Austin's solution of the problem of this stanza is apparently a combination of the two interpretations noted in the *Variorum Spenser*: namely, the mystical one, and the literal one which refers the explanation only to the dimensions of the body.⁵ In chapter five of his work, Austin examines the form of the human body, especially the female body, which must be excellent because God gave his own form to it.⁶ The exact architecture of this building, however, may be questioned: it may be square, triangular, round, or in the shape of the letter H. Austin believes that all of these conformations fit the human body, which actually "is made in *all the Geometrical* proportions, that are, or can be imagined." Just as the units of measure are derived from the various dimensions of the human body (feet, inches, digits, cubits, etc.), so the body may be made to conform to all figures. For illustration, Austin discourses upon four figures: the square, the triangle, the circle, and the astronomi-

² P. 79. If the gloss were entered by the printer, Austin's book may be much earlier.

³ DNB.

⁴ See pp. 94-97.

⁵ Edmund Spenser, *Works*, ed. Greenlaw, Osgood, and Padelford, *The Faerie Queene*, II (Baltimore, 1933), 472-485 (Appendix XI).

⁶ The larger discussion, which I have quoted or paraphrased, appears on pages 72-84.

cal figure of the twelve houses. Austin points out that if the body stands upright, with the feet together and the arms stretched out "in the manner of a *Crucifix*," the result is a perfect square,—the distance between the tips of the middle fingers being equal to that between the top of the head and the feet.⁷ This construction, according to Austin, is a geometrically proportioned square, "which was the *form* of the *Temple*, and of the *mysticall Church*, in the *Revelation*." Similarly, without moving the body, draw lines from the tips of the fingers to the feet, and a triangle is produced, "which is a *figure* of the *Trinitie*." And if the arms be dropped a little, and the legs stand straddling, the navel serves as the center of a circle formed by the tips of the fingers, the toes, and the head, "which is a *true figure* of the *Earth*." Finally, with the body remaining in this position, raise the arms stiffly until the tips of the fingers are at the same height as the head, and the design is a "true form of the *twelve houses* of the *seven Planets* in Heaven."

Austin significantly continues with the remark, "All which *discourse* concerning the *severall proportions* of the body, are very elegantly and briefly contracted, by the *late dead Spencer*, in his *everliving Fairy Queene*." Whereupon the entire twenty-second stanza is set down as proof, although it is printed as prose. Immediately following occurs the statement that in the geometrical art these proportions "signifie things both *divine* and *humane*." Austin then goes on to say that although the Roman H is perhaps the hardest letter for a single individual to reproduce, it is very simple for a man and woman to make this one letter by joining hands in marriage, making "their eaven, *Heaven*."

It is important to note that among those geometrical figures which William Austin relates to the House of Alma is to be included that of the twelve houses of the planets. Apparently Austin believes that the numbers seven and nine refer in some way to the astronomical configurations. He thus agrees with the later interpretations of John Upton, which were silently elaborated by G. W. Kitchin. No comment is made upon the passage, other than that already given; Austin does not attempt to explain the remaining parts of the stanza. In accordance with Austin's treat-

⁷ Cf. Henry Morley (as printed in the *Variorum Spenser*, *op. cit.*, pp. 481-482) on the dimensions of the body. Hopper refers us also to *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. and trans. by Edward MacCurdy (New York, 1938), I, 219-226.

ment, however, it appears that the line "Nine was the circle set in heavens place" is evidently a reference to the spheres of heaven (or to the ninth heaven itself, as Upton has it). The reply of Mephistopheles to Dr. Faustus' question as to the number of the spheres is pertinent: "Nine, the seven planets, the firmament, and the imperiall heauen,"⁸—the firmament being the sphere of the fixed stars, while the imperial heaven is more commonly called the *primum mobile*. It would follow, then, that the line "All which compacted made a goodly diapase" would be a representation of the music of the spheres.

Although William Austin has presented us with an interesting set of illustrations, it could be wished that a man who was living at the time Spenser died might have given a more adequate and comprehensive explication of so esoteric a passage.

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ACT III OF LEWIS'S *VENONI*

When M. G. Lewis's three-act melodrama *Venoni, or, the Novice of St. Mark's*, his adaptation of Jacques Marie Boutet de Monvel's *Les Victimes Cloîtrées*, was first produced at Drury Lane Theatre on December 1, 1808, Acts I and II were well received, but the third act failed. Lewis soon remedied the trouble by rewriting the last act. In the first edition of *Venoni*, published the following year, Act III appears in its successful, revised form, but is followed by Lewis's "Advertisement":

In justice to the French Author, I think it right to add the Third Act, as it originally stood—It was evidently not so well adapted to the English taste, as the one which I substituted; but still partiality for my own production does not prevent my thinking the original design infinitely the best of the two.¹

Next follows a section, occupying fifteen pages, entitled "THE ORIGINAL THIRD ACT," depicting a gloomy, unchanging scene of two dungeons separated by a thick wall. The immured hero and

⁸ Apparently Austin considers this square to be Spenser's *quadrate*.

¹ M. G. Lewis, *Venoni, or, the Novice of St. Mark's* (London, 1809), p. [87].

heroine, divided by the wall and unaware that they are neighbors, indulge in over thirty alternate speeches before Venoni, completing the work of a former prisoner, breaks his way through to Josepha's cell; the action ends happily when friends arrive to set the couple—and the audience—free.

Because of Lewis's "Advertisement" and the heading "THE ORIGINAL THIRD ACT," the dungeon scene is assumed to be the third act of *Venoni* as originally performed at Drury Lane.² Clearly this cannot be accurate, for a contemporary review of the first performance states that a masquerade—of which there is no trace in this appended section—was introduced at the beginning of Act III and was "hissed throughout two scenes."³ Indeed, if we may accept as a fairly reliable guide to the actual performance the MS. of *Venoni* submitted to John Larpent, the licenser of plays,⁴ we find surprising differences between the dungeon scene—the so-called "ORIGINAL THIRD ACT"—and the first stage arrangement of Act III.

The licenser's MS. of the third act as first performed opens not with the dismal prison setting but with "*An illuminated Ball room (Maskers discover'd) Dancing &c GLEE at the end of the Glee The Viceroy & Marquis come forward in earnest conversation.*" These two briefly discuss Venoni's predicament, the Marquis retires, and the Viceroy turns to his sister with forced gaiety. He unwittingly puts his finger upon one probable cause of the failure of the first performance when, with reference to the prolonged emotional strain he has undergone in the previous act, he utters the aside, "This interview with Venoni has totally unfitted me for rendering the honours of a Scene of mirth." After further music and dancing the scene closes, and a second opens with the direction: "*An Anti-chamber (Lively Musick) as if proceeding from the Ball room Maskers &c &c cross the Stage Serv^{ts} hurry backwards and for-*

² For instance, see John Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage* (Bath, 1832), VIII, 118.

³ *Monthly Mirror*, N S., IV (Dec., 1808), 375.

⁴ LA 1561, Larpent Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library. Pressmarks of this collection now consist of the prefix LA and the numbers in *Catalogue of the Larpent Plays in the Huntington Library*, compiled by Dougald MacMillan ("Huntington Library Lists," No. 4, San Marino, 1939).

wards with refreshments &c." The next two pages of the MS., chiefly comic dialogue,⁵ are followed by

MUSIC &c *without*) [*Teresa:*] Hark! what's all that noise?—a whole Crowd of Maskers are coming this way! Oh! now I understand—they are following the two little Gipsies, whose Musical talents and skill in fortune telling, have furnished the best part of the Entertainment So. here they are!—*Enter Two Gipsies followed by Maskers &c.*

A spirited duet and chorus and a not very comic speech by Teresa fill the next two pages. Then, after a page of exposition,⁶ we read the interesting direction: "*As they [Benedetto and Father Michael] go off the Musick in the Ball room is again heard—the lively air imperceptibly changes to a melancholy Strain. The Stage is darkened gradually.—The Scene then Changes to the interior of two Vaulted Dungeons.*" The remainder of the MS. corresponds to the passage appended to the published drama under the misleading title "THE ORIGINAL THIRD ACT." Thus what has been accepted by readers as the complete third act as originally performed proves to be merely the closing scene of that act. The failure of the first night's performance of *Venoni* probably was due not only to the ludicrous dungeon scene, but also to the excess of irrelevant light entertainment—the ballroom scene, maskers, gipsies, dancing, singing, and comic dialogue—which interrupted the plot and demanded of the audience a difficult emotional readjustment.

Lewis did not confuse final act and final scene deliberately. In the "Preface" (p. [v]) to the published play he states: "On the first night of representation the two first acts were well-received; the last was by no means equally successful, and the concluding scene operated . . . strongly on the risible muscles of the audience." Here "concluding scene," meaning the appended dungeon scene, is accurate. In thereafter heading it "THE ORIGINAL THIRD ACT" he had reference to the French play, for Lewis's dungeon scene is a reasonably faithful translation of the final act of *Les Victimes Cloîtrées*. To be unambiguous he should have called the appended passage "The final act (Act IV) of the French play, used as the closing scene of the final act (Act III) of *Venoni* as originally performed."

⁵ Retained, with slight changes, in the published revision: *Venoni*, pp. 67 ("Enter BENEDETTO . . .")-69 (" . . . unaccountable!—[going.]").

⁶ Also retained, with slight changes, in the published revision: *Venoni*, pp. 69 ("FATHER MICHAEL rushes . . .")-71 (" . . . this instant —").

So much for the early form of Act III. The Larpent MS. contains also the licenser's MS. copy of Act III as revised. A comparison of this copy of the revised act with the printed text of Act III of *Venoni* will dispel two more errors. Lewis's "Preface" implies, and his biographer unqualifiedly states, that Act III in its later form was entirely new;⁷ yet more than one fifth of the published text of Act III is contained in the MS. of Lewis's *original* version. Moreover, his words regarding the revision, that he "composed the last act, as it now stands" and that "With this alteration the drama was received with unqualified applause,"⁸ lead one to expect a rather close correspondence between the published text of Act III and the licenser's MS. of the revision, which latter presumably approximates the stage arrangement. Actually, the MS. of the revision differs widely from its published form. More than one third of the printed text of Act III is absent from the MS. of the revision; on the other hand, the published text lacks the ball-room scene, which had opened the act in its early form and which is called for again in the MS. of the revision. Though one expects, of course, to find some variation between licenser's MS. and printed copy, discrepancies as great as these serve to emphasize the danger of relying upon the published form of a play—of Lewis's period, at least—for a record of its stage presentation.

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INTOXICATING GRAPES

One of the later accounts of the discovery of America by the Norsemen of Leifr Eiríksson and which for this reason has frequently been held less trustworthy,¹ the *Gronlendinga Páttir*, con-

⁷ *Venoni*, pp. [v]-vi; Mrs. Baron-Wilson, *The Life and Correspondence of M. G. Lewis* (London, 1839), II, 58.

⁸ *Venoni*, p. vi.

¹ The many internal contradictions and startling improbabilities of this account were pointed out by Halldór Hermannsson, *The Problem of Vineland* [*Islandica* xxv], Ithaca, N. Y., 1936, pp. 37 ff. To the present writer this author seems however to go much too far in his strictures, since the *Páttir* is obviously of composite character, and many of the absurdities pointed out are the result of a clumsy putting together of heterogeneous materials by a none too skilful and quite ignorant compiler.

tained in the Flateyrbók, relates the following curious episode:²

One evening it happened that there was a man missing out of their company, and it was Tyrke the Southern man. Leif was mighty ill-pleased, for Tyrke had been long with him and his father, and had been very fond of Leif in his childhood. Leif chid his crew sharply, and made ready to go out to seek him, and twelve men with him. But when they were come a short way from the hall, there was Tyrke walking towards them, and he was welcomed gladly. *Leif soon saw that his foster-father was overcome.* He was steep-faced and rolling-eyed, tiny-faced, small of stature, and miserable to look at, but a clever man in all kinds of skill of hand. Then Leif spake to him. "Why wast thou so late, my foster-father, and left behind by the rest of the company?" Then he first talked German for a long time, rolling his eyes all ways, and making faces, but they could not make out what he was saying. Then after a time he spake in Northron speech, "I had not walked much farther than you, but I have something new to tell. I have found vines and grapes."—"Is it true, foster-father?" says Leif. "Indeed it is true," quoth he, "for I was born where there was no lack of vines or grapes."

As is well known, the newly discovered country was called "Wineland" because of this abundance of wild grapes.

The sentence underlined in the foregoing passage is rendered differently by various translators.³ Of the many commentators of the text, Fridtjof Nansen was neither the first nor the last to suspect that, in the opinion of the unknown sagaman, Tyrke was plainly drunk;⁴ E. Mogk⁵ had come to a like conclusion before him, and Gathorne-Hardy⁶ voiced the same view after him.

On the other hand, the eighteenth century translator of the text, D. Mallet,⁷ calls Tyrke merely 'exalted,' without venturing a guess

* Gudbrand Vigfusson and F. York Powell, *Origines Islandicae*, Oxford, 1905, II, 601.

² To give a few examples: N. L. Beamish, *The Discovery of America by the Northmen*, London, 1841, p. 67: "not in his right senses"; A. M. Reeves, *The Finding of Wineland the Good*, London, 1895, p. 66: "in lively spirits"; F. R. Stock, *Deutsche Rundschau f. Geographie u. Statistik*, XXII (1900), p. 295 "aufgeregt"; W. Hovgaard, *The Voyages of the Norsemen to America*, New York, 1914, p. 87; "queer"; Gathorne Hardy, *The Norse Discoverers of America*, Oxford, 1921, p. 43: "in good spirits"; Langlois, *La découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands vers l'an 1000*, Paris, 1924, p. 61: "très en gaité."

⁴ Fridtjof Nansen, *In Northern Mists*, New York, 1911, II, 4.

⁵ *Mitteilungen des Vereins f. Erdkunde*, 1892, p. 73.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

⁷ *Northern Antiquities*, Edinburgh, 1809, I, 240 f.

as to the cause of this exaltation. In the present century, Paul Herrmann⁸ took a like 'neutral' view of the matter; but Prof. Richard Hennig⁹ thought the subject sufficiently important to reproach Nansen with having done violence to the text which, according to the German scholar, does not even state that Tyrke had eaten of the berries. He apparently assumes that the German sailor was satisfied with the modest rôle of a modern visitor of a horticultural exhibition, and he attributes his excitement solely to his unmeasured joy at beholding grapes and being reminded of his childhood home. This view carries little conviction, for in the sagaman's mind Tyrke's tardiness in returning home was evidently due to his discovery and its obvious consequences, namely, the understandable avidity with which that sailor, having for weeks past enjoyed only ship's food, glutted himself with the berries. Again, to use Gathorne-Hardy's apt remark, while Tyrke's speaking German, which happened to be his native tongue, would probably not be considered proof conclusive of his drunkenness at Bow Street, yet to ascribe (as Hennig does) his strange behavior, many hours (as we must reasonably suppose) *after* his discovery, to his excitement alone is even less plausible. There can be little doubt about the fact that the sagaman believed him, to use a scriptural expression, "full of new wine."¹⁰

Since it is manifestly impossible to become intoxicated from eating ripe grapes, the episode has tended to discredit the trustworthiness of the entire account of the discovery of America as embodied in the *Pátttr*. Yet such an extreme scepticism is hardly justified. Certainly, the sagaman was ignorant of the true nature of wine, the result of a fermentation process. On the part of Icelanders and Greenlanders of that remote period such ignorance is excusable enough.¹¹ The present writer, when in France, met an Arab from Tunisia who seriously believed that high test gasoline was coming out of American oil wells. But quite apart from such general considerations, it should be pointed out that we are dealing with a

⁸ *Island in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1907, I, 106.

⁹ *Von rätselhaften Ländern*, München [1925], p. 194.

¹⁰ The Norse text: *Leifr fann þat brátt, at fóstra hans var skaggott* (cf. Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 147), is of little help, the word *skaggott*, translated by J. Fritzner (*Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, III, 286) with "vel tilmode," being to all appearances a *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*.

¹¹ Cf. also the judicious remarks of Gathorne-Hardy, p. 253.

literary motive the presence of which in the *Pátr* tends to show that, unlike a knowledge of realistic industrial processes such as wine-making, certain novelistic themes spread very easily from country to country, even in that far-off period.

Nansen was the first, it seems, to explain this story by the assumption of Irish literary influences. In particular, the *Imram Maelduin* makes mention of an island "where there were many trees, like willow or hazel, with wonderful fruit like apples, or wine-fruit, with a thick large shell," the juice of which "had so intoxicating an effect that Maelduin slept for a day and a night after having drunk it." His companions subsequently filled all their vessels with the juice, which they pressed out of the fruit, and left the island. They mixed the juice with water to mitigate its intoxicating and soporific effect, as it was so powerful.¹²

Since fruits of this description are as rare in Ireland and the surrounding isles as they are on this side of the Atlantic, the question arises: Where did the author of *Maelduin's Voyage* find the motive?

In Sindbád's fifth voyage we are told how the hero falls into the clutches of the Old Man of the Sea, who most unceremoniously uses him as a riding beast. The story then goes on to relate how one day he finds raisins, which he presses out, letting their juice ferment. The wine thus obtained promptly communicates to him a light-heartedness and vigor which the Old Man cannot but notice. He accordingly conceives a desire to partake of the mysterious drink. Becoming intoxicated, he loosens his grip and is easily thrown off and killed by Sindbád.¹³

In this narrative one cannot help admiring the perseverance of the hero who, with the old man on his back all the time, finds enough leisure to pick the berries, to press them, and to subject their juice to fermentation. In reality we are dealing with the 'doctored' account of a rationalist who, noticing the absurdity of a man getting drunk on grapes, thought it necessary to introduce these processes into a story which in its original form knew nothing of them.

This conclusion is borne out by a version first told by Ya'qub ben

¹² H. Zimmer, *Zeitschrift f. deutsches Altertum*, XXXIII (1889), p. 168; P. W. Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, London, 1898, p. 156.

¹³ V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, VII, 21; cf. René Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, Paris, 1924-27, I, 190 ff.

Ish'aq es Sarrâdj, who was the source of the geographer Qazwîni (thirteenth century of the Christian era). I here reproduce his text from the French version of René Basset;¹⁴

While walking about on this island, I found a large number of trees with all sorts of fruit and in their branches very beautiful men. I sat down near them, no more understanding their language than they understood mine. While I was thus sitting, one of them put his hand on my shoulder and suddenly jumped on my back, twisting his legs around me and making me get up. I shook myself to throw him off; but he scratched my face, and I ran around the trees with him. He picked their fruits, ate some and threw the others to his companions, who caught them laughing. As I was walking around with him, the branches of the trees cut his face and blinded him. Then I took some grapes, crushed them with a stone, and drank the juice, intimating to him that he should do so likewise. He did so; then his legs loosened their grip, and I threw him off; but I still bear the traces of his claws on my face.

Oriental influences on the Irish *imrama* have been pointed out repeatedly. Thus the whale in the *Navigatio sancti Brendani* appears to be a lineal descendant of the whale in Sindbâd's first voyage.¹⁵ The city of laughers in the *Imram Maelduin* and in the *Echtra Brain maic Febail* has its analogues in Oriental fiction,¹⁶ and so has the city of weepers in the *Imram Maelduin* and the *Imram curaig UaCorra*.¹⁷ We shall therefore not be far wrong in assuming the migration of an Oriental theme to Ireland and, finally, to Iceland, some time in the course of the eleventh or the twelfth century.

As was pointed out above, such an assumption, contrary to the view of Nansen, does not detract from the historical value of the story. Tyrke may very well have existed and shared the honor of the first discovery of America: the ubiquitous Teuton is certainly not a product of modern times; we find him in Denmark, in Norway, and in Iceland as early as the tenth century, sometimes as a priest, sometimes as a trader, and occasionally (as in our tale) as a simple adventurer. Nor is there anything improbable in his

¹⁴ *Ibid.*; El Qazouini, *Athâr el bilâd*, ed. Wustenfeld, Göttingen, 1848, pp. 20 f.; cf. J. Ansbacher, *Die Abschnitte über die Geister und wunderbaren Geschöpfe aus Qazwîni's Kosmographie*, diss. Erlangen, 1905, pp. 31 f.

¹⁵ Chauvin, VII, 7; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index J* 1761.1.

¹⁶ Zimmer, *Zeitschrift*, XXXIII, 171 and 260; Joyce, *op. cit.*, p. 163; Tabari, *Chronique*, trad. H. Zotenberg, Paris, 1867-74, I, 48.

¹⁷ Zimmer, *Zeitschrift*, XXXIII, pp. 160 and 188; Joyce, p. 137; Chauvin, V, 242; G. Jungbauer, *Marchen aus Turkestan und Tibet*, Jena, 1923, p. 150.

recognizing, in the New World, the golden fruit of *Vitis vinifera*. No doubt he was the only member of the ship's crew capable of such an identification. The fact that the sagaman did a little romancing, by furnishing a practical demonstration of the absolute correctness of the identification, does honor to his literary craftsmanship, if not to his botanical and chemical knowledge.

Our theme was too good not to survive the middle ages. We meet with it again in the *Terre Australe*, an imaginary voyage written by one Gabriel Foigny and published in 1676. In that novel we are told that the inhabitants of that land of bliss lived on fruit, the most delightful of these being those gathered from the Tree of Bliss. By eating four of them, one becomes excessively gay; by eating more, one falls asleep, never to wake up again.¹⁸

What is even more curious is that in the eighteenth century our theme turns up again in connection with North America. Several of the descriptions of that continent mention bears, which are said to climb the branches of vine trees and to feed on their grapes,¹⁹ in one account with much the same effect as that noticed in Tyrke by his companions.²⁰

Quite true, these writers may not be taken too seriously either as eye-witnesses or as literary artists. But shortly after came a true prince of letters, the noble viscount of Chateaubriand, who did not disdain to reproduce this feature in the prologue of his *Atala*²¹ and who, in his *Génie du Christianisme*,²² saw fit to defend it

¹⁸ G. Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1934, p. 198.

¹⁹ François-Xavier de Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France, avec le Journal historique d'un voyage fait par ordre du roi dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, Paris, 1744, 3 v. in 4°; Jonathan Carver, *Travels in the Interior Parts of America*, London, 1778, 1779, 1784, 1 v. in 8°; William Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country . . .*, Philadelphia, 1791; London, 1792; Dublin, 1793, 1 v. in 8°; cf. Joseph Bédier, *Études critiques*, Paris, 1903, p. 197, n. 1.

²⁰ Gilbert Imlay, *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America*, London, 1792, reprinted in New York, in 1793, republished in London, in 1797, quoted by Chateaubriand, *Génie du Christianisme*, Paris, 1880, t. II, p. 415. On Imlay cf. Chinard, *L'exotisme américain dans l'œuvre de Chateaubriand*, Paris, 1918, p. 87, n. 1.

²¹ "De l'extrémité des avenues on aperçoit des ours enivrés de raisin, qui chancellent sur les branches des ormeaux."

²² *Loc. cit.*

against carping critics by quoting the travellers who had preceded him in the New World.²³

What should be noted is that this is only one out of many features in a larger conception, that of North America as a land of plenty, a sort of 'pays de Cocagne,' a conception prevalent in the writings of the Jesuits of the seventeenth century.²⁴ The reason is, obviously, that the mediaeval tradition about such a land beyond the Atlantic continued alive and died gradually only after the true nature of Canada became known as a result of the French colonization in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Whether or no Chateaubriand was sincere in professing to believe his authorities does not matter much. We know that, while *Euarctos americanus*, like *Homo sapiens* may fall a victim to alcohol, neither one of the two can succumb by merely eating ripe grapes. The apparent absurdity of these accounts finds its explanation in the assumption that the Oriental theme lived on in Europe down to the end of the eighteenth century, to be utilized by romancing travellers of Washington's time in much the same manner in which it had been used, some 600 years previously, by Scandinavian sagamen. But its presence in the accounts referred to has led no one to doubt the reality of the voyages of those eighteenth century travellers.

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THE DATE OF PROLOGUE F TO THE LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN

Now that Miss Lossing has refuted the arguments for including the *Lay de Franchise* among the sources used by Chaucer in his Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*,¹ it remains to reconsider the question of the date at which this Prologue was composed.

²³ Cf. Chinard, *L'exotisme américain*, pp. 244 f. It is to be noted that the critics were quite wrong in doubting the fondness of bears for grapes or their ability to climb trees (cf. Chateaubriand, *Atala*, ed. Timothy Cloran, New York [1911], p. 90); what they had good reasons to doubt was the effect of the grapes.

²⁴ Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique*, p. 129.

¹ Marian Lossing, "The Prologue to the Legend of Good Women and the *Lai de Franchise*," *Studies in Philology*, xxxix (1942), 15-35.

Previous to the appearance of Lowes's study scholars were generally agreed in assigning the earlier version of the Prologue to the year 1385. But even after giving due weight to Lowes's arguments the only apparent reason for postponing the date until 1386 is the supposed dependence on the *Lay de Franchise*. When this is once set aside it becomes obvious that 1385 is the more likely date in view of the shifting political relations then existing between England and France.

During the Spring of 1384 negotiations were begun for a treaty of peace between France and England. Among the commissioners sent from England to Boulogne in Picardy to carry on the negotiations was John of Gaunt. Deschamps himself was also sent to Boulogne in the Spring of 1384, where he remained during the progress of the negotiations, paying a visit to Calais during this period in the company of Chaucer's friend Oto de Graunson. It was probably during August or September, 1384, when Deschamps and John of Gaunt were both at Boulogne that the French poet wrote his PHELIPE ballade (No. 765) in honor of the Duke of Lancaster's daughter Philippa.² The negotiations continued until September 14; and the most favorable season for an exchange of literary amenities would appear to be during this protracted period of friendly association between the English and French envoys. However, the negotiations did not succeed in establishing peace, but merely resulted in an extension of the truce until May 1 of the following Spring. And by April 30, 1385, when the truce expired, the English commissioners returned to England; and on the following day, May 1—the very day that Deschamps presented his *Lay de Franchise* before the French court—hostilities between France and England were resumed. From that date until the Spring of 1386 the political situation, as Lowes has shown,³ made any literary communication between France and England virtually impossible.

Professor Kittredge was the first to point out the significance of Chaucer's references to the Flower and Leaf debate (Prol. F 68-83 and 187-196) in their bearing on his literary relations with Deschamps. "Curiously enough," he observed, "all the editors of Chaucer have overlooked four poems by Eustache Deschamps which are of the first importance in the illustration of the Prologue to the *Legend*. They stand together in the authoritative manuscripts

² Lowes, *PMLA.*, xx, 760

³ *PMLA.*, xx, 762-764.

of the works of Deschamps and may very well have been written at about the same time."⁴ Citing the fact, already familiar to literary historians, that Deschamps sent some of his works to Chaucer, begging him, "to receive his 'euvres d'escolier' graciously, and to send him something of his own in return," Professor Kittredge advanced the plausible suggestion: "If the manuscript which Deschamps sent to Chaucer contained the poems on the Flower and the Leaf, may not Chaucer have replied by sending him the *Legend*, so far as it was ever completed?"⁵

Lowes was well acquainted with the article by Kittredge; indeed, he made it to a considerable extent the basis of his own study. But he mentions Deschamps' Flower and Leaf poems only incidentally and concentrated attention instead on his *Lay de Franchise*, although Professor George L. Marsh in an article published in 1906 pointed out that in the *Lay de Franchise* Deschamps "nowhere even mentions the leaf or hints at the strife of the Flower and the Leaf. The word *feuille* does not occur in the poem, except as applied (in l. 45) to the petals of the flower; and there is not the remotest suggestion of an allegory of the Flower and the Leaf."⁶

It is obvious, therefore, that in considering the exchange of compliments between Chaucer and Deschamps we must return to the four Flower and Leaf poems cited by Kittredge. These are Nos. 764, 765, 766, and 767. One of them (No. 766) is a rondeau addressed to "tresdouce flour, Elyon de Nillac" (in this case not a woman but the French King's councillor and chamberlain) and the other three are ballades. No. 765 is the *PHILIPPE* ballade in honor of John of Gaunt's daughter. Lady Philippa is here referred to as residing in Lancaster, and inasmuch as she embarked with her father for Spain in July 9, 1386, this ballade, as Kittredge observes, must have been composed before this date, "and it may have been written several years earlier, for Philippa was in her twenty-eighth year at the time of her marriage [to the King of Portugal, Feb. 2, 1387]."⁷ According to Lowes's own view, cited above, it was probably written during August or September, 1384.

Though the precise dates of Deschamps' Flower and Leaf poems cannot be ascertained, there is good reason to believe that all of them were composed during the period of the truce, and conse-

⁴ *Mod. Phil.*, I, 3.

⁶ *Mod. Phil.*, IV, 135

⁵ *Mod. Phil.*, I, 6.

⁷ *Mod. Phil.*, I, 4.

quently at a time when their transmission to England would have encountered no difficulty. On the other hand, as Lowes recognizes, "at the actual time of the composition of the *Lay de Franchise* [May 1, 1385] opportunity for it to reach England seems wanting."⁸

Lowes, who in seeking the occasion for transmitting Deschamps' "euvres d'escolier" to Chaucer centered his inquiry on the *Lay de Franchise*, looks to the period after May 1, 1385, whereas if we follow Kittredge's suggestion that it was some of Deschamps' Flower and Leaf poems which were sent to Chaucer, the most favorable opportunity would appear to be during the later months of 1384, when John of Gaunt, Oto de Graunson and Deschamps were consorting together at Boulogne and Calais.

One must consider also the movements of Lewis Clifford, the messenger by whose hand the poems were transmitted. It was hardly possible for Clifford to have carried to England a copy of the *Lay de Franchise* written for the fête of May 1, 1385, since at that time he seems already to have been in Wales. At least we have record on May 4 of Philip Bluet "staying on the King's service with Lewis de Clifford, constable of Cardigan Castle in South Wales."⁹

This setting back of the exchange of amenities between Deschamps and Chaucer to the later months of 1384 has an important bearing on Miss Margaret Galway's recent proposal¹⁰ to identify the Alceste of the *Legend of Good Women* with Joan of Kent, widow of the Black Prince and mother of Richard II—an identification which would offer a thoroughly satisfactory solution for what had remained a perplexing problem for Chaucerian commentators. However, in her argument in support of this proposal Miss Galway was confronted by a serious chronological difficulty through her acceptance of Lowes's view that the *Lay de Franchise* served as a source for Chaucer's poem. For Princess Joan died on August 7, 1385, and if Chaucer did not receive Deschamps' "euvres d'escolier" until after May 1, to suppose that his Prologue, with its complimentary references to the poets of France and its fervid devotion to his sovereign lady, was composed in the three-month interval before the death of Princess Joan, seems difficult if not impossible. Miss

⁸ *PMLA.*, xx, 761-2.

⁹ Quoted by Lowes, *PMLA.*, xx, 761.

¹⁰ "Chaucer's Sovereign Lady," *MLR.*, xxxiii (1938), 145-199.

Galway struggled with the problem (p. 159, note 3), but the crowded chronology which seemed to be required by her proposal continued to be an obstacle to her identification so long as it was assumed that Chaucer depended on the *Lay de Franchise*. But with the breaking down of this assumption the way is left open for the recognition of Princess Joan as Chaucer's sovereign lady in the *Legend of Good Women*.

It will thus be seen that when Miss Lossing's conclusions and Miss Galway's are placed in connection they supplement each other. Miss Galway, by identifying the Alceste of Chaucer's Prologue with Joan of Kent, who died August 7, 1385, casts further doubt upon the argument that Chaucer used the *Lay de Franchise*, composed for the fête of May 1 in the same year. And Miss Lossing, by relieving the crowded chronology which this use of the *Lay de Franchise* would necessitate, has removed the only serious difficulty encountered by Miss Galway's very plausible proposal to identify Chaucer's sovereign lady as Princess Joan.

CARLETON BROWN

A NINETEENTH CENTURY "POETIC" PREFIX

Students of English are aware of the origin of the prefix *a-* in such words as *afoot*, *aground*, *ablaze*. It is a worn-down, proclitic form of the OE preposition *on* or *an*, which, in West Saxon, absorbed the preposition *in*, and which came to be attached to a number of substantives. It appears in OE in the full form in such phrases as *on weg* 'away,' *on life* 'alive,' *on slæpe* 'asleep,' and as a reduced preposition in *aweg* 'away,' *ābūfan* 'above,' *āriht* 'aright.' On the analogy of forms like these many new words were created in ME and MnE, such as *atop*, *ahorse*, *amain*. Moreover, since the same stem often appears in the verb as in the noun, the prepositional prefix was freely attached to many verbal forms, producing, as Jespersen points out, a sort of participle without *-ing*; thus, *the room is ablaze* = 'blazing,' *aglow with enthusiasm* = 'glowing,' *to be adrift* = 'drifting.' In words of this kind the prefix has the meaning of 'on,' 'in,' 'at,' 'with,' or 'in a condition or state of.' Syntactically, the word may be an adverb ('they went far *afield*'), an adjective—usually in a predicate construction—('he was *aglow* with enthusiasm'), a preposition ('*atop* the waves,' Hawthorne,

1868), a conjunction ('in the evening, *afore* he came,' Bible, 1611), or even a substantive ('to speak an *aside*').

The form under consideration is to be distinguished from other sources of the prefix *a-* in MnE, such as OE *ā-* as in *abide*, OE *and-* as in *along*, OE *of* as in *amornings*, French *à* as in *amort*, Norse *á* as in *alee* 'on the lee side,' Latin *ad*, Greek *α*, and other originals. In the Oxford Dictionary the construction is labelled '*a* preposition'¹ to distinguish it from other *a-* prepositions and *a-* prefixes. From the point of view of MnE these distinctions are not always valid. Thus, in MnE the *a-* in *adown*, *athirst*, *afresh*, *aquake* is not felt to be different from the *a-* in *aback*, *agaze*, *afire*, *ashiver*; yet the prefix in the first set of words is derived from an older *of* or *at*, and in the second from an older *on*. The number of words, however, derived from sources other than OE *on* which fell together with words derived from OE *on* having the same meaning and function, is not very large.

Earlier students of the language were not generally agreed on the character or history of the form. Ben Jonson, for example, regarded it as a preposition, pure and simple, and wrote it as a separate word.¹ Wallis thought it was a shortened form of the word *at*.² Many eighteenth century compilers of spelling books confused it with the article *a* and with other forms.³ Johnson, Walker, and Sheridan followed Wallis. Webster seems to have been seriously puzzled by it. In his *Dissertations* (1789) he says that it is an abbreviation of either *one* or *upon*.⁴ In his *Dictionary* (1828), however, after giving the correct explanation, he goes on to suggest that it might also be a contraction of the "Celtic *ag*, the sign of the

¹ Ben Jonson, *The English Grammar*, ed. Strickland Gibson (London, 1928), p. 59 "A hath the force of governing before a noun. 'And the Protector had layd to her for manners sake that she was a Councell with the Lord Hastings to destroy him.' . . . Likewise, before the participle present, [A] *An* hath the force of a gerund . . . [as in] *a brewing*, *an hunting*."

² *Joannis Wallis Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*, 1st ed. 1653 (London, 1765), p. 86.

³ Cf. for example, Thomas Dilworth, *New Guide to the English Tongue* (London, 1740), p. 111.

⁴ Noah Webster, *Dissertations on the English Language* (Boston, 1769), p. 216. Webster seems to have been much impressed with Horne Tooke's theory of particles. Cf. also Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

participle of the present tense . . . as in *a saying, a going*.”⁵ Lowth, and the grammarians generally, explained it correctly as a form of the preposition *on*, “a little weakened by familiar use and quick pronunciation.”⁶

If we examine the words showing this construction in the Oxford Dictionary, limiting our investigation to words in which the prefix is clearly derived from an older *on*, we shall observe certain facts in regard to its prevalence and use in recent times which throw an interesting light on the poetic technique of some nineteenth century poets. We must, however, exclude consideration of the use of the prefix *a-* in participles ending in *-ing*, as in *abuilding, astanding, awanting, ahuckleberrying* (Thoreau, 1854). In this construction the *a-* may be prefixed to almost any verb beginning with a consonant, in a kind of informal, more or less dialectal speech. The use of the *a-* prefix with verbs without *-ing*, however, is decidedly limited. It occurs with a small number of monosyllables and dissyllables, most of which are, as we shall see, distinctly “poetic” in character.

Of the 270 main words listed in the Oxford Dictionary as clearly derived from an older *on* plus a substantive or verbal form, or from an obvious analogical creation, no less than 110 occur for the first time in the nineteenth century. Of the remainder, about 60 are described as archaic or dialectal, or are preceded by the distinctive dagger sign indicating that the form is obsolete. There remain thus only about 100 “live” forms that antedate the nineteenth century. The data obtained from the Oxford Dictionary may be supplemented with material from the New Standard and Webster’s second edition (1934). If we add the 60 words listed in these two dictionaries illustrating this construction as limited above, our totals would then be about 170 recent *a-* words as against 110 “live” forms before the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, it would be rash to suppose that these words are all actually recent creations. There is good evidence for believing that some of the words under discussion existed before the nineteenth century, either in the dialects or in some other form of non-standard speech. One of the facts revealed by a study of the citations given

⁵ Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (New York, 1828), I, s. v. *a-*.

⁶ Robert Lowth, *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (London, 1763), p. 65.

in the Oxford Dictionary is the relative paucity of eighteenth century illustrations of these words in literature. In some words for which eighteenth century citations are given, the full form with *on* appears in place of the *a-* prefix. For many words, moreover, there are no citations at all from the seventeenth century—or earlier—to the nineteenth. This is true of such words as *acrook* 1881, C. Rossetti (previous citation, 1583); *aflame* 1798, Coleridge (previous citation, 1555); *agape* 1855 (previous citation, 1667); *aknee* 1805, Southey (previous citation, c. 1300); *anight* 1830, Tennyson (previous citation, 1600); *aroar* 1836 (previous citation, 1644); *aswim* 1870, Morris (previous citation, 1663); *athrong* 1881 (previous citation, c. 1300); *awork* 1858, Browning (previous citation, 1600); *awrack* 1845, Hood (previous citation, 1627); and many others.

The paucity of eighteenth century illustrations may be ascribed to the temper of the period, which was distinctly unfriendly to archaic, dialectal, and all "irregular" forms of speech. Lowth implies that the words *aboard*, *ashore*, *afoot*, are permissible in "familiar use and quick pronunciation," though he prefers the full forms with *on*, *in* or *at* in the "solemn style."⁷ Ash, in his *Dictionary* (1775), lists a number of *a-* words, but he also limits their use to the "familiar style." Some he describes as "affected by poets."⁸ Pegge regards these words as vulgarisms,—“strong Londonisms,” he calls them, “which extend southward of the metropolis.”⁹ Other orthoepists too, label the prefix as “improper,” or describe it as “retained by the vulgar.”¹⁰ Johnson, Sheridan, and Walker give only a few of these words, and those without comment. It seems fair to assume, therefore, that some of the words which appear for the first time in nineteenth century literature may have existed in colloquial or dialect speech earlier, but were unrecorded in literary documents.

Another point to notice in connection with these *a-* words is the

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁸ John Ash, *A New Complete Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1775).

⁹ Samuel Pegge, *Anecdotes of the English Language*, 2d ed. (London, 1804), p. 175.

¹⁰ Cf. Sterling A. Leonard, *The Standard of Correctness in English Usage 1700-1800* (Madison, 1929), p. 70. See also William Toone, *A Glossary and Etymological Dictionary*, 2d ed. (London, 1834).

fact that while the pre-nineteenth century forms are frequently composed of the prefix *a-* plus an adjective or adverb (*ahigh, afore*), as well as a noun or verb, the nineteenth century forms are almost invariably compounded of the prefix plus a noun or verb, chiefly the latter. Nares makes the observation that the letter is "no longer prefixed to nouns."¹¹ Though the statement is not, strictly speaking, correct, it serves to indicate that late eighteenth and early nineteenth century writers on language felt the second element in *a-* words to be a verb rather than a noun.

A large proportion of the nineteenth century words occur for the first time, according to the Oxford Dictionary, in the works of the poets. Moreover, the number of poets is rather limited: about 45 or 50 out of the 110 words recorded in the Dictionary come from ten poets of the period. The more interesting of these words follow. Browning: *abloom, adangle, aflicker, ahunt, ajoint, aripple, ashiver, asparkle, asprout, astare, atingle, ayelp*; Mrs. Browning: *adeep, adusk, amutter, apinch, ashake, asnot, astrain, athrob, atremble, awaste, awatch, awave*; Morris: *achill, agallop, anigh, asway*; Swinburne: *aflower, aflush, asmoulder, aswarm*; Coleridge: *agasp, aglow*; Tennyson: *agrin*; Ruskin: *achime*; J. D. Long, translator of the Aeneid: *aglint, adroop, asweat*; S. Dobell: *adream*; Lowell: *agleam, aridge*; Dowden: *aseethe, aswing, awane*, E. Arnold: *awink*. Some of these words are obviously noncreations, having no real currency in the language; most of them, however, are fairly common words.

Another fact to be observed is that of the *a-* words listed in the Oxford Dictionary as appearing first in the nineteenth century, an appreciable number consist of *a-* followed by a dissyllabic stem containing a liquid *l* or *r* in the final syllable, a fact which seems to point toward the "poetic" character of these words. A few illustrations follow: *achatter* 1828, *adangle* 1855, *aflower* 1876, *aflutter* 1830, *agallop* 1830, *aglimmer* 1860, *aglitte* 1865, *amutter* 1856, *aquiver* 1883, *aripple* 1855, *ashiver* 1840, *asimmer* 1849, *asmoulder* 1880, *asparkle* 1840, *atingle* 1855, *atremble* 1856, *atumble* 1801, *atwitter* 1838, *awobble* 1881. For only two words of this type does the Dictionary record illustrations earlier than the nineteenth century: the obsolete *awallop* = *agallop* c. 1350, and *astraddle* 1703.

¹¹ Robert Nares, *A Glossary, or Collection of Words, Phrases, Names, etc.* (London, 1822), s. v. *a-*.

Webster (1934) has a number of words of this type not recorded in the Oxford Dictionary, all inferentially of recent origin: *abristle*, *adazzle*, *aflicker*, *ajangle*, *aprickle*, *asaddle*, *ashimmer*, *aslumber*, *asnuffle*, *atangle*, *ateeter*, *atinkle*, *awiggle*. These words, it would seem, are genuine recent additions to the language. At the very least, they may be said to have attained only recently recognition as elements of the standard language.

A third and final point emphasizing the echoic, and therefore poetic character of these words is the fact that a very large number of those which are recorded as appearing first in the nineteenth century begin with such consonant clusters as *bl-* (*ablare*, *ablow*), *dr-* (*adream*, *adrip*, *adroop*, *adrowse*), *fl-* (*aflare*, *aflicker*, *aflush*, *aflutter*), *sm-* (*asmear*, *asmoke*, *asmoulder*), *spr-* (*aspread*, *asprawl*, *aspring*, *asprout*), *sw-* (*aswell*, *aswing*, *aswirl*). Altogether some 80-odd out of the 110 words recorded in the Oxford Dictionary begin with these consonant clusters.

To sum up: the number of *a-* words, as limited above, increases markedly in the nineteenth century. A large proportion of these words are either poetic in origin or fancied by the poets. This is particularly true of *a-* words followed by a monosyllable or a dissyllabic stem having an *l* or *r* in the final syllable.

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BODMER ÜBER KLOPSTOCK UND DEN JUNGEN WIELAND

Als der Dichter des *Messias* im Februar 1751 von Bodmer schied, ahnte dieser nicht, daß ihm demnächst ein neuer Klopstock beschieden sein sollte. Anfang August erhielt er von Wieland die Handschrift des *Hermann*, und darauf eröffnete sich ein reger Briefwechsel zwischen dem Kritiker und dem jungen Dichter. Erhalten sind uns aus der ersten Zeit Briefe Wielands an Bodmer vom 4. August, 29. Oktober, 20. Dezember 1751, 19. Januar, 4. Februar, und 6. März 1752. Auf Grund der in den Briefen gemachten persönlichen Mitteilungen Wielands, sowie der gelegentlich übersandten Gedichte schreibt Bodmer am 27. März 1752 an Hagedorn den folgenden bisher ungedruckten Brief aus meinem Besitz:

Zürch den 27 Merzen, 1752¹

Hoch und Wol Edelgebohren

Hochgeschätztester Herr und Werthester Freund.

Ich sende diese Zeilen durch Einschluß an Hn professor Gellert, sie sollen allein für einen avisbrief dienen das ich Ihnen durch die Maßleute ein päkchen sende, worin—Noah,² Rachel,³ die Beurtheilung des Noah,⁴ sind. Nebst einem so langen und so vermischten briefe, daß er mehr den Nahmen eines *Ana* verdient. Auch habe meine übersetzung von Parnells⁵ Hermiten beygelegt, die Ew Hochedelg. geweiht ist. Besagte lange *Ana* lassen mir nichts übrig Ihnen weiter zu sagen. Das vornehmste darinn ist, daß die vorsehung mir einen neuen Klopstok geschenkt hat, einen Menschen von ungemeinen gaben, und dem redlichsten Herzen. Er heißt *Wieland*, ein jungling von 19 Jahren. Seine frischlustige Gelehrsamkeit ist erstaunlich; sein Hang zu der philosophie, sein tiefsinniges Forschen nach Weisheit und Wissenschaft, sein philosophischpoetisches naturell werden von nichts übertroffen, als von seiner standhaften liebe zur tugend, die über alles geht. Er hat in der zartesten Jugend eine sehr moralische und ernsthafte auf-führung, und eine starke liebe zu der Einsamkeit; woran aber wol der mangel an vertrauten jugendlichen freunden von geschmack und *genie* vornehmlich ursache sein kann. Wenn ich bedenke, was er für ungemeine gaben, und was für ein redliches Herz ihm die gütige vorsehung gegeben, und wie gut sie ihn bisher geführt hat, so kann ich zuversichtlich hoffen, daß der Himmel mit ihm etwas großes vorhabe.

¹ Ein Doppelblatt weißen Papiers, in Quart, zweiseitig beschrieben. Als Wasserzeichen dient eine Art Fleur-de-lis mit Krone. Das Siegel mit den Buchstaben *H B* ist erhalten. Auf der vierten Seite die Adresse: *A Monsieur Monsieur de Hagedorn Secrétaire de la Compagnie angloise à Hambourg*. Dazu der Vermerk: *Empfangen den 2. May, 1752*.

² *Der Noah*. In *Zwölf Gesängen*, [Motto aus Pindar. Olymp. ix.] Zürich, bey David Geßner, 1752. Titel, 414 Seiten, in Quart

³ *Jacob und Rachel: ein Gedicht in zween gesängen*. [Griechisches Motto] Zürich Bei Conr. Orel und Compagnie. MDCCLII. Titel, 60 Seiten, in Quart.

⁴ *Beurtheilung des Noah*: im Briefe vom 18. März an Hagedorn berichtet Bodmer: "Es gehort zu meiner Kirchenbusse, daß ich Ihnen in eine arbeit blosse, die *beurtheilung des Noah*, sehen lasse. Die dinger liegen sonst in einem tiefen Inquisitionsgewolbe an der Ketten. Ich kann schier glauben die Hn Tschärner stehn beständig in dem Gedanken, ihre Kritik sey ganz begründet, und es sey eine blosse gefälligkeit gegen mich, und keine sorgfalt für ihren Critischen ruhm gewesen, daß sie das schriftchen nicht publik gemacht haben. Aus dieser ursache habe ich desto weniger bedenken gehabt, Eu. HochEdelg. das Ding, wiewohl sub sacra fide silentii zu zeigen. . . ." Anscheinend wurde die Tschärnersche Schrift nie gedruckt.

⁵ *Der Eremit*, von Dr. T. P. Hamburg, bei Carl Samuel Geisler. 1752. 4 Bll. in Quart, ohne Seitenzahlen.

Ich bitte sehr den brief, den ich die freiheit nehme hier für Hn. Klopstock einzuschließen, nach Kopenhagen zu befördern

Ich habe das pakchen in Leipzig eben dem Hn professor Gellert zur ferneren bestellung an Ew. Hochedel mittelst Hn Bohn * übergeben lassen. Der Herr Kitt, durch welchen ich ehemals dergleichen pake befördern lassen, ist nicht mehr in Leipzig. Wenn Sie darum, mein wehrtester Herr, künftig etwas an mich abzugeben belieben, so würde schier das beste seyn daß Sie es gleichfalls dem Hn professor Gellert zustellen lassen. Ich schreibe Ihm, daß er dergleichen sachen dem Verleger * des Noah oder dem Verleger der Rachel, oder andern die ihre geschäfte auf der Messe thun, oder Hn Fischer im Wollenhof, zur bestellung überliefern müste. Ohne diese vorsorge, und, wenn sie etwa hiesigem buchführer Heidegger übergeben wurden, kamen sie in gefahr, aufgehoben zu werden; oder über Zurich hinaus nach Bern oder Geneve zu laufen. Ich habe die Ehre meinen wehrtesten Herrn auf das freundschaftlichste zu umarmen und unveränderlich mit aller Hochachtung zu verbleiben

Ihrer Hochedelg

gehorsamstergebenster Diener

Bodmer.

P. S.

Ich habe auch Hn Bohn eine so genannte nöthige nachricht zur bestellung an Ew. HochEdelg zugesandt, die mir in die Hände gefallen ist, und mit deren *Communication* ich nichts anders im Sinne habe, als denselben ein moralisches Abentheuer bekannt zu machen. Darum bitte ich auch daß sie das ding unter dem schlüssel behalten.

Der "lange und vermischte Brief," auf welchen dieses Schreiben vom 27. März vorbereiten sollte, wurde mir freundlichst von Bernhard Seuffert nachgewiesen. Er befindet sich in der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, und trägt das Datum: Zürich den 18. März, 1752. Er ist ohne Adresse; auch sind die acht Quartblätter, woraus er besteht, nie gefaltet gewesen, eben weil der Brief in einem größeren Pakete versandt wurde. In dem wirklich "vermischten" Briefe werden u. a. besprochen: Bodmers *Noah* und dessen Kritiker; Stokhausens Briefsammlung; Pope; Young; Milton; Klopstock; Wieland; Eberhard Friedrich von Gemmingen; Chr. N. Naumann; Schönaich; Tschanner; der deutsche Hexameter; Parnells *Eremit*; ein geplantes Heldengedicht auf den Tod Rolands in Ronceval. Hier sollen nur diejenigen Stellen ausgehoben werden,

* Johann Carl Bohn, Hamburger Verleger, bei dem unter anderm Hagedorns *Poetische Werke* 1757 erschienen

* Der Verleger des *Noah* war David Gefner; der Verleger der *Rachel* war Conrad Orel.

an denen Bodmer von Klopstock und Wieland redet. Die erste Erwähnung Wielands findet sich auf der vierten Seite:

Itzt ist mir erlaubt Ihnen den Nahmen des zweiten des jungeren Klopstocks zu entdecken. Er heißt *Wieland* und ist eines pastors sohn in Bibrach bei Augspurg. Er allein ist der verfasser des lobgesangs auf die liebe, des lehrgedichtes von der Natur der dinge, und des neuen Hermanns, der aber noch nicht gedruckt ist. Er kennt die tiefen Leibnitzens wie die Geheimnisse der poesie, er hat so viel tiefsinn als Witz, so viel Munterkeit, als gute nützliche belesenheit. Er hat auch eine Fanny, und er liebet sie mit Klopstocks Empfindung⁸ und wird von ihr wieder geliebet. Er redet und denkt von Klopstock und von der Messiad mit einer solchen Ehrfurcht, daß er sich ein gewissen machet, fehler bey ihm zu sehen. Er hat mir auch schon Oden auf seine Fanny, die er Diotima nennt, geschickt. Ich halte ihn freilich in der poesie für keinen Klopstock, wiewol einige ihn noch für etwas ernsteres halten, aber ich glaube doch daß er so etwas werden kann. Er lebet in Tübingen, welches nur 2-3 tage von mir entfernt ist. Die Vorsehung hat mir den starken verlust, den ich durch die weite Entfernung des ersten Klopstock gelitten habe, sehr angenehm mit diesem zweiten ersetzt. Ich bin für das glück dieses letztern gar nicht bekümmert, denn ich sehe ihn überflüssig mit solchen gaben versehen, welche auf ein Universitäts Catheder gehören. Es wird dem guten Junglinge, denn er hat erst 19 Jahre, zwar nicht an Hindernissen fehlen; denn wiewol er seine natur der dinge nur für die ausführung einer *Hypothese* giebt, die er mit allen Rechten der poesie ausgeschmückt hat, so wird man ihm sein Werk doch für philosophischen Ernst aufnehmen, und sich in Leibnitz—beleidiget halten. Der Herr wird für ihn vorsehung thun. Welche undankbarkeit gegen die vorsehung, die für den dähnischen Klopstock so *ungewünscht* und ungehoffet gesorgt hat, wenn ich die geringste unruhe wegen des Glückes des schwabischen⁹ bezeugte! Schwabenland hat noch einen solchen, der sehr stark in Hn von Kleists fußtapfen tritt, es ist ein Freiherr von Gemmingen, Kammerherr bei dem Herzoge von Württemberg.

Auf der sechsten Seite des Briefes, nach Naumanns *Nimrod*,¹⁰ kommt Bodmer auf Schönaichs *Hermann*¹¹ zu sprechen:

⁸ Nach *Empfindung* stand ursprünglich: *und Wehmuth*, welches gestrichen und ersetzt wurde durch die am untern Rande nachgetragenen Worte. *und wird von ihr wieder geliebet*.

⁹ *schwäbischen*; darnach gestrichen: *hatte*.

¹⁰ *Nimrod ein Heldengedicht in 24 Büchern*, von Christian Nikolaus Naumann, war kurz vorher anonym erschienen; vgl. Goedeke III, 374, 108; Holmann und Bohatta II, No. 6876.

¹¹ Schönaichs *Hermann, oder das befreyte Deutschland, ein Heldengedicht. Mit einer Vorrede ans Licht gestellt von Joh. Chr. Gottscheden*, Leipzig, 1751. Die von Bodmer gelobte Zeile steht auf Seite 50, als 29. Vers des 4. Buches. Auch in dem unten erwähnten Briefe vom 25. März, 1752, an Gleim, (vgl. Anm. 16) macht Bodmer eine ähnliche Bemerkung.

Im Schönaichischen *Herman* wird wol die beste Zeile seyn:

Kind du weißt daß mich der König seines ruders würdig hält.

Dieses sagt *Gismund*, und ich halte nicht ihn allein sondern *Marbod* und *Hermann* und *Thusnelden* des Ruders würdig. Nichts vom verfassers und lobredner zu sagen. Wielands *Herman* wird mit diesem sehr artig abstechen; insonderheit wenn er noch mehr ausgelautert wird. Dieser junge Mensch arbeitet mit ungewöhnlicher fertigkeit, welches ich aber für kein lob gebe, das mag ein lob seyn, daß ungeachtet dieser Schnelligkeit die sachen recht gut gerathen; das äußerlichste ausgenommen, dem er doch alle tage mehr Muße gonnet. . . .

Auf Seite 10 des Briefes wird Klopstock erwähnt:

Ich habe im vorigen Monat einen angenehmen brief von Hn. Klopstock empfangen. Der brief ist voller schertz, und ich schliesse daraus, daß Hr. Kl. vergnugt lebe, wiewol er mir zugleich schreibt, daß sehr wenige herrn so viel Deutsch verstehn, daß er ihnen vorlesen könne. Ich kann doch nicht anderst als den Ort für eine Art gefangnisses ansehen, wo ich niemand, und mich niemand versteht. Ohne zweifel wird Er diesen frühling mit dem könig nach Deutschland kommen, zum wenigsten werden sie die freude haben ihn zu sehen. Mich befremdet, daß er Ihnen die Geschichte seiner poesie nicht erzählet hat; hier hat er¹² davon umständliche Nachrichten gegeben. Sie zweifeln, ob der Hexameter sich zur Satire schicke: Herr Klopstock hat gar eine *Chorambische* Ode geschrieben, welche starke satyrische züge hat. Er verspricht mir auf Ostern etliche stücke vom Weltgerichte zu schicken. Die geschichte vom Weltgericht, welche der auferweckte Messias dem Adam erzählet, kömmt zwar erst in dem 11. oder 12ten Gesang. aber dieser Theil seines gedichtes liegt dem Poeten so stark im sinne, daß er ihn vor den andern ausarbeiten will, und kein Wunder, *in hoc vegetat*.

Auf Seite 16 kommt Bodmer nochmals auf Wieland zurück:

Den Augenblick werde ich von meinem Wieland mit einem artigen geschenke erfreuet. Es ist wieder ein gedicht, welches er diesen winter verfertigt hat, Zwölf moralische briefe;¹³ und vor den briefen eine ode, die mit dem Verse aufhöret:

Kaum empfandest du mehr Klopstock da du zuerst Bodmers armen entgegen kamst.

Ihre HochEdelgeb. haben im siebenten briefe eine stelle bekommen die sie nicht fühllos blicken läßt:

¹² er. darnach gestrichen: *uns*.

¹³ Wielands *Zwölf Moralische Briefe in Versen* waren soeben anonym erschienen. Die *Ode an Herrn Bodmer* steht auf sechs unpaginierten Seiten vor der Vorrede; die beiden zitierten Verse über Horaz und Hagedorn stehen gegen Ende des siebenten Briefes (Vers 213 f.).

So dachte dein Horaz, du freund der Gratien,
Ihm gleicher Hagedorn und o wie dacht er schoen!—

Es fehlt dem wackern Junglinge an dem orte, wo er igt ist, anders an freunden, die des Adels seines geistes, und der feinheit seines geschmacks würdig seyen. Er ist immer allein und der mangel des umgangs mit geliebten freunden wurde ihm schaden, wenn seine Seele sich nicht selber genugsam wäre. Er gedenkt gegen¹⁴ den Herbst nach Gottingen zu gehen, da als *magister legens* so lange zu bleiben bis sich sein schicksal ein wenig entwickelt. Ich bin versichert daß die vorsicht ihn gantz brauchbar finden, und ihm ein anständiges Amt anweisen wird. Da er so geschickt schreibt, dürfen wir auf ihn nicht unzufrieden sein, daß er anfängt alle Messen im drucke zu erscheinen. Er laßt mich wirklich einem andern Gedichte¹⁵ entgegen sehen, von dem er mir aber den Inhalt verbirgt. Da die goldene zeit mit macht anbricht, und wir in der Erwartung der trefflichsten werke stehen, so würde mich verdriessen, die Erde zu verlassen, wenn ich nicht wüßte, daß jenseits des irdischen lebens ungleich poetischere Wunder vor uns werden eröffnet und wir neue Canäle, sie ein zulassen, empfangen werden. Ich nehme das wort poetischere in seiner besten bedeutung.

In einem Briefe an Gleim vom 25. März, 1752¹⁶ weist Bodmer gleichfalls auf "den jungern, zweiten Klopstock, . . . den Verfasser des *Lobgesangs auf die Liebe*, des *Lehrgedichts von der Natur der Dinge*, und der zwölf *moralischen Briefe*" hin, ohne ihn jedoch mit Namen zu nennen.

W. KURRELMAYER

TRANSLATING AND INTERPRETING GOETHE'S *FAUST*, I, 682/3

Goethe's *Faust*, Part One, lines 682/3 read:

Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast,
Erwirb es um es zu besitzen.

The readers of this passage knowing enough German will get the meaning of these lines without great difficulty, but their translation has not been easy.

¹⁴ *gegen*: dafür ursprünglich: *auf*.

¹⁵ Den Druck des *Anti-Ovid* erhielt Bodmer zwischen dem 21. und 30. April, 1752; der Druck der *Erzählungen* wurde am 16. Juni an Schinz geschickt; der *Fryhling* wurde am 8. Juni an Bodmer gesendet (vgl. Seuffert, *Prolegomena* I, No. 16, 25, 27).

¹⁶ *Briefe der Schweizer, Bodmer, Sulzer, Geßner, Aus Gleims litterarischem Nachlasse*, hrsg. von Wilhelm Körte, Zürich, 1804, S. 171.

Two pairs of verbs—each pair expressing a contrast—stump the translator: *ererb't*—*erwirb*; *hast*—*besitzen*.

Ererb't is that which one has inherited and *erwirb* is a command to earn for yourself the things in life you want. These two words present really no difficulty.

But *hast* and *besitzen* have not always been understood. Is *hast* the auxiliary verb to *ererb't* or a verb in its own right? Goethe keeps the reader guessing. Calvin Thomas in a note to his *Faust* edition, page 267, says: "*hast* is not an auxiliary verb" and voices the consensus of opinion. He gives as translation: "what thou hast, as an inheritance from thy fathers," wanting to say: "what thou possessest as an inheritance from thy fathers." Thomas continues his translation: "earn it in order to possess it" and he should have said: "in order to own it."

American terminology as used by the courts distinguishes clearly between possession and ownership. When I possess a thing I usually have control over it, but not necessarily title to it. When, however, I own a thing I have title to it, but need not have it (in possession). I may be a bailor or depositor of my own property with a third party.

Goethe when writing these two lines under consideration must have had in mind the distinction between possession and ownership, but used the old terms *haben* (for English: to possess) and *besitzen* (for English: to own). A well known example from *Künstlers Erdenwallen*, line 23, makes it very clear: "Und er besitzt dich nicht, er hat dich nur." In Grimms *Wörterbuch* is found: "wie der Dieb die entwandte Sache hat, noch nicht besitzt."

The German Civil Code of 1900 (*Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*) makes the same distinction as our American laws and uses the terms *Besitz* for possession and *Eigentum* for ownership, which would make *haben* and *besitzen* synonymous with possessing and would force us to translate the American *to own* with the German idiom *zu eigen haben*.

A very interesting investigation may be made comparing the various rendering of those lines into English as found in the great number of *Faust* translations.

Quite a few translators missed the meaning entirely and a number of examples will be in order.

Lord Gower (London, 1825, p. 38) writes:

Better to waste the substance of my sire
Than thus encircled by it to expire

while J. Birch (London, 1839, p. 37) says:

What thou hast heired if proving is no use,
The holding is a burthen and gives pain

A prose translation by A. Hayword (Boston, 1853, p. 48) has:
"To possess what thou hast inherited from thy sire, enjoy it."

John Stuart Blackie (London, 1880, p. 38) translates:

Why should a man possess ancestral treasures,
But by possession to enlarge his pleasures?

Even as late as 1907 there is a translation by M. Charles (London, p. 27):

What we have to enjoy,
Better to have squandered my heritage,
To have enjoyed and thus possessed them.

Fortunately the number of translators who understood Goethe is far greater than the number of misinterpreters.

Ann Swanwick (London, 1850, Bohn, p. 22) is extremely correct:

Would'st thou possess thy heritage, essay
By active use to render it thine own.

Charles T. Brooks (Boston, 1856, p. 42) translates:

That which thy fathers have bequeathed to thee
Go earn, in order that thou may'st it get.

Bayard Taylor's well known translation reads:

What from your father's heritage is lent,
Earn it anew, to really possess it.

Quite close to correctness is C. Kegan (London, 1873, p. 31):

Whate'er thy fathers left thee to possess,
That earn anew ere 'tis thine own.

R. McClintock (London, 1897, p. 35) is a little vague:

The heritage that comes by mere descent
Is ours but by appropriation.

Thos. E. Webb (London, 1898, p. 25) expresses better Goethe's ideas:

Earn thou the right what thy sires of yore
Have left thee heir, if thou wouldst truly own.

Frank Clandy (Washington, D. C., 1899, p. 30) comes about as close as Webb:

What you obtained from sires gone before,
Earn first, then own what you inherit.

John Todhunter (Oxford, 1924, p. 22) translates the lines the following way:

What from thy sires thou hast inherited
Earn and make thy own possession.

Alice Raphael (N. Y. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1930, p. 33) gives a rather free interpretation:

All that your ancestors bequeathed to you
To make it really yours, now earn anew..

Earn or *acquire* and *possess* are used by W. H. van der Smissen (Toronto, 1926) and G. M. Priest (N. Y., 1932), but John Shawcross (London, 1934) reintroduces *own*:

The riches, which thy sires to thee made o'er,
Until thou earn, thou canst not own them yet.

The latest translation was found in E. Kohn-Bramstedt's book: *Aristocracy and the Middle Classes in Germany* (London, 1937, p. 120):

You must labour in order really to possess what you
have inherited from your fathers!

Goethe—and that is self-evident—when writing his lines had not only material values in mind which man inherits from his ancestors, but meant above all those intellectual and spiritual resources which each of us inherits from previous generations and which we have to earn anew all the time in order to claim undisputed title to them.

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ZUR QUELLENFORSCHUNG VON GERHART HAUPTMANN'S *FLORIAN GEYER*

Einer der Höhepunkte in Gerhart Hauptmann's 'Tragödie des Bauernkrieges' liegt im vierten Aufzug, in jener eindrucksvollen Szene, die Geyers Gelöbnis enthält. Der schwarze Ritter, der von seinem bis zum Tode getreuen Feldhauptmann Teller mann Abschied nimmt, lässt sich von der Marei Rüstung und Waffen reichen und spricht dazu die Worte:

"'Von Wahrheit ich will nimmer lahn' . . . Den Helm, Marei!—
'Das soll mir bitten ab kein Mann,
auch schafft, zu schrecken mich, kein Wehr,
kein Bann, kein Acht' . . . Die Armschienen fest, ich will mich
damit begraben lassen. . . .
'Obwohl mein' treue Mütter weint,
dass ich die Sach' hab' fangen an,
Gott woll' sie trösten. . . . Es muss gahn.'" ¹

Heinrich Lemcke ² führt dieses Gelöbnis auf Ulrich von Hutten's bekanntes 'Ich hab's gewagt' zurück. Er nennt das 1521 erschienene und bei Liliencron unter Nr. 349 verzeichnete Lied als Quelle und zitiert daraus folgende Teile:

het warhait ich geschwigen, mir weren hulder vil . . .
stat schon im lauff, so setz ich drauff: müss gan oder brechen . . .
hab dise sach in güttem angefangen . . .
bin unverzagt, ich hab's gewagt und wil des ends erwarten

Diese Zeilen enthalten eine zu geringe Ähnlichkeit mit den Worten Geyers, um als Quelle bezeichnet zu werden. Hauptmann hat in diesem Falle Ulrich von Hutten's 'Gespräch büchlin' benutzt, ein Werk, das ebenfalls im Jahre 1521 erschien und Geyers Gelöbnis vollständig enthält. In dem einleitenden Gedichte, dessen Titel lautet: "Zu dem leszer diszer nachfolgenden büchlin, Ulrich von Hutten," finden wir die Zeilen:

"Von warheit ich wil nyemer lan,
Das soll mir bitten ab kein man.
Auch schafft züstillen mich kein wer,
Kein bann, kein acht, . . .

¹ Gerhart Hauptmann: *Das Dramatische Werk*, Berlin, 1932, II, 172.

² H. Lemcke: "Florian Geyer in der Geschichte und bei Gerhart Hauptmann." *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* . . . 1916, S. 283.

Wiewol mein fromme mütter weynt,
 Do ich die säch hett gefangen an—
 Gott wöll sye trosten!—es musz gan.”³

Die fast wortliche Entlehnung hat der Dichter in seinem Drama durch den Apostroph anscheinend absichtlich gekennzeichnet.

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EARLY EVIDENCES OF MILTON'S INFLUENCE

Cupid's Metamorphoses (1728), a rather scarce miscellany which was published as the second volume of William Pattison's works, contains three Miltonic poems, hitherto unnoticed. Pattison and his friends seem to have been especially impressed by the loftiness of Milton's style and imitated it in a group of Scriptural paraphrases. "Read *Milton*," wrote "Mr. Roche of King's College," a member of the group, "and of true Sublime despair."¹ Walter Harte, a friend of Pattison and of Pope, previously had written two poetic paraphrases of the Psalms in the manner of Milton.² Pattison contributed "Part of the 38th and 39th Chapters of Job, Paraphras'd in Blank Verse,"³ which reveals the Miltonic influence in its theme, elevated diction, and such an obvious borrowing as "When Night and Darkness brooded o'er the Chaos." Roche submitted "A Paraphrase on Some Passages in the Book of Wisdom, Chap. v, vii, viii."⁴ This is in heroic couplets, but the style and such a borrowing as "From the dark Womb of uncreated Night" show that Roche's reading of Milton had not been without effect.

More important than these is Roche's "Ode to Melancholy."⁵ Because the number of early imitations of Milton's octosyllabic poems is small—Professor Havens has found only ten published before 1729⁶—and because almost all of these are imitations of *L'Allegro*—only William Broome's "Melancholy" (1727) is pat-

³ Joseph Kürschner: "Thomas Murner und Ulrich von Hutten" *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, Bd. 17, 2. Abteilung, S. 285-286.

¹ *Cupid's Metamorphoses*, p. 268.

² *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1727).

³ *Cupid's Metamorphoses*, p. 202.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁶ R. D. Havens, *The Influence of Milton* (Cambridge, 1922), 669.

turned closely on *Il Penseroso*,—Roche's poem is of significance in the history of Milton's influence. Most of the poem is in heroic couplets, but three short passages employ the octosyllabic measure. In general, the poem follows the thematic pattern of *Il Penseroso*: the poet begins with the conventional "Hail" to the goodness; treats briefly the ancestry of Melancholy (cf. *Il Penseroso*, 11-30); paints natural scenes of gloom and asks that he be permitted to live in contemplative solitude (cf. *ibid.*, 45-84); in a passage similar to Milton's references to Tragedy, Musaeus, Orpheus, and Chaucer (97-120), recounts how he feeds his pensiveness by reading Pope and Philips, and closes with a religious passage more Biblical than Miltonic, but clearly inspired by *Il Penseroso*, 155-74. There are also a few similarities in minor details. For example,

In studious Leisure let my days be spent;
Wing'd with soft Peace, calm Quiet and Content;
In Silence let 'em urge their constant Flight

is reminiscent of

And join with thee calm Peace and Quiet . . .
And add to these retired Leisure . . .
The Cherub Contemplation;
And the mute Silence hist along. (*Il Penseroso*, 45, 49, 54-5)

And "Lofty Trees in Arches meeting, . . . Hide me, ye Gods, within this dark Retreat" is like "To arched walks of twilight groves, . . . Hide me from Day's garish eye" (*ibid.*, 133, 141). Despite its title, "Ode to Melancholy" is not properly a part of the eighteenth-century literature of melancholy; like its source, it describes *il serio*, not *il melancholico*.

One other early Miltonic poem that has not been recorded by Professor Havens deserves some attention: *On the Death of Mr. Edmund Smith . . . A Poem, in Miltonic Verse* (London, 1712). The preface of this blank verse poem is interesting in explicitly stating a few critical concepts which doubtless were tacitly accepted by many imitators of Milton, but which were seldom recorded or were opposed as contrary to neo-classic doctrines. Milton is urged as a model for imitation because "if we imitate the very worst of him, we can scarce be led into a Fault"; and Miltonic inversion, "which in our Language is peculiar only to himself," is especially praised as graceful and helpful in placing the emphasis

properly, though most eighteenth-century poets were painstaking in observing normal syntax. But it is to a criticism of Milton's diction that most of the preface is devoted. Despite the frequent use of such diction, the early eighteenth-century critics were in almost entire accord in describing Milton's language as barbarous. The author of the poem on Edmund Smith was, therefore, rather unusual in defending the imitation of Milton's archaisms and Latinisms. The language of his own day, he grants, is delicate and correct; but, like many critics of the end of the century, he feels that for the acquisition of this refinement, desirable though it is in itself, the age has sacrificed the nervous and masculine language of the age of Spenser and Milton. Archaisms and Latinisms, he writes in a passage that anticipates Gray's pronouncement, are also valuable for the part they play in removing poetry from the realm of prose. The poem itself carefully follows these injunctions and is packed with inversions, archaic and Latinate diction, and such Miltonic tricks as the use of adjective for adverb and noun for verb.⁷

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⁷ To Professor Havens' bibliography of poems influenced by *Paradise Lost* should also be added

1724 Anon. Poem in Miltonick Numbers.—Plain Dealer, i. 394

1736 Anon. Psalm 47th Paraphras'd in Miltonick Verse.—London Mag, v. 93.

1764 Anon. The Hymn of Adam and Eve. Taken from Paradise Lost—Melancas. A Pastoral. Salisbury, 1764.

To his list of poems influenced by Milton's octosyllabics should be added:

1751 Gower, Foote. To Melancholy.—Epicedia Oxoniensia in Obitu Celsissimi et Desideratissimi Frederici Principis Walliae Oxford, 1751

1752 C. C. Thoughts on the Death of a Friend.—Universal Mag, xi. 270.

And to his bibliography of poems influenced by *Lycidas*:

1751 Musgrave, S. "Ah me! that fate shou'd still with nipping blast."—Epicedia Oxoniensia . . . Frederici. Oxford, 1751.

REVIEWS

Goethe and the Greeks. By HUMPHRY TREVELYAN. Cambridge University Press, 1941, Pp. xvi + 321.

Mr. Trevelyan's study achieves with clarity and a good deal of impressive learning what in the main it sets out to do: it provides a detailed account of the facts and establishes the extent of Goethe's knowledge of Greek things at every stage of his development. A carefully compiled date chart and a short but, generally speaking, adequate bibliography are immediate and outward proof of thorough workmanship and intimate familiarity with the issues involved. But we can be grateful to Mr. Trevelyan for more than that: he has looked into so far-reaching and intractable a problem as Goethe's attitude toward the Greeks with the fresh vision of a generation that has eagerly sifted much of the petrified academic vocabulary of the older Goethe-scholarship and has come to insist upon implications in the classicist belief that would earlier have seemed unduly disturbing. Yet, that the book as a whole does not quite fulfill our expectations is due, not, certainly, to any shortcomings in Mr. Trevelyan's admirable scholarly equipment, but rather to his somewhat forced attempt at establishing, throughout the shifting phases of Goethe's contact with the Greeks a unity of intellectual development that is bound to remain inconclusive and precarious.

The first three of six crowded chapters survey the material up to the year 1786 and if there is in that part little need for more than casual interpretation, it is in the later period where, to be sure, the ground is on the whole more familiar, that Mr. Trevelyan shows much analytical skill and a fresh insight into an intricate problem. He would argue that as soon as Goethe began to devote himself to the study of the Greeks (especially through his reading of the tragic poets) he recognized the curious discrepancy between the current concept of classical modes of behavior and the evidence of certain disquieting and "inhuman" elements in the Greek spirit. In *Iphigenie* he attempted an adjustment of the two views; but he realized at once that a modern solution, a reconciliation of 'Electra-morality' with 'Iphigenie-morality' would prove impossible and that the perplexing and, indeed, repulsive nature of the inhuman Greek spirit could not, except by a forced assertion of humane values, be projected into the contemporary frame of enlightened belief. Mr. Trevelyan's interpretation of *Iphigenie* seems to neutralize certain inherent difficulties with perhaps unwarranted ease, but he is no doubt right in suggesting that whenever Goethe in his later years attempted to solve this fundamental inner

discrepancy (in *Elpenor* for instance, which here receives an interesting new reading), he failed. The Greeks had clearly fallen short of the "Good and the True" as Goethe then saw it, and it was not until the Italian journey that he succeeded in fitting the elemental inhumanity of their life into his own changing moral perceptions. There were, as we know, several experiences which helped him to accept the new understanding of Greek life: one was the acquaintance with K. Ph. Moritz and his *Gotteslehre*, the other the exciting sight of the Apollo Belvedere, the Zeus Ottricoli and the Juno Ludovisi; at the same time the strangely disturbing days in Sicily linked his earlier conception of the Homeric "Urmensch" with his newly emerging attitude towards the "Urlandschaft." These visions carried Goethe past the barrier that we know as the problem of good and evil: gradually he came to see the inner meaning of conflict, the justification of 'Electra-morality.' The sublimation of this discovery occupied Goethe for the rest of his life and it is quite proper that in the last part of his study, Mr. Trevelyan should assign climactic significance to the Helena-myth. Helena, he suggests, is the symbol "not of all Greek life but of the highest achievement of the Greeks, the principle of form, of ordered purposes of self-control and mastery." We need not, I think, go as far as Mr. Trevelyan when he maintains that "wherever in *Faust II* Helen's influence is absent, there the elemental forces, selfish, aimless, weak, ephemeral hold sway"; but there can be no doubt that in the opening scene of Act III the gist of Goethe's final vision of Greece has become supreme poetic reality.

There are bound to arise questions that might have transcended and even jeopardized Mr. Trevelyan's central theme, and it is quite possible that his carefully plotted argument would have lost much of its consistency if he had allowed himself to broaden his field of vision. He might, I think, have paid more than casual attention to the more indirect consequences of Goethe's preoccupation with the Greek spirit. The area, for instance, of Heraclitean and neo-Platonic thought in its relation to Goethe's intellectual development has not been entered. To have taken issues of this nature into closer consideration would have relieved the book of some of its one-sidedness and would have led more directly to the cardinal question of the share of the Greek experience in the shaping of Goethe's poetic perception. It would, moreover, have strengthened Mr. Trevelyan's stand in the recent discussion of what Miss Butler has bluntly but provocatively called the tyranny of Greece over the German poets. There is no doubt in Mr. Trevelyan's mind that the terrifying nature of the Greeks continued to haunt Goethe throughout his life and there is now enough evidence to suppose that at times the boundless admiration of the earlier years tended to turn into something close to fear and hostility towards the Greek

spirit. There were moments when he wondered whether his passion for Greece had not blinded him to other forms of life. But in spite of his profound sense of indebtedness to the Greeks, Goethe was in the end fundamentally certain of his own position as a modern and a northern poet. Mr. Trevelyan reminds us at the close of his study of a superb passage from the notes to *Rameaus Neffe* in which Goethe faces with a characteristic gesture of resignation and irony what must have seemed even to him an almost insuperable dilemma:

Uns Nordländer kann man auf jene [griechischen und römischen] Muster nicht ausschliesslich hinweisen. Wir haben uns andrer Voreltern zu rühmen und haben manch anderes Vorbild im Auge. Ware nicht durch die romantische Wendung ungebildeter Jahrhunderte das Ungeheure mit dem Abgeschmackten in Berührung gekommen, woher hätten wir einen Hamlet, einen Lear, eine Anbetung des Kreuzes, einen standhaften Prinzen? Uns auf der Höhe dieser barbarischen Avantagen, da wir die antiken Vorteile wohl niemals erreichen werden, mit Mut zu erhalten, ist unsere Pflicht

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The Epic in Nineteenth-Century France: A Study in Heroic and Humanitarian Poetry from Les Martyrs to Les Siècles Morts.

By H. J. HUNT. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1941, Pp. xiii + 466. \$5.00.

Prof. H. has undertaken and achieved a singularly difficult task. Reduced to its simplest terms, it is that of determining whether the well-known declaration: "les Français n'ont pas la tête épique," holds water when applied to nineteenth-century French literature. I use the term "literature" advisedly, for though the sub-title of H.'s book informs us that it is "a study in heroic and humanitarian poetry," considerable space is devoted to the prose "epics" of Chateaubriand, Ballanche, Quinet, and others. This presupposes a re-definition of the term "epic": H. undertakes to give one in an introductory chapter, in which he explicitly states that his aim is "to sketch the history of the humanitarian epic in Romantic poetry" (p. 5). As a consequence, he contents himself with only brief comments on the mass of conventional pseudo-Homeric epics of the first half of the nineteenth century; but he broadens his original plan by carrying his study through the Parnassian period and by making it include "heroic" epics of a religious or philosophic character not necessarily "humanitarian" in purpose. Whether or not one may be disposed to take issue with his dictum that "a really new and original inspiration in epic poetry could only be provided if some strong ideal and religious stimulus were brought into effect" (p. 7), one can not but compliment Prof. H. on the perseverance with which he has ploughed through countless pages

of ambitious but all too often far worse than mediocre literary efforts, the understanding with which he has sifted the wheat from the chaff, the sparkle with which he illuminates what might easily have been an insufferably tedious analysis of lengthy and indigestible poems in verse and prose. As Prof. Rudler points out in an "Avant-Propos," H. has achieved his purpose, which was, to quote his own words, "to furnish a missing chapter in French literary history" (p. 405), and he has done so with a conscientiousness and soundness of judgment which leave little to be desired.

Following up his two earlier studies, *le Socialisme et le Romanisme en France* (Oxford, 1935) and *Edgar Quinet and Nineteenth-Century Democracy* (London, 1937), Prof. H. links the humanitarian epics of the nineteenth century to the free-masonry, illumination and theosophy of the eighteenth, an acquaintance with which he rightly deems basic to the proper understanding of Ballanche's "epic cycle," notably of his *Vision d'Hébal*, and of Quinet's apocalyptic *Ahasvérus*. This leads him to the verse epics of the century, from the adumbrations of Vigny's "Eloa" and "le Déluge," past *Jocelyn* and *la Chute d'un ange*, the only pillars to be erected by Lamartine in the vast temple of *les Visions* he had projected, past a congeries of biblical, nationalistic, philosophic, and scientific lucubrations more or less epic in character, signed by Soumet, Ludovic de Cailleux, Maurice de Guérin, Victor de Laprade, Louis Bouilhet, and a host of others, to the crowning achievement in the genre, the Hugolian trilogy of *la Légende des siècles*, *la Fin de Satan*, and *Dieu*. Though Hugo is reached only in the tenth of the twelve chapters in the monograph, Prof. H. clearly, and very properly, meant this to be the climactic chapter of his study, as it is the longest devoted to any single individual. Thence, through the "little epics" of the Parnassians—Leconte de Lisle and his slavish follower the Vicomte de Guerne (sometimes sarcastically dubbed le Vicomte de Lisle), Heredia, Coppée, Mendès, and others,—H. leads us to a consideration of the pseudo-epical philosophic poetry of Mme Ackermann and Sully Prudhomme, and to his own conclusions as he casts a backward glance over the enormous extent of territory he has covered. There can be no quarrel whatsoever with his conclusion that, though none of the specimens he has studied is "the perfect type of modern epic" (p. 406), his task has been well worth doing because it reveals "the continuity of Romantic and Parnassian creation in the field of epic" and proves that the "generally recognized 'epics' of nineteenth-century France gain far greater interest and far greater value when shown against the background from which they did in fact emerge" (p. 404). The value of the study as a reference-work is enhanced by the presence of an index and of two commendably complete bibliographical appendices.

Prof. H. has made an admirable effort at impartially calling

attention to both the good and the bad qualities of the epics he has studied, whether they be from the pen of Hugo or from that of a forgotten writer such as Grainville, author of *le Dernier homme*. He very properly reminds us, for instance, that "Théodore de Banville deserves to be cast in a nobler role than that of clown in the circus of Parnassian poetry" (p. 342). One cannot escape the feeling, however, that he has been over-indulgent towards certain poets—the unspeakably dull André de Guerne, for example, his over-erudite trilogy of *les Siècles morts*, and the intolerably icy Victor de Laprade. His generosity towards the latter has caused him to praise the distinction implied by *Pernette* between "genuine love of country and nationalist idolatry" (p. 257) and completely to overlook the fact that Laprade wrote some of the most chauvinistic *revanche* poetry of the post-1871 era.¹ One might be disposed to quibble with Prof. H.'s shortening of Leconte de Lisle's name to de Lisle (pp. 274, 277, 318, etc.); and Sully Prudhomme's *la Justice* contains not twelve "Veilles" (as stated on p. 391) but eleven. It might be contended, too, that, since H. scans so large a number of "epics," he should have found room for at least a mention of Mme Auguste Penquer's *Velléda* (1869) alongside Brizeux' *Marie* and *les Bretons*, Jean Aicard's *Miette et Noré* (1880) alongside Mistral's *Miréio*, Auguste Vacquerie's dramatic poem, *Futura* (1890), Emmanuel des Essarts' collection of "little epics" *Poèmes de la Révolution* (1879), Jules Breton's *Jeanne* (1880) and Léon Barracand's *Jeannette* (1871), idyllic poems in a category with Laprade's *Pernette*, Edouard Grenier's heroic narrative of the Polish struggle for independence, *Marcel* (1875), along with his *la Mort du Juif Errant* (mentioned on p. 232), and examples of what might be called the "épopée des humbles," such as Ernest d'Hervilly's *Jeph Affagard* (1873) and Armand Renaud's "Quelqu'un dans la foule: récit d'une vie d'épreuve" (in his *Drames du peuple*, Lemerre 1885). None of these strictures, however, alters the fact that Prof. H.'s monograph was boldly conceived and brilliantly executed and that it is likely to remain, for many years to come, the definitive work on the subject.

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¹ *Vide* the *recueils* entitled *Varia* and *le Livre d'un père* in vols. v and vi of the Lemerre edition of Laprade's *Œuvres*.—On p. 253 of H.'s study, the last line of a citation from Laprade's "la Tour d'ivoire" is incorrectly given, the word "connu" appearing instead of "su," thus making the verse an imperfect alexandrine.—Foot-note 3 to p. 254 refers to "le Faune" as Laprade's "sole contribution to the *Parnasse contemporain* (that of 1869);" actually, Laprade appears also in the 1876 *Parnasse*, with two poems, "Adieux aux Alpes" and "la Patrie" (pp. 215-225). Factual slips of this sort are few and typographical errors unimportant.

Boileau en France au dix-huitième siècle, par JOHN RICHARDSON MILLER. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, extra volume XVIII). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1942. Pp. 626. \$5.50.

This impressive volume is symptomatic of a recrudescence of interest in Boileau. Although his tercentenary passed without much formal commemoration, the pre-war decade had seen a fresh start made in the study of an author on whom the last word had supposedly been said. Magne's bibliography, the biographical researches of Magne and Demeure, the critical revaluations of Bremond and Fidaio-Justiniani, the editions of Cahen, Clarac and Boudhors—all these went to show that "le président de la république des lettres" (in Thibaudet's phrase) still engages the attention of his countrymen.

America first joined this movement in 1938 with Sister Marie Haley's *Racine and the "Art Poétique" of Boileau*; and now we have Professor Miller's monumental study of the poet's posthumous reputation in France down to 1810. Of his reputation, be it noted, and not of his influence upon creative literature. Professor Miller defines very precisely the scope and the bounds of his study as follows:

A dessein nous ne traitons pas de l'influence directe de Boileau sur la pratique littéraire. Ses imitateurs nous paraissent beaucoup moins intéressants que ses critiques. . . Nous voudrions seulement relater les mésaventures significatives qu'a subies au cours du dix-huitième siècle le prestige de Boileau.

It is curious that we have had to wait so long for such an obvious subject to be treated, for the reaction of Frenchmen to an author so nationally representative would have seemed to cry out for examination.

Professor Miller has carried out his task with a huge thoroughness and scholarly competence that would appear to leave nothing for anyone to glean after him in this field. The scope of his researches is suggested by his own words:

Nous avons tâché de consulter tous les ouvrages du dix-huitième siècle où l'on pouvait s'attendre à trouver l'expression d'opinions sur Boileau. Notre enquête nous a menés des plus grands écrivains aux plus petits, et nous avons parcouru les périodiques du siècle où beaucoup d'articles sont anonymes.

The result is that his book constitutes a veritable thesaurus of French literary opinion of the eighteenth century such as could probably not be duplicated elsewhere, Boileau serving as the catalyst to precipitate the expressions of opinion. It should be in the library of every student of the history of literary theory and criticism, whether he is particularly interested in Boileau or not. Here he

will find copious and interesting extracts, not only from luminaries like Voltaire, Diderot and Rousseau, and from secondary figures like La Motte, Dubos, Marmontel and Mercier but from a host of small fry, whose writings are difficult of access, like Terrasson, Fourmont, Gacon, Marais, Rollin, Jaucourt, Sabatier de Castres, Thomas, Trublet, etc., reference to whom is facilitated not only by a very complete index of proper names but also by an unusually full analytical table of contents covering fourteen large pages—which, by the way, affords a bird's-eye view of the whole argument. There is also a most valuable bibliography (both of eighteenth-century sources and of modern studies) extending over thirty-five pages.

Roughly speaking, the plan of the work is chronological. More exactly, its four divisions (approximately of equal length) correspond to successive (but somewhat overlapping) phases in French critical thought of the eighteenth century. Part I deals with "Boileau et le Cartésianisme littéraire," Part II with "Boileau et les Philosophes," Part III with "Boileau et la Question du Génie," Part IV with "Boileau et la Fin du Classicisme." At the end of each Part the author summarizes the development in a brief "conclusion." The work closes with a general summary of six pages. A summary of this summary would be invidious, but I note the following points of general interest that emerge from a perusal of the book: Fontenelle in the early and Mercier in the late years of the century seem to be Boileau's worst enemies; the "philosophes" and the Academy are reserved towards him; the champions of "original genius" are hostile; Voltaire's attitude is variable; Diderot and Rousseau scarcely mention him; Fénelon, Dubos and Vauvenargues appreciate him and La Harpe at the end of the century worships him; his judgments on Quinault, Tasso, the Christian epic, etc. are challenged, and debate rages about such questions as these: is he a "poet"? or only a "versifier"? does he lack "sentiment"? is satire a legitimate form? etc.

Just at the end of his final conclusion Professor Miller, who has effaced himself with almost too scholarly modesty up to this point, letting his eighteenth century speak for itself, steps to the front for a moment and ventures to present a few "enseignements" or philosophical inferences that seem to emerge from his vast *enquête*. The nature of these may be suggested by the following citations:

Boileau, tel qu'on se l'est représenté pendant un siècle, est un exemple fort clair des déformations que nous faisons subir aux grands écrivains, selon nos goûts ou nos nécessités de polémique. . . . Aucun autre poète ne semble avoir inspiré un tel culte ni éveillé tant de haine. Mais c'est que la polémique dépasse l'œuvre d'un seul homme. C'est toute l'esthétique classique, c'est la suprématie du classicisme qui sont en jeu. . . . Plus instructive même que l'ampleur de la controverse est sa confusion laborieuse et tenace.

He would be a bold man who should venture to challenge Professor Miller on any point of detail. I have the impression that he has

made his fortress of scholarship virtually impregnable. But I will confess that I thought at first I had found a flaw in the plan or perhaps in the basic conception of his undertaking. I said to myself: Professor Miller is interested in two separate things, the history of Boileau's reputation and the history of French critical thought in the eighteenth century. In attempting to combine the two in one story, he has risked falling between two stools. The reader interested primarily in Boileau will not like his plan; he will be looking for the answers to his instinctive questions—how did the eighteenth century react to Boileau's views on Quinault, Tasso, the Christian epic, etc.? what did it think of him as a satirist? as a critic? as a moralist? and he will not be able to find these answers concentrated in chapters corresponding to these respective questions; he will have to put together the answers for himself from fragments mined out from the various chronological strata of the argument. The specialist in the history of criticism, on the other hand, will approve of the general plan, but will object to the unwanted figure of Boileau constantly obtruding itself between him and the fascinating panorama of critical history that Professor Miller spreads before him. He will ask: why did the author not simply give us the history of French criticism in the eighteenth century which he was so eminently qualified to give and which we so notably lack?

But on second thoughts I see that I was wrong. The undeniable awkwardnesses inherent in Professor Miller's plan are more than made up for by the vitality and concreteness that are given to critical history by his use of Boileau as what I have called a "catalyst," a device which forces the inveterate generalizing habit of eighteenth-century thought to come to grips with the particular instance. It is just this idea of projecting the supposedly fixed figure of Boileau against the ever-changing flux of critical opinion—with the resultant finding that that figure then becomes itself an "être ondoyant et divers"—that constitutes the originality and the value of Professor Miller's work.

Let it be added that this book is written in impeccable French, and handsomely printed on fine paper with only a negligible number of misprints. It is a credit not only to American scholarship but to the Press that published it.

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Les Lettres anglaises dans l'Encyclopédie. By LOIS S. GAUDIN.
New York: privately printed, 1942. Pp. xviii + 256.

The Diderot who bent over his desk in the Le Breton *atelier* scribbling page after page of his vivid letters to Sophie Volland

instead of plunging into the *corvée* of correcting proof or checking the plates of the *Encyclopédie* is a human and winning figure, but he could not, or would not, give the firm-handed direction which the huge, amorphous work needed. Of course, merely to complete the enterprise at all and bring it to publication in spite of the opposition of the authorities was a constant, energy-consuming struggle. Moreover, Diderot's collaborators were for the most part a conservative and mediocre lot.

So it is no great surprise that the results of Miss Gaudin's careful and intelligent study are to a large degree negative. English literature is neither ably nor comprehensively treated in the *Encyclopédie*. The material is widely scattered, fragmentary, and not presented systematically. Authors are discussed under their place of birth instead of under their own names, except the numerous authors born in London, who are often not treated at all! The opinions expressed are usually very conservative or hostile and far from the vanguard even of contemporary knowledge. Quotations are made frequently from the convenient *Art of English Poetry* (1737) by Bysshe and give little sign of first-hand reading. Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* (1734) are constantly drawn upon for their succinct and piquant expression, often without acknowledgment. This is most interesting evidence of the great influence of this important early work of Voltaire. Chauffepié's Supplement to Bayle, Formey, the original Chambers' Dictionary are of course often imitated or copied verbatim. More than 260 articles in which English literature is discussed are due to the well-intentioned, industrious, but mediocre pen of the Chevalier de Jaucourt. The total result in regard to the treatment of English literature in the *Encyclopédie* is what might be expected.

The Introduction in which Miss Gaudin outlines the nature of her work and its problems is an able analysis which will add to any one's understanding of the *Encyclopédie* and of the manner in which it should be studied. If the results of this volume seem at first sight rather arid, it represents nevertheless a valuable cross-section of eighteenth-century opinion and we are grateful to the author for carrying it through successfully to completion.¹

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GEORGE R. HAVENS

¹ Some minor errors. p. 64, l. 6: Prévost's partial translations of Lillo were published in 1734, not 1731; p. 66, l. 18: Rousseau's *Emile* dates from 1762, not 1763; p. 118, note 84, read Babelon, III, 286, not II, 275; p. 124, note 111, read Babelon, I, 226, where the volume indication is omitted; p. 165, l. 6, read 1752 for the second volume of the *Encyclopédie*, not 1751 (cf. Joseph Le Gras, *Diderot et l'Encyclopédie*, p. 81). It seems unlikely that the pious Derham, with his *Théologie astronomique*, was one "qui aurait dû être particulièrement cher à des philosophes du XVIII^e siècle" (p. 186), except to those who shared the essentially religious viewpoint of

Adrien Jourdan's *Susanna* (1653), A Critical Edition of the Latin Text with a Study of the Play and Its Influence on Brueys's *Gabinie* (1699). By SISTER LOYOLA MARIA COFFEY, S. S. J. 124 pp.

Les Illustres Fous of Charles Beys, A Critical Edition with a Brief Account of the Author and his Works. By MERLE I. PROTZMAN. 212 pp., with index.

Vols. XLI and XLII of the Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1942.

These two new volumes make available to students of French dramatic literature of the seventeenth century excellent editions of significant plays not otherwise readily accessible, with introductions bringing together in convenient form what is known about their authors, and notes which elucidate the text, and furnish variant readings, allusions, and linguistic and literary comment. Each is a valuable contribution to a fuller understanding of the period which the study of the minor dramatists may afford.

Appearing the same year (1653), the two plays represent two entirely different types.

Susanna, in Latin iambic trimeters, by Father Adrien Jourdan, is a five-act religious tragedy written for the students of the Jesuit Collège de Clermont, where it was presented, accompanied by a ballet between the acts, before the young king to whom it was dedicated, to the applause of a distinguished audience. A programme in French giving an act by act synopsis is published following the Latin text. This play is thus of special interest as an example of that extensive category of collegiate Latin plays of which mention is often made but which remain practically unknown to the ordinary student of the period.

In her introduction of some twenty-five pages, Sister Loyola discusses briefly the Jesuit theatre in France, with some description of the performances, refraining from attributing to it any direct influence on the professional stage or those who wrote for it, except in the case of Brueys and his *Gabinie*, who admittedly drew from *Susanna*. She gives the known facts about Father Jourdan (1617-1692), and his other literary work, largely historical, and studies the sources of the story of *Susanna*, martyred under Diocletian, and the modifications introduced by the dramatist, with some com-

a Rousseau. Diderot's remark on the following page can hardly be accepted as more than a prudent bow to the ever-present censor. But these are only "bagatelles," added in the interest of that accuracy toward which we strive and never quite attain. They do not detract from my admiration for an excellent and difficult study.

ment on the latter's technique, which follows closely the dramatic conventions of French tragedy, and on his Latin style, which shows an evident preference for the simplicity of Plautus and Terence.

The text is preceded by the author's preface "in qua de vetere tragoedia disseritur," containing some interesting observations particularly on the role of the chorus. The editor's notes deal largely with linguistic points and the careful comparison with the French play of Brueys.

The edition of *Les Illustres Fous* offers, along with an introduction which adds but little to the scanty fund of known facts about Beys, in spite of a thorough combing of the *Oeuvres Poétiques* and other sources, a carefully edited text of the play, and a complete list of the changes which the author introduced into his earlier versions of *L'Hospital des Fous*, when he revised the play in 1653. The play is interesting in itself and the modifications furnish convincing evidence of the development of the conception of comedy in the intervening period. The introduction gives a summary and critical examination of all the known works of Beys, and those attributed to him, and, while the conclusions reached differ little, if any, from those found in Professor Lancaster's *History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, the citations and references permit an evaluation of the place, admittedly a minor one, which the poet may justly claim in the literary world of his day.

Of interest also are the discussion of sources and the lines quoted from Lope de Vega's novel, *El Peregrino en su Patria*, showing direct influence on individual verses, though "it was the main plot and perhaps the location of the play at the famous hospital in Valencia," which was drawn from Lope.

The editor has perhaps erred in over-abundance of notes on possible allusions, and similarities of phrase or thought with other authors covering a wide range, but these show with what thoroughness the author and his period have been studied.¹

CASIMIR D. ZDANOWICZ

¹ The reviewer would question the interpretation of verses 211-214:

Nous en voyons pourtant, qui dans leurs intervalles,
Font des vers assez bons, et des pièces Morales
J'en ai dedans ma chambre une pique de haut,
Mon Commis, il les faut examiner tantost.

The editor explains: "*pique de haut*, i. e. an ace; an excellent one. The term is used in piquet." Is not the idea, rather: "I have in my room a pile of them a pikestaff high"?

In verse 1391, there should be no accent on *ou*.

Perhaps an explanation of the word *idée* should be given in a note to verse 1876, where it seems to mean image, physical appearance:

The Novels of Gomberville. A Critical Study of Polexandre and Cythérée. By PHILIP A. WADSWORTH. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. x + 109. \$2.00.

Mr. Wadsworth had previously shown his interest in Gomberville by discussing the quarrel about *car*¹ and by writing a biographical sketch of the novelist.² He now devotes himself to his author's art, especially as shown in the complicated history of *Polexandre*, of which Tallemant des Réaux had written:³

Il avoit fait d'abord *Polexandre*, en deux volumes, avec le titre de *l'Exil de Polexandre*; depuis il a tout changé et a continué jusqu'à cinq volumes Beaucoup de gens aimoient mieux les deux premiers.

But it has been pointed out that there were also *L'Exil de Polexandre et d'Ericlée* and several editions of *Polexandre*, one in two volumes, four in five. To what extent is it true that Gomberville had "tout changé"? Is one form a continuation of another? Mr. W. has answered these questions in detail, showing that the novelist published in 1619 a sketchy romance called *L'Exil de Polexandre et d'Ericlée*; in 1629 *l'Exil de Polexandre*, a new work that repeated only a few details from its predecessor and showed its author's fondness for the exotic; in 1632 a two-volume *Polexandre*, not a continuation of *l'Exil*, but a reworking of it with many changes, including the substitution of Asiatic scenery for American, and with many additions. It is this form of the work that approaches most nearly the historical novel. In 1637 *Polexandre* was out again, this time in five volumes and again rewritten, with less historicity, with some new heroes, and with new adventures for old ones. The following year the work reappeared, but with

Quoy tu l'as regardée
Sans changer de dessein en voyant son idée!
Quoy tu l'as massacrée, & n'as pas entendu,
Une tremblante voix de son sang répandu. . .

Following verse 1921, the speech attributed to Dom Alfrede belongs to Le Concierge. Should not the heading be a stage direction (à Dom Alfrede)?

In connection with the dedication to Monseigneur le Duc D'Arpajon, it might have been à propos to cite verses 229-232:

Et nous la dédierons à quelque grand Seigneur
Non! choisissons quelqu'un qui n'ayt guere d'honneur,
Nous le mettrons tout vif au Temple de Memovre,
Sans doute il donnera du bien pour de la Gloire.

If the noble lord read the play dedicated to him, such a passage would scarcely have won favorable attention. Perhaps the failure to receive a gift may explain why Beys did not carry out his promise to write a whole book devoted to the glorious achievements of d'Arpajon.

¹ *MLQ.*, I (1940), 527-38.

² *Studies by Members of the French Department of Yale University*, 1941.

³ *Historiettes*, Monmerqué et Paris ed., VI (1857), 72.

only minor changes. This edition of 1638 gives the definitive form of the novel, for the editions of 1641 and 1645 show only "minute typographical differences." It is the final form that was Englished by William Browne and published at London in 1647.

Mr. W. has rendered genuine service by solving this puzzle. He discusses G.'s method of composition and his style, both in *Polexandre* and in his other novels, his influence as well. He notes his liking for exotic names and costume and for naval battles, his avoidance of dialogue, his popularity in France and England. In comparison, however, with d'Urfé, La Calprenède, and Mille de Scudéry, G. had little influence on drama. W. collects the known examples: half a play by Scudéry from *l'Exil*, an anonymous *Juste Vengeance* from the *Polexandre* of 1632; a ballet by Ben-serade and Dryden's *Indian Queen* from later forms of the novel. He notes also a few minor borrowings, among which he might well have included the name Almanzor, which the lackey of the *Précieuses ridicules* must have received from his novel-crazed mistresses. The fact that so few borrowers are to be found may be due, as W. suggests, to what he calls an early example of copyright, the prohibition in the *privilege* of *Polexandre* (1637) against the use of the novel as a source for "comédies, tragédies, poèmes, ou romans." Tallemant, who had also been struck by this prohibition, wondered whether the dramatists obeyed out of respect for the law or because they found scarcely any "histoire vraisemblable" in the novel. "Je voudrais bien," he added, "voir un procez sur cela."⁴

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Studies in Honor of John Albrecht Walz. Lancaster Press, Pa., 1941. Pp. 335. \$3.50.

As the statement following the table of contents explains, the volume consists of studies in the field of German literature and language which "have all been written by former graduate students of Professor Walz at Harvard University. On the occasion of his seventieth birthday and his Presidency of the Modern Language Association of America, they are herewith presented as an expression of highest esteem and a token of enduring gratitude." These studies are in a measure fairly representative of Professor Walz' own interests.

The contents may be roughly divided into a) literary, and b) linguistic: a) Philip A. Shelley, *Niclas Müller, German-American Poet and Patriot*; Archer Taylor, *Zwischen Pfingsten und Strassburg*; Israel S. Stamm, *A Note on Kleist and Kant*; Walter Silz, *Goethe's Auf dem See*; O. W. Long, *Werther in America*; Harry

⁴ *Op. cit.*, VI, 73.

W. Pfund, *George Henry Calvert, Admirer of Goethe*; Charles F. Barnason, *Early Danish and Swedish Writers on Nature History*; Thomas K. Brown Jr., *Goethe's Lila as a Fragment of the Great Confession*; Fred O. Nolte, *Art and Reality*; Alan Holske, *Stifter and the Biedermeier Crisis*. b) R-M. S. Heffner, *Notes on Walther's use of Konnen and Mögen*; Albert F. Buffington, *English Loan Words in Pennsylvania German*; W. F. Twaddell, *Functional Burdening of Stressed Vowels in German*, George J. Metcalf, *Abstractions as Forms of Address in Fifteenth Century German*; Wolfgang Philip von Schmertzling, *Mittelhochdeutsche Jägerwörter vom Hund*. Pages 329-335 contain a list of Professor Walz' publications prepared by Philip A. Shelley.

It is impossible in a brief review to comment on all the articles, but, suffice it to say, they are almost without exception interesting and present a contribution each in its own field. Shelley, Pfund and Long deal with various phases of German literary influences in America. Silz and Brown give interpretative treatments of two of Goethe's works, which on the whole are convincing. In his detailed discussion Silz omits comment on the acoustic effect of Goethe's changes in the text. This important fact is generally overlooked in articles of this type. Brown very plausibly identifies the Lila of Goethe's operetta of the same name with Charlotte von Stein and the Baron von Sternthal with Goethe himself. The essay of Holske on Stifter in his Biedermeier setting is excellent. Stamm sums up his examination of Kant's influence on Kleist, after presenting cogent arguments for a metaphysical doctrine which had been denied by some previous Kleist scholars, with the following words: "The impression of the Kantian experience on Kleist seems to have been a necessary recognition that the radical conflict between urgent religious need on the one side and a strongly anti-metaphysical conditioning on the other could not be the basis of a life of logical and consistent knowledge and action. It might serve as the basis of a life of suffering and—in the presence of a sufficient power of expression—as the basis of tragic poetry. It served Kleist for both." This statement the reviewer believes to be correct and it furnishes the key to a proper understanding of Kleist's works.

Of the more or less linguistic articles it might be stated that Heffner's approach to the problem of the use of *können* and *mögen* in Walther von der Vogelweide is sound. Statistics furnish him with the starting point, but as he himself is willing to admit, there are cases where a final decision is next to impossible, particularly where the words occur in rime. The larger aspects of the problem can only be treated after the field has been similarly examined from Notker to the contemporaries of Walther. In Buffington's interesting article one might wonder whether *koonshlawbler* is not the German word, at least the ending seems to point that way. The form *shreef* is perhaps from the older

shrieve rather than from *sheriff*; note the long *e*. Metcalf's article sheds light on the use of the plural forms of *Gnade* and *Liebfür* in the epistolary correspondence of the nobility in the 15th century and also on the change from the second to the third person plural of the accompanying pronouns. Since von Schmertzling's dissertation was written (1938) there has appeared a work by Kurt Lindner, *Geschichte des deutschen Weidwerks*, Bd. II: *Die Jagd im frühen Mittelalter*, Berlin 1940, of which a brief review is accessible in *Geistige Arbeit*, Mai 1941, Nr. 10. It is difficult at times to say definitely that a certain word is a *Jagerwort*, particularly when it occurs but once and is used in its ordinary sense, e. g. *abestroufen*, p. 307. The word *betut*, p. 303 means 'andeute' from MHG *betiuten*. Twaddell gives an illuminating treatment of the distinction of vowels in word pairs in German, e. g. *i/e* in *fliehen/flehen*, *biete/Beete*. If such studies were extended to include Old, Middle and Early New High German we might be further enlightened as to tendencies, drifts in the phonetic structure of the German language. Archer Taylor discusses such mediaeval expressions as *zwischen Pfingsten und Strassburg*, *entre Maubeuge et la Pentecôte*, which first appear in the mediaeval Latin animal epic (*inter pascha Remisque*) and signify 'never or nowhere.' Barnason treats at length the mostly pseudo-historical works of the Danish and Swedish writers of the 16th and early 17th centuries. Nolte attempts in his contribution to show that it is more important to learn to appreciate 'art' and 'reality' than define them, because art is itself a reality in its manifold manifestations.

EDWARD H. SEHRT

George Washington University

The Law of Property in Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Drama.

By PAUL S. CLARKSON and CLYDE T. WARREN. Baltimore:

The Johns Hopkins Press, 1942. Pp. xxvii + 346. \$3.50.

This admirable and, I should say, decisive book has many virtues. In the first place it is written by experts, two practising lawyers of Baltimore, who have spared no pains to inform themselves and the reader on the minutiae of Elizabethan property law. In the second place, it does not restrict itself to Shakespeare, but considers his legal allusions in relation to those of his dramatic contemporaries. In the third place, it sets up no thesis for or against the omniscient Shakespeare, but contents itself with a methodical analysis from which the conclusion emerges that Shakespeare was neither particularly accurate nor particularly profuse in his references to the law. The authors have discovered that "About half of Shake-

Shakespeare's fellows employed on the average more legalisms than he did" (p. 285). Their verdict on the "Shakespeare a lawyer" question is finally stated with great clarity, and is not likely to be doubted by anyone who reads the evidence they have compiled:

It is accordingly our conclusion that what law there is in Shakespeare can, indeed *must*, be explained upon some grounds other than that he was a lawyer, or an apprentice, or a student of the law. . . . We do not say, dogmatically, that William Shakespeare was not a lawyer, or that he had no legal education. As to that we are agnostic: as a matter of biographical fact, we simply do not know. But on the basis of our comparative studies, we do state categorically that the internal evidence from Shakespeare's plays is wholly insufficient to prove such a claim (p. 286).

There has, indeed, been little disposition in recent times to take seriously the idea of Shakespeare's legal profundity, except by persons committed to the belief that Shakespeare was Bacon. or persons, like the late Mr. Fripp, committed to the theory that he began life as a clerk in a Stratford law office. Lord Campbell's dogmatic monograph, *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements Considered* (1859), rates now as a Victorian extravagance, and finds no support in Edward J. White's *Commentaries on the Law in Shakespeare* (2nd ed., 1913), which, however, is more a dictionary of legal terms than a critique. The two most readable, though slender, books on the subject previous to that of Messrs. Clarkson and Warren are Sir Dunbar Plunket Barton's *Shakespeare and the Law* (1929) and Mr. G. W. Keeton's *Shakespeare and his Legal Problems* (1930). One is scrapbooky and professionally anecdotal, the other a collection of unrelated literary essays on such Shakespearean subjects as might attract a legal historian; but they did not even pave the way for the systematic investigation which the Johns Hopkins Press has now published.

It was a thoroughly sound, though back-breaking, decision of Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Warren to base their study upon the Elizabethan drama as a whole rather than on Shakespeare alone. They have examined nearly three hundred plays of the period, and have thus set Shakespeare's allusions in their proper perspective and provided them with many relevant parallels or supplements. It becomes clear from such treatment that Ben Jonson's use of legal terms was far more encyclopedic than Shakespeare's, and Middleton's much more accurate technically. Middleton, as one might have supposed, seems to have been the best lawyer among all the dramatists. For instance, "the best example of the form of a will in the entire Elizabethan drama is to be found in . . . *The Family of Love*" (p. 248).

The authors are severely professional in organizing their material and very clear in their legal definitions, but they do not forget that what Shakespeare and his colleagues wrote were plays, not legal reports. To the earlier critics who have condemned the wording of Caesar's will, as Antony digests it in his famous ora-

tion (*Julius Caesar* III, ii, 252 ff.), they most sensibly reply (p. 247):

The point seems to have been entirely missed that Antony is not quoting the will, which doubtless was drafted to conform to the apposite Roman law of that day, and, for all that anyone can now know, might have been quite satisfactory. . . . Neither Antony as an historical person, nor Shakespeare in portraying him as a dramatic character, would have been, under the circumstances prevailing, especially anxious about conformance with the legal niceties of testamentary phraseology, when the primary purpose of the language employed was incitement to riot and arson.

In continuation of the present work, the writers have in mind, and have already assembled material for, further volumes on such subjects as Equity, Marriage and Divorce, and Criminal Law. We wish them very well, for such a comprehensive survey would be of unquestionable value to all editors and students of the Elizabethan drama.

TUCKER BROOKE

Yale University

Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age with its Background in Mystical Methodology. By JOSEPH B. COLLINS, S. S., D. D., Ph. D. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940. Pp. xvi + 256. \$3.25.

This is a valuable piece of work because it opens up a subject of great interest with more care and sympathy than it has heretofore received. Nobody has ever suggested that the Elizabethan Age was one of the great ages of English mysticism, and it is doubtful if anybody ever will. But there was more mysticism in Elizabethan literature than most of us have suspected, and it is the distinctive merit of this book that it establishes that fact to a surprising degree.

Moreover, it does not do so, as one might fear, by taking that very elastic word "Mysticism" in the large and vague sense which so often in popular usage brings the most unlikely prospects into the contemplative sphere. Rather Dr. Collins does what every writer who undertakes to use a term so often abused should do, and that is to make clear, to begin with, what he means by "mysticism." This he does in an analytical survey of the history of western mysticism that has pretty nearly every merit except brevity. For as so often happens in the doctoral thesis of a careful student, the initial definition takes up rather too much of the total book, pretty nearly a third in actual number of pages. But while one may question the wisdom of prefacing so summary a treatment of the subject itself with an outline, however condensed, of mysticism from Plato to Bonaventure, Dr. Collins may fairly plead that the reader must be aware of the history of Graeco-Chris-

tian mysticism to appreciate the often implicit rather than explicit permeation of Elizabethan religious expression by the ideas and images of the great mystical writers.

Of that other common doctor's dissertation fault, the propensity to find evidence for one's thesis everywhere one turns, there is very little in this book. Probably the most striking example is the discussion of the widespread appreciation of Granada in England. The sources of purely literary appeal to the taste of the time to be found in Granada's work, especially when translated by a man like Francis Meres, are so obvious that it is not necessary to overestimate their religious appeal to account for their popularity. In general, however, the evidence which Dr. Collins presents easily bears out his thesis without strain, and he wisely resists the temptation to exaggerate the mystical importance of the works under discussion.

The principal fault in the treatment of the Elizabethan material, which is the main business of the book, is of another sort. It is, rather, an uncertainty of emphasis in the basic proportions of the discussion. The fact that Henry Constable receives two pages, and Henry Lok two against the not much more than six pages devoted to Southwell raises a doubt of the author's sense of proportion, and that is reenforced when it is discovered that Nicholas Breton receives over fourteen pages. The fact that the mystical character of Breton's work is not so widely known as that of Southwell's, and that his literary relations are more centrally involved and influential than the latter's, is, of course, to be taken into account, but it hardly justifies such disproportionate emphasis.

Closely allied to this unsteadiness of emphasis is the tendency to be pretty summary where certain matters of the psychology of the time are involved. The discussion of the reasons for the surprising hospitality of Elizabethan writers to mystical influences is a case in point. Dr. Collins accounts for this interesting phenomenon in the following paragraph:

The spirit and methodology of Christian mysticism made it readily acceptable to spiritually-minded writers during the Elizabethan period, when religious polemic was so bitter and widespread. Easily detached from all external ecclesiastical order, subjective in nature, Christian mysticism furnished a means of fervent and personal intercourse and union with God. The subject matter was found in Old and New Testament story; the Christocentric and Theocentric types of contemplation satisfied the partisans of the prevailing sects or creeds, and the three Ways of the spiritual life were open alike to Protestant and Catholic. (Pp. 80-81.)

Now this is quite correct, but it is pretty summary for so crucial a matter. It merely glances at the widespread weariness of controversy in the mind of the time and the growing awareness of its spiritual destructiveness, and it does very little with the important psychological fact that the mystic begins where the controversialist leaves off, taking the intellectual definitions that made so

much trouble at this time for granted. This is one of the basic and probably inevitable shortcomings of the pioneer book, a tendency to cover a good deal of ground pretty fast, a tendency unfortunate for a subject in which the nuances of personal psychology are so important. Saint Augustine and Julian of Norwich are both mystics, but they are very different types of human beings with very different backgrounds, and however much their experience may have in common, their descriptions will be basically different in substance and tone and flavor, in all those human qualities that are even more important for literature than for religion. It is, therefore, a pity that this author does not allow himself more time for the development of his discussion of the personal elements that make so vital a difference between the mystical writing of a Spenser and a Southwell. Of course, this is another way of saying that the author has attempted a good deal for so short a book.

But it would be distinctly ungrateful to end on this negative note. For this is a valuable piece of pioneer work, calling our attention to elements in sixteenth-century literature that have not by any means received the attention they merit. Especially is this book helpful in that it has set these elements in their historic context, reminding us afresh that in the midst of all the changes of the sixteenth century certain traditional influences persisted in both religion and literature to the great enrichment of the new movements in both fields. It is a very attractive distinction of Dr. Collins' book that a realization of this fact informs the whole undertaking with a broad and lively sympathy for writers and works of highly varied doctrinal commitments.

HELEN C. WHITE

University of Wisconsin

The Literary Relationships of Chaucer's Clerkes Tale. By J. BURKE SEVERS. New Haven: Yale University Press; New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1942 (*Yale Studies in English*, Vol. 96). Pp. xii + 376.

If any study of matters medieval may be regarded as definitive, here is one that certainly at first sight will impress all readers as closing the argument forever. Seldom has investigation of Chaucer's sources been managed with such thoroughness and such competence. The author reviews briefly the latest theories concerning the development of the Griselda story and in particular the tradition of Boccaccio's version of it. He then examines and classifies the known manuscripts of Petrarch's Latin tale in a survey for which he has consulted sixty-five of these and seven early prints. After a brief consideration of the possibility that Chaucer knew also the Italian form of the story in the *Decameron*, Professor

Severs takes up the French versions, and considers and classifies the twenty different manuscripts of the Anonymous Translation which played so large a part in the composition of the *Clerk's Tale*. For this review of the Latin and French documents he has visited "the principal libraries of Italy, France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and England" (p. vii), and one pauses to wonder when such a privilege may come to any of us again. He is at last able to indicate, with a remarkable degree of probability, the almost exact form of the Latin version that Chaucer used and also the French manuscript closest to the source. After an able chapter on the English poet's technique and originality, in which he shows Chaucer's increasing dependence on the French (with a ratio in lines of about five to three [p. 217]), he reprints his own edition of the French and Latin texts from his contribution to the *Sources and Analogues*, on pages facing each other, with a full list of variant readings including a special set "which come closer to the content or phraseology of Chaucer's poem than do the corresponding readings in the base" (p. 252). Textual notes on passages where "the manuscripts of the *Clerkes Tale* offer variant readings" are added "to help determine the true Chaucerian text . . ." (p. 358).

As one follows the details of this study, there appears little to find fault with in the author's methods. For obvious reasons in relation to Chaucer, the material regarding the compliment of Philippe de Mézières to Richard II, printed by Grace Frank in *MLN.*, LI (1936), 217 ff., should at the very least be mentioned, together with her important theory that Philippe is also author of the French play. The rigors of the Quentin system of classifying the manuscripts cannot be followed here, except to note again Mr. Severs's thoroughness. When, however, we discover at the end that manuscripts otherwise as far apart from the opposing groups as Cs and Chig must be explained as contaminated (Cs "slightly contaminated with Rc" and Chig "contaminated with family a and/or b," pp. 92-93 and 99), we feel, perhaps unfairly, as if we had been watching someone playing an ingenious game of solitaire who allowed himself just a little moment of cheating. We notice also that CC₄ seems to be another example (p. 115), since it contains the Job passage similar to one in Chaucer's version, although that is based on a manuscript of family a. Indeed we may wonder whether the anonymous French author (who worked from the 1373 text) did not have the passage in the copy of his work actually used for the *Clerk's Tale*, and so the question of family a could be dismissed in this connection. Perhaps here in this study the Quentin method is more corroborated by Mr. Severs's previous analysis than the other way about. With regard to specific references throughout the book, it is a pity, I think, that the Robinson text or that of Manly and Rickert was not used, but I note here

only one point of objection—the use of the spelling “Pavyk” for the Earl (pp. 131 and 244) which on all grounds should obviously be “Panik” (cf. note on 590, p. 359).

Less satisfactory than the other sections of the book is the reopening of the question regarding parallels from the *Decameron* and the *Ménagier*. Here the author is probably right in general but he pushes his argument a little. There is not much evidence that here he has himself made a fresh comparison with the *Decameron*. What he gives is a report on Farnham's paper, and he has taken a perceptible jump when he begins a paragraph by saying (p. 133) that of the parallels to the Italian not enough are left “to base any claim of Chaucer's dependence” and then (p. 134) concludes, “The notion that Chaucer may have been influenced” by Boccaccio's tale “may therefore be dismissed as untenable.” A more detailed account of the problem of Chaucer's knowledge of the *Decameron* is needed as a background for the statement, and to the material cited (p. 134, n. 19) may be added the article in *MLN.*, LIII (1938), 257-258. The possibility of influence, moreover, from marginal quotations seems to be ignored. And in the case of the *Ménagier*, the parallels must not be lost sight of, whatever they imply. To the material on the *Melibeus* (p. 176, n. 8) there should now be added reference to Mr. Severs's fine contribution on this subject in *Sources and Analogues*, 560 ff.

But in all these larger questions there can be no absolute answers. Although these points may not be forgotten, they do not alter the fact that here is a study of remarkable distinction. The format of the book is excellent; the apparatus, list of books, and index, are thoroughly satisfactory. I note only one misprint (p. 13, Pertarch for Petrarch). A number of points emerge of first rate importance that are almost certain to remain valid: first of all, that it is unlikely the *Clerk's Tale* was composed before 1379 or 1380 (p. 111), and the “date may be even much later.” I recall again Philippe de Mézières and his compliment to Richard and the play of 1395. The Marriage Cycle apparently got under way almost as late as that. I note the interesting coincidence that Philippe too once went on a mission to Bernabo Visconti (p. 127, footnote from the previous page) and that there is a striking parallel in passages in Boccaccio, De Mézières and Chaucer, so that Mr. Severs asks: “Could De Mézières' rendering of this passage have been influenced by the *Decameron*?” And he wonders whether on Philippe's diplomatic journey to Italy the Frenchman might not have picked up a copy (pp. 126-127, n. 4). This material indeed qualifies the inferences of the whole chapter, and starts a train of conjecture. Finally I would observe that in addition to the painstaking analysis of the manuscripts, Mr. Severs's study of Chaucer's originality, in its recognition of how Chaucer as usual intensifies the values of his sources and also adds signifi-

cant features so that Griselda is not a "spineless creature" (p. 236), shows insight and sensitiveness. Here it is fair to add that some changes are introduced less to make Griselda more pathetic or Walter seem harsher than to point a reference to the Wife of Bath, as in E. 621-623 with the ironic line "Wedded men ne knowe no mesure" (where we need find no echo of Boccaccio—cf. p. 232).

HOWARD R. PATCH

Smith College

Henry Lawes. Musician and Friend of Poets. By WILLA McCLUNG EVANS. New York: Modern Language Association of America; London: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xvi + 250.

Poetic Diction in the Renaissance from Skelton through Spenser. By VERÉ L. RUBEL. New York: Modern Language Association of America; London: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xiv + 312.

The Praise of Folly by Desiderius Erasmus. Translated . . . with Essay & Commentary by HOYT H. HUDSON. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. xli + 166. \$2.50.

George Gascoigne, Elizabethan Courtier, Soldier, and Poet. By C. T. PROUTY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xii + 351. \$3.75.

The Modern Language Association may congratulate itself on having published two such worth-while studies as those of Miss Evans and Miss Rubel. Henry Lawes, the musician friend of Herrick, Waller, Milton, and many other poets, has now received his first adequate treatment. Miss Evans gives many new facts about his life and works, among them a full account of his connection with Milton's *Arcades* and *Comus*. She also gives further details about Lawes's musical setting for Shakespeare's sonnet 116, which she discovered and first published in 1936. Without committing herself she intimates that the Earl of Pembroke was the friend of Shakespeare's sonnets, and that he directed Lawes's attention to sonnet 116. Many less plausible notions have been advanced elsewhere; but, in the light of Pembroke's own reputation, it is a bit startling to find enumerated among his "various mistresses" two honored and virtuous ladies, Christiana, Countess of Devonshire, and Lucy, Countess of Bedford. Miss Evans's style is somewhat labored, and her pages are cluttered with verbose footnotes; but, on the whole, her book deserves hearty commendation.

Miss Rubel set herself the task of studying the attitude of sixteenth-century non-dramatic poets towards "poetic diction" and of analyzing in detail the ways in which they used rhetorical figures for ornamentation. She considers the verse of Skelton, the Tottel's *Miscellany* poets, Turberville, Howell, Sidney, Warner, Spenser, and others, reaching the conclusions that their diction shows an unbroken continuity from Chaucer to Spenser, and that formal rhetoric and figures became increasingly elaborate as the years passed by. Most of the points she makes and many of her illustrations will not be unfamiliar to students of the period, but never before has such a complete array of examples been brought together or such a painstaking analysis been made. It is instructive and amusing to read her discussion of "lptote," "sorasmus," "tapinosis," and other figures which charmed the Elizabethans. The texts and authors are somewhat arbitrarily chosen, but there is little reason to suppose that a more inclusive choice would have altered her findings. Incidentally it is a relief to read a book on sixteenth-century poetry that makes no mention of Shakespeare.

In spite of its innumerable details Miss Rubel's monograph is remarkably free from errors. The eye is struck, however, by her unqualified statement that Turberville died in 1595. A reference here is desirable. Professor Hankins in his 1940 monograph on Turberville merely suggested the year 1597. Apparently, too, the author has overlooked the fact that Puttenham drew some of the material he castigates not directly from Turberville but from Timothy Kendall. Miss Rubel is scrupulously careful to credit other students with facts, ideas, even definitions that she uses. Very generously she makes the present reviewer roar in her footnotes and thunder in her index, so that it may sound ungracious to say that with pain he finds himself often directly quoted as having used the abbreviation *O. E. D.*

To a recent number of the *Philological Quarterly* (xx [1941], 250-265) Mr. Hudson contributed an erudite article enumerating in some detail the defects of the three best-known English translations of Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*, particularly the translation of White Kennett (1683, revised in 1913), the one most commonly read today. Now he has published his own version, which does for the present generation what Sir Thomas Chaloner's of 1549 did for sixteenth-century readers. The translation is charmingly phrased, and its accuracy, if one may judge from an altogether casual checking, seems beyond reproach. In his own comments, which turn out to be the best criticism yet written on the *Folly*, Mr. Hudson stresses the Lucianic influence on Erasmus's satire, provocatively outlines the latter as a typical classical oration, and provides it with interesting and learned notes as well as an annotated Index of Proper Names. The Princeton University Press has done an equally fine job, so that the book is a joy to read and to own.

Nothing but praise can be given to Mr. Prouty's *Gascoigne*, a learned and delightful book brimful of new facts and new interpretations. Wary readers often expect the worst when they see at the foot of half the pages of a volume the ominous abbreviations "PRO," "CSPD," and the like. But this author has a feeling for style and an interest in literature. While clearing up various puzzles—as of the date of his hero's birth, the strange episode of Elizabeth Bacon Breton Boyes Gascoigne and her three husbands, the circumstances connected with the publication of *A Hundreth Sundry Flowers*, the identities of various persons named George Gascoigne—he writes in a sprightly, readable fashion; and his critical discussion of Gascoigne's poems, plays, narratives, and moral books supersedes all that has previously been written about them. In particular, his critique of the "first English novel," *The Adventures of Master F. J.*, is so stimulating as almost to make one wish to reread the novel itself. Few great Elizabethans have been treated so adequately as this minor writer. With impatience we must await the edition of *A Hundreth Sundry Flowers* the author promises.

The Columbia University Press has, as usual, turned out a splendid example of book-making. Its editorial staff, however, should have been more considerate than to disfigure a review copy sent to *Modern Language Notes*. Lest its hideous red stamp (I've measured it from side to side, 'tis 1½ inches long and 3 inches wide) persist for years as a notable blot on Mr. Prouty's memorable book, all that remains is, after having read and admired the latter, to deposit it in the junkman's salvage basket.

Harvard University

HYDER E. ROLLINS

The Poetry of W. B. Yeats. By LOUIS MACNEICE. London [New York]: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xii + 242. \$2.50.

One's first reading of this book moves one to commend it as an excellent introduction to, and commentary upon, the work of a very great and still too little appreciated poet. Further readings in Mr. MacNeice's book suggest a much more heavily qualified approval. For the lay reader the book will perform, and perform well, a necessary task. It sets the basic facts of Yeats' life, and, more important still, the basic facts of his career in some sort of order. It illuminates some of the brilliant and difficult poems, and it abounds in incidental comments, some of which are brilliant. All in all, it is probably as good a book as could be written in the short time which has elapsed since Yeats' death. Yet having said this, one is also constrained to say that it is a book which will be outmoded rather quickly. (I do not mean to be ungracious to Mr. MacNeice: I am quite willing to believe that the account of Yeats

which will replace this one may be written by MacNeice himself, as a new book or as a rather drastic revision of this one.)

One of the factors which makes this book unsatisfactory to my mind is a factor which the author undoubtedly hoped would render the book fresh and helpful to the reader. It is his rather frank interpretation of Yeats in terms of the new English poets. Mr. MacNeice is constantly telling us that this aspect of Yeats was attractive to himself and to poets like Auden and Spender, or that certain aspects of Yeats were of little use to them. But the reader who stands to gain most from Mr. MacNeice's book, the lay reader, will probably know even less about the poetry of MacNeice, Spender, and Auden than he knows about that of Yeats himself. On the other hand, the reader who knows enough about these poets to profit from these references will probably find them in places somewhat naïve. In any case, he will certainly have the main outlines of Mr. MacNeice's critical account in his head already.

The second great deficiency in this book is related to the first. Mr. MacNeice is very much interested, as the whole school to which he belongs has been, in the relation of art to society, poetry to science, etc. And Mr. Yeats' career as a man who dabbled in magic, set up queer private religious systems, and, late in life, leaned perilously close to fascism—this career makes it difficult for Mr. MacNeice to account for the goodness of the poetry. MacNeice's taste triumphs; Yeats is a very great poet in his opinion, and Mr. MacNeice's taste and his prejudices do him credit. But Mr. MacNeice is not always able to help the reader as much as he might on some of the problems of the relation of poetry to science and history. On these points, I can only say that Mr. MacNeice strikes me as honest, muddled, and a little naïve. For example, he finds himself hard put to it to account for the goodness of Yeats' poem in which Yeats yearns for the outbreak of war, and the badness of one of Rupert Brooke's poems in which Brooke expresses the same feeling at the outbreak of World War I. Thus he says of Brooke, "the sentiment, from our point of view, has been completely disproved by subsequent facts; Brooke was completely misrepresenting war. But that does not invalidate the sentiment as a sentiment." MacNeice is reduced to the expedient of saying that Brooke's poem is bad because he welcomes a vast mechanical war, whereas Yeats is thinking of a localized irregular war. Surely this is the very ecstasy of critical misunderstanding!

This passage is not quite fair to Mr. MacNeice's critical powers, but it may serve to suggest with what handicaps he is burdened when he attempts to deal with the problems of a poet so brilliant and difficult as Yeats, and yet a poet whose poetry at almost every point collides with current science, and current liberalism.

The Idiom of Poetry. (Being the Messenger Lectures, 1941.) By
FREDERICK A. POTTLE. Ithaca · Cornell University Press, 1941.
Pp. xi + 139. \$2.00.

Mr. Pottle excites me most by a bit of theorizing not prominently displayed yet, I think, central to his little book, and very valuable. It concerns the right of the poem to contain some prosaic elements, and pronounces: ". . . it occurs to me that the element of prose is innocent and even salutary when it appears as—take your choice of three metaphors—a background on which the images are projected, or a frame in which they are shown, or a thread on which they are strung. In short, when it serves a *structural* purpose." That is well put and we have needed it. The modern poets whom Mr. Pottle accepts because a "historian" has no choice, but does not like, ought to assure themselves that an unashamed prose element might pay very well for itself in their work. Indeed, there might be a converse proposition as follows: A poetry lacking in prosaic elements is likely to be amorphous. If Mr. Pottle does not put this last proposition, he means it, and proves it by a brilliant exposition of Wordsworth's early poem, *An Evening Walk*. It was written by a poet who loved nature, and is a big aggregate of close natural images; but to no purpose, because there is no connection among the images, and there is no connection because he has not yet come upon his famous philosophy of nature. After that happens, he will never have the difficulty again.

Few living critics can read a poem more thoroughly and surely than Mr. Pottle. He is master of his learning.

On the theoretical side, in spite of the triumph I have cited, I do not think Mr. Pottle has top rating. He tries all the current critical terms, though together they are not in agreement, and separately are rarely of philosophic concision. He regards poetic language as "naïve" and pre-logical; that is Croce's usage, but the history attributed to Wordsworth goes to show that poetry does not succeed till it has acquired its logic. And what is meant by the "heightening" of consciousness, especially in poetry which is naïve and therefore all but un-self-conscious? As for poetry's giving the "qualities of experience" while science is giving the "uses": are the uses not qualities? But what is "experience" in the first place? It is a difficult philosophical term, as I see it. And how does "expressive" describe non-scientific language if we are to gather only that it is the language which is not scientific? An argument about poetry cannot use these worn counters without quickly losing its own identity. By now it can be said that they obscure analysis as much as they illuminate it.

JOHN CROWE RANSOM

Kenyon College

Unpathed Waters: Studies in the Influence of the Voyagers on Elizabethan Literature. By ROBERT RALSTON CAWLEY. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. viii + 285. \$3.75.

Events in the recent past, especially events which have taken place during the months since Pearl Harbor, have brought home to all of us the character and importance of far places in terms of global war. In every daily newspaper dispatches and maps explaining our own, or our enemies', strategy make remote regions seem nearer; and we accustom ourselves to new interpretations of geography as we study diagrams showing the shortest routes from Tokio to Detroit or from Boston to Berlin. Before long, no doubt, we shall come to understand our distant neighbors better, as our fighting men return in numbers from Australia, India, China, Iceland, West Africa, Central and South America, as well as from Europe and the Middle East. And an enlargement of mind, of knowledge and sympathy, must result from these new contacts if we are to shape a better world. In our attempts to draw all human societies together into one community of understanding and of law we shall complete the movement begun in the Age of Discovery which we associate with the Renaissance.

Professor Cawley has given years to the study of the Elizabethans' concern with the new world brought into view during this Age of Discovery. To scholars interested in the Tudor and Jacobean periods his monograph on *The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama* has been useful as a mine of information and a storehouse of valuable references. *Unpathed Waters* is a companion volume in which the author "draws some of the conclusions and inferences for which the proof is found in the earlier publication."

It has seemed important to consider first what the Ancient World and Middle Ages bequeathed to Renaissance literature in the way of voyaging traditions. As a corollary, a study of the maps, early and later, was necessary. And then it was essential to devote one large section to the spirit which informed the whole great movement, as that spirit is revealed to us through the literature of the time. The mariner himself, together with his element, clearly required a separate study. Finally, it was obvious that the studies should culminate in an attempt to estimate just how the rich material so abundantly provided by the voyagers was utilized by some of the characteristic literary figures (p. vii)

In carrying out this program Professor Cawley has begun well with an interesting and informative account of how mediaeval legends of the Fortunate Islands, the Terrestrial Paradise, Ophir and Ultima Thule, the Lost Atlantis, and their like, came to share a place with accounts of lands newly discovered in the minds of poets and their readers. Thus we are again shown what is abundantly clear from other evidence—that the new thought of the Renaissance was deeply tinged with that of the Middle Ages. A

similar combining of the two traditions is described in the section on maps. Cartography, in the period of which Professor Cawley writes, was undergoing a variety of developments, and its novelties were—and are—endlessly fascinating. Like other productions of the New Science they gave occasion for much witty and metaphorical thinking on the part of the poets, and called forth speculations typical of the age, e. g. Bishop Hall's remark, "What a poor little spot is a country! A man may hide with his thumb the great territories of those that would be accounted monarchs." (P. 97.)

As Professor Cawley proceeds to his next sections one of the less satisfactory features of his plan becomes evident. He has chosen to discuss the spirit of the voyagers only as that spirit is romantically and patriotically presented in plays and other imaginative literature, not as it is found in the writings of projectors and sailor folk themselves. The spirit which he describes, then, is a spirit much transmuted: though how much, and in what ways, transmuted the reader is left to conjecture. Similarly the drama is made to yield up what it contains of nautical language and sea customs; but it is not sufficiently remarked that writers in general were not themselves sea-farers, eaters of bad beef and drinkers of stale beer, or that they missed opportunities for the fuller realism which would have made their studies of life afloat deeply impressive and convincing in our modern age. Finally, in commenting upon characteristic uses of the voyagers, Professor Cawley easily proves that a relatively early writer like Greene allowed much geographical error to stand in his works without much distressing readers who, before the effect of Hakluyt was fully felt, were not well informed, while Dekker, on the other hand, developed a gift for accurate description and showed a sound sense for geographical realities. Beaumont and Fletcher, it appears, were usually content with generalities and conventions when they wrote of the sea; Heywood, on the contrary, has a much saltier tang, and could convincingly describe the management of a vessel and the conduct of its crew even though his references to faraway places are disappointingly vague. As for Shakespeare, who preferred to take his marine pictures from the vantage point of land, he "shows no unusual knowledge of foreign animals, peoples, countries, such knowledge as could be gathered from a close reading of the very considerable voyage literature which had been written by his time." (P. 239.) Bacon, naturally enough, regarded the data supplied by the travel books chiefly as material on which to base scientific speculation; and Davenant's range of reference and comparative accuracy seem to supply indices of the general increase of geographical knowledge which had taken place in the course of two generations.

These conclusions, in the light of the evidence presented, are entirely acceptable, yet a little disappointing. The reader is likely to close *Unpathed Waters* with the feeling that while it provides a

learned and illuminating commentary on many passages in Elizabethan literature, those passages are too seldom inspired by the thorough reading, or by the penetrating insight that would have revealed the full meaning of the wonders suggested by the voyagers' accounts. The realms of gold were not as fully exploited as they might have been; the sea change should more often have produced something really rich and strange.

University of Michigan

WARNER G. RICE

The Rochester-Savile Letters, 1671-1680. Edited with an introduction and notes by JOHN HAROLD WILSON. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1941. Pp. xii + 127. \$1.75.

Students of the Restoration will welcome this annotated edition of the Rochester-Savile correspondence. Although all the letters contained in it have been printed before, Professor Wilson's notes increase their usefulness considerably. His introduction, which corrects several errors of previous biographers, provides a valuable outline of the correspondents' lives.

In textual matters, unfortunately, the book is much less satisfactory. Seventeen of the letters are said to be reprinted 'from the first edition of *Familiar Letters* (1697).' We are confused, however, when Professor Wilson refers to this source by the title of the *second* edition (page vii). Moreover, a collation of his text with that of the first edition reveals several discrepancies in punctuation. In Letter IX (page 40), to cite an important example, the sense of the first sentence is ruined by an odd punctuation unjustified by any edition I know. If Professor Wilson has actually found a copy with these peculiarities, the irregular title should have been enough to put him on his guard.

The confusion does not end here. What, for instance, is the edition 'of 1698,' referred to on page 107? It is not recorded in Prinz's bibliography, nor is it mentioned elsewhere by Professor Wilson. Furthermore, the collation of the text in Rochester's *Works* (1714), as represented in the notes, is sketchy and inconsistent.

I cannot criticize the collating of the second edition of *Familiar Letters* since the Harvard College Library has only a 'variant' of this edition, not recorded by Prinz. If Professor Wilson's collation of the 'standard' edition can be relied on, the Harvard copy differs from it in more than title page. It is regrettable that Professor Wilson has not noted this unrecorded edition and established its proper place beside the others. It is even more regrettable, in view of the unsettled bibliography of the *Familiar Letters*, that he has not done a better job of editing.

FRANCIS WHITFIELD

*The Society of Fellows,
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The Dickens World. By HUMPHRY HOUSE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. 224. \$3.00.

By a coincidence which reflects a trend in literary study, there appeared in 1941 two works on Dickens, Mr. House's book and Mr. Edmund Wilson's essays in *The Wound and the Bow*, which unite authoritative knowledge of social history with literary taste and judgment. No longer must those interested in Dickens's social perceptions and opinions who read no foreign language take their choice of amateurs varying from the brilliant unreliability of G. K. Chesterton to the Marxian dogmatism of Mr. T. A. Jackson, while literary scholars fail to draw upon authorities in economic and political history like the Webbs, the Hammonds, Clapham, Wallas, Halévy and G. M. Young.

Mr. House attempts to show "the connexion between what Dickens wrote and the times in which he wrote it, between his reformism and some of the things he wanted reformed, between the attitude to life shown in his books and the society in which he lived." This enterprise has required the utmost tact and discrimination, for Dickens was not an intellectual or a doctrinaire, and had little scruple as to anachronisms. He explicitly dated *Little Dorrit* in the eighteen-twenties, but two of its most prominent themes, the Circumlocution Office and the Merdle boom, were topical in the 'fifties, when the novel was written. Dickens's social thought, which has momentary affinities with the Benthamites, with Carlyle, and with Lord Ashley and the sentimental humanitarians, led Mr. G. M. Young to dismiss him as "equally ready to denounce on the grounds of humanity all who left things alone, and on the grounds of liberty all who tried to make them better"; but Mr. House makes the important qualification: "This is on the whole true of the novels, less true of the short stories, and hardly true at all of the occasional journalism and the speeches." Quotations from his articles and addresses reveal a Dickens bolder and more trenchant than the audience of the novels would permit: his comments in 1848 upon the philanthropy-veiled imperialism of the Niger Expedition are astonishing for insight into the psychology of a savage people. Mr. House is equally discerning in tracing Dickens's growing awareness of capitalism as an increasingly impersonal system, which is shifting present-day attention to the later novels. Accurate perception of the novelist as a class-conscious bourgeois (who sent his sons to Eton) leads to a fresh estimate of *Great Expectations*. The chapter on Politics finds in Dickens "a strong authoritarianism" similar in origin to Carlyle's. To "the emotional deficiency of the civilization he lived in" is traced the shallowness and colorlessness of his religion: "one of the chief causes of his success as a popular moralist and reformer was the skill with which he struck a good religious note without

committing himself beyond the common stock of Christian phrases." But the effectiveness of the novelist as a social reformer Mr. House finds sharply limited by his enforced respect for the prudishness in language which was "a protective blind against some of the worst evils that industrial society was generating"; and he proves the point for our more plain-spoken era by appalling quotations from contemporary documents. Mr. House has not written a text-book but a highly concentrated, subtle, and allusive interpretation which will benefit readers in proportion to what they already know of Dickens and his times.

EMERY NEFF

Columbia University

Introduction to the English Language. By ALBERT H. MARCKWARDT. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. xviii + 347. \$2.15.

This book should put every department of English in Professor Marckwardt's debt. Planned for use in undergraduate classes and therefore not concerned with extending the bounds of learning, it is nevertheless more valuable than many works that pass for contributions to knowledge. The six chapters treat the Sounds of English, English Grammar, English Vocabulary, Early Modern English, Middle English, and Old English—material that one might expect, though the welcome emphasis on EMdE is a departure from tradition. And "the crabwise progression" by which the development of the language is traced is new and sound, for surely the undergraduate will find it easier to work from the known to the unknown when even graduate students occasionally find themselves lost in their study of OE because they know little of what happened to the language between the time of Alfred and their own day.

The stress on the inductive method distinguishes this book from others in the same field, and therein lies its chief value. Each chapter is divided into a number of parts which the educators would call lesson units. These, in turn, are made up of the author's comments, which regularly take into account the most significant results of recent linguistic study; exercises, in which the student observes linguistic phenomena, classifies them, and generalizes from them; and suggestions for additional reading. Thus, by careful study the student acquires a thorough knowledge of the language by writing his own history of it, and at the same time he learns his way around in the literature of the field and develops the invaluable habit of using the dictionary.

In so short a review as this, detailed comment is impossible. The third chapter, however, might have been strengthened by the inclusion of a section on miscellaneous borrowings—those not from Greek, Latin, French, Scandinavian, and Celtic—so that the varied

sources of the English vocabulary would be all the more emphasized; and I wish that there were a section on the differences between British and American English. But as it stands, I should like to see this book studied by every English major in the country, especially by those who intend to teach in the high schools.

HENRY BOSLEY WOOLF

Louisiana State University

The Writings of Walfred Scawen Blunt: An Introduction and Study.

By SISTER MARY JEAN REINEHR, O. S. F., Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Marquette University Press, 1940. Pp. x + 223. \$2.50.

This monograph is meticulous and accurate if somewhat dry. But Blunt—aristocrat, little-Englander and anti-imperialist, political firebrand, irregular Catholic, almost Mohammedan, Arabian explorer, sympathiser with Indian and Egyptian struggles for freedom, active opponent of England's Irish policies, breeder of Arabian horses, poet, friend of most of the distinguished writers of his time, lover, *bon viveur*, inveterate pamphleteer—transcends such treatment.

The method of Sister Reinehr is to take up one by one the individual works of Blunt in the long list—three pages plus in the bibliography—summarising the contents and adding brief comments. The result is no doubt useful; for few, including the present reviewer, have ever read all the books and articles. This is especially the case in regard to the volumes on India, Egypt and Ireland. But the method is unsatisfactory when applied to the poetry. For example:

The simple lyric 'Twenty Days' treats of love's conquest by contrasting the poet's idea of the influence of women before and after he has fallen in love. The final stanza shows how completely the lover is overpowered.

Fortune, fame, I freely give,
Honour's self, if so she please,
Sweetly in her smile to live
Other twenty days like these.

The verse form here and lack of concreteness weakens [sic] the effect which should result from a theme suggestive of much intensity. The alliteration assists in emphasizing the thought, but the recurrence of sibilants is hardly musical.

There is no attempt to illuminate the poems by peering into the inspiration, the essence of the mind back of the form, to discover the man speaking. In the same way, the Diaries—among the most lively and revealing of the entire period—are used merely for information.

There is almost no effort to relate Blunt's work to his time and its movements, except as his political writings are of the moment and his Diaries are a running comment upon his day. But his poetry, which is so close to Rossetti, Meredith, Browning and Swinburne, even though it has a vigor all its own, could well have been related closely to contemporary currents of thought and feeling. Yet the monograph is valuable for reference, despite its lack of insight and scope.

HORACE A. EATON

Syracuse University

BRIEF MENTION

First Editions of the German Romantic Period in American Libraries. Edited by FREDERICK W. J. HEUSER. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1942. Pp. viii + 48. 50 cents. A master list, based on Goedeke's *Grundriss* and compared with the catalog of the *Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin, was sent to more than a hundred American libraries, with the request that they check the items contained in their respective collections. The list compiled by Professor Heuser from these reports is thus a Union Catalog of first editions of German Romantic authors in this country. Titles not located in any of the libraries were nevertheless quite properly retained in the list, whose bibliographic value is thereby enhanced. A number of these missing works are in the possession of the reviewer: Arnim, Bettina von, *Ilvius Pamphilus*, Leipzig, 1848; Arnim, Ludwig von, *Schaubühne*. Band 1, Berlin, 1813; Bernhardi, Sophie, *Dramatische Fantasieen*, the exact title being: *Dramatische Fantasieen von Sophie Bernhardi geb. Tieck*. Berlin. In der Realschulbuchhandlung. 1804; Görres, Jos. von, *Zum Jahresgedächtnis des 20. November 1837*, Regensburg, 1838; [Tieck, Ludwig,] *Thaten und Feinheiten renommierter Kraft- und Kniffgenies*. Berlin, 1790, 1791. An omission from the list is: Görres, Jos. von, *Der Dom von Köln und das Münster von Strassburg*, Regensburg, 1842. The title of Sophie Bernhardi's book is not: *St. Evremont. Roman*. but: *Evremont. Ein Roman . . .* Breslau, 1836. The very first edition of Zacharias Werner's *Der vierundzwanzigste Februar* is in the *Taschenbuch Urania* for 1815, which appeared in 1814, ahead of the book edition of 1815. These additions and corrections are not intended as a criticism of Heuser's work, dependent as he was on the collaboration of so many others: his book remains an indispensable tool of the scholar interested in the Romantic Period.

W. KURELMMEYER

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Number 5

AUS HEINES FRÜHZEIT: EIN UNBEKANNTER BRIEF UND EIN VERLORENES MANUSKRIFT

Die Dreersche Autographensammlung in Philadelphia, die heute eine Abteilung der Sammlungen der *Historical Society of Pennsylvania* bildet, besitzt unter zahlreichen ungedruckten deutschen Stücken einen Originalbrief von Heinrich Heine. Er ist in dem vor etwa fünfzig Jahren erschienenen alphabetischen Katalog der Sammlung¹ verzeichnet, ist aber bisher unbeachtet geblieben. Auch Friedrich Hirth, der in seiner Ausgabe von Heines Briefen² alles ihm irgend Erreichbare gesammelt hat, hat ihn nicht gefunden. Er wusste allerdings von zwei in Amerika verschollenen Briefen: der eine war an den Marquis de Custine gerichtet, von dem anderen konnte er nicht einmal den Adressaten ermitteln.³ Ich glaube annehmen zu dürfen, dass der Brief, den ich hier in buchstablichem Abdruck vorlege, mit diesem zweiten von Hirth vermissten identisch ist.⁴

Pennsylvania Historical Society. Dreer Collection.
S 52 Poets of Continental Europe vol. 1.

Ew. Wohlgeboren

erhalten anbey den Band Gedichte, wovon ich, bey Ihrer Anwesenheit hierselbst, das Vergnügen hatte mit Ihnen zu sprechen, und welche Sie

¹ *A Catalogue of the Collection of Autographs formed by Ferdinand Julius Dreer.* 2 Bände. Philadelphia, Privatdruck, 1890-93.

² *Heinrich Heines Briefwechsel, herausgegeben von Friedrich Hirth.* 3 Bände. München, Georg Müller, 1914-20. Der vierte Band, der Nachträge, Anmerkungen und Register bringen sollte, ist, wie ich aus einer in mehreren amerikanischen Bibliothekskatalogen wiederkehrenden Bemerkung entnehme, leider nicht erschienen.

³ Hirth I, 114.

⁴ Für die gute Erlaubnis, den Text zu veröffentlichen, bin ich Herrn Dr. William Reitzel, dem Direktor der *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, zu aufrichtigem Dank verpflichtet.

Ihrer Aufmerksamkeit nicht ganz unwerth hielten. Ich zweifle nicht dass Sie die Gute haben werden diese Gedichte recht bald im liter. Conversationsblatte rezensiren zu lassen, und wünsche nur, dass diese Rezension, wenn auch streng, doch nicht gar zu sehr zusammengedrängt ausfallen möge.

Auf meinen Brief über das hiesige Theater, welchen ich Ihnen durch Dr. Klindworth (!!!) zuschickte, habe ich keine Antwort erhalten, und muss zweifeln ob letzterer Ihnen denselben zukommen liess.

Ich wiederhole Ihnen die Versicherung: dass es mich mahl sehr erfreuen würde wenn ich durch meine literarische Thätigkeit Ihnen hier nützlich seyn könnte, und dass ich zu denen gehöre, die das Grossartige Ihrer vielfältigen Bestrebungen zu würdigen wissen

Ich bin mit ausgezeichneter Hochachtung

Ew. Wohlgeboren

ergebener

H. Heine

Behrenstrasse No 71

Berlin d. 1^r Februar 1822

An der Echtheit des Briefes ist kein Zweifel; sie ist durch die wohlbekannte Handschrift und durch einige stilistische Eigentümlichkeiten, wie die auffällige Verwendung des Wortes "mahl" verbürgt.⁵ Der Text steht auf der Vorderseite eines einfach gefalteten Bogens; die Innenseiten sind leer. Auf der Rückseite hat eine andere, etwa gleichzeitige Hand notiert: "1822—Berlin 1 Febr.—Heine." Die Adresse ist nicht erhalten, der Empfänger ist aber ohne Schwierigkeiten festzustellen: es kann nur der Herausgeber des *Literarischen Conversationsblattes* sein, der Leipziger Verleger Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus.

Mit Brockhaus stand Heine seit 1820 in Verbindung.⁶ Im November dieses Jahres bot der "Rechtscandidat H. Heine" — so nannte sich der eben der Fuchsenzeit entwachsene Student — dem angesehenen Verleger seine Gedichte unter dem Gesamttitel "Traum und Lied" zur Veröffentlichung an,⁷ fand aber kein Entgegenkommen. Brockhaus lehnte sofort in geschäftsmässig höflicher

⁵ Ein Lieblingswort Heines; vgl. Hirth I, 131. — Heine an Goethe, 29. Dezember 1821 (Hirth I, 174, nr 7): "was ich mahl zu geben imstande bin", "und wenn mahl was Rechts aus mir wird"

⁶ *Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus, sein Leben und Wirken nach Briefen und anderen Aufzeichnungen geschildert von seinem Enkel Heinrich Eduard Brockhaus*. Band III, Leipzig 1881, 405-408.

⁷ Der Brief im Wortlaut bei Brockhaus III, 405-406; danach abgedruckt bei Hirth I, 159, nr. 9.

Form ab.⁸ Im Sommer 1821 hatte Heine Gelegenheit, ihn in Berlin persönlich kennen zu lernen,⁹ wird aber die Verlagsangelegenheit nicht mehr berührt haben. Die Gedichte — Heines erstes Buch — erschienen Ende 1821 unter einem einfacheren Titel und in einem weit weniger bekannten Verlage, bei der Maurerschen Buchhandlung in Berlin. Ende Dezember begann Heine Widmungs- und Besprechungsexemplare des kleinen Buches zu verschicken.¹⁰

Dass er sich trotz der früheren Ablehnung seines Verlagsantrages um eine Besprechung in der vielbeachteten kritischen Zeitschrift des Brockhausschen Verlages bemühte, ist nicht weiter überraschend. Das Ergebnis war allerdings nicht so wie Heine hoffte: in Nr. 90 des *Conversationsblattes* vom 18. April 1822¹¹ erschien eine anonyme Kritik, die nicht nur "streng" sondern auch kurz genug war, um den Autor schwer zu enttäuschen:

Die Heinschen Gedichte, erst jungst hier bei Maurer erschienen, sind Ihnen wahrscheinlich noch nicht zu Händen gekommen. Ich kann sie Ihnen nicht mit der Wärme des Gesellschafters und anderer Blätter empfehlen; ja ich habe sie ziemlich ungeniessbar gefunden. Selbst die lyrische Poesie soll sich doch nicht so ganz in die Individualität des Dichters verfangen, dass man etwa nichts anderes eben erfährt, als dass er gestern eine unruhige Nacht gehabt hat, und sich überhaupt sehr übel befindet, sehr blass aussieht, und sich den Tod wünscht, seitdem ihm sein Liebchen den Abschied gegeben. Diese Gedichte verrathen eine trubsinnige und verkehrte Ansicht des Lebens, die am wenigsten dem jungen empfänglichen Gemüthe wohl ansteht. Ich finde fast überall Spuren schädlicher Einwirkungen von grosseren Geistern aus, die sich nicht mit ihrer Melancholie begnügen, und ausser ihr noch

⁸ Die Antwort ist nicht erhalten (Brockhaus III, 407). Heine berichtet am 4. Februar 1821 an seinen Freund Steinmann, er habe die Gedichte "von Brockhaus zuruckerhalten mit der äusserst zierlichen und höflichen Antwort: dass er gar zu sehr in diesem Augenblick mit Verlagsartikeln überladen sey."

⁹ Auf diese Begegnung beziehen sich die ersten Worte des oben abgedruckten Briefes S. ausserdem *Briefe aus Berlin*, in Heines Sämmtlichen Werken, Band III, Hamburg 1865, S. 76, gegen Ende des zweiten Briefs.

¹⁰ An Goethe, 29. Dezember 1821, mit einem berühmt gewordenen, aber nicht gerade taktvollen Brief (Hirth I, 174, nr. 17); an Adolf Müllner, 30. Dezember 1821, mit einem herausfordernd ironischen Anschreiben (ebda., 175, nr. 18); an K. B. Hundeshagen, 30. Dezember 1821 (ebda., 176, nr. 19).

¹¹ Ich bin der Universitätsbibliothek in Princeton, New Jersey, für freundliche Übersendung des Jahrganges an unsere College-Bibliothek sehr zu Dank verpflichtet. Es scheint das einzige vollständige Exemplar in den Vereinigten Staaten zu sein; das in der *Union List of Serials* verzeichnete im Besitz der Universitätsbibliothek in Urbana, Illinois, ist lückenhaft.

Etwas besitzen, das man sich nicht aneignen kann. Der Vf. scheint sich besonders zu Byron hingeneigt zu haben; in seinen äusseren Kunstformen und Sangesweisen ist auch ein Einfluss F. Rückerts sichtbar. Oft wird man an das altd~~eu~~tsche Minnelied erinnert, das wir jetzt nicht mehr nachahmen können. Ich glaube, nichts ist einem mässigen Talent gefährlicher, als einer fremden Genialität nachzueifern. Es gibt keine andere Regel für dasselbe, als sich getreu in der allgemeinen natürlichen Fortbewegung des Lebens zu erhalten, die einzelnen Entwicklungen nicht zu beschleunigen, sondern vielmehr in ihrer nothwendigen Aufeinanderfolge sich zum Ganzen verbinden zu lassen. Das Talent hat gewisse Alter, wie das Menschenleben selbst; jedes Alter hat seine Gefühle, Ideen, Neigungen, Beschäftigungen. Ironie und Bitterkeit sind der Jugend nicht zuträglich, will sie sich aber gegen die Welt einmal recht ordentlich ausschimpfen, so mag sie es immerhin in Freskosonetten thun, nur sich das grosse Publicum nicht zum Zeugen und Zuhörer nehmen.

Diese Schulmeisterei ist also eine der frühesten Besprechungen Heinescher Gedichte, allerdings nicht die erste, wie die Erwähnung anderer Kritiken am Anfang zeigt.¹² Dass Heine empfindlich und unsicher genug war, sich darüber zu ärgern, zeigt ein unter dem ersten Eindruck geschriebener Brief an seinen Freund Keller in Potsdam vom 27. April 1822:

Wenn Sie dort das brokhausische Conversationsblatt lesen, so werden Sie finden, dass jemand in einer Correspondenz aus Berlin . . . meine armen, unschuldigen Gedichte mit grimmiger *rencune* ausgehunzt hat. Dass letztere ausgehunzt zu werden verdienen, das weiss ich selbst, aber dass jenes Aushunzen nicht ohne Gründe und bloss von einigen nichtssagenden Redensarten unterstützt geschehen darf, das weiss ich auch, und ich wünschte sehr, dass jener Aushunzer sich auf eine *wirkliche* Beurtheilung meiner Gedichte einlassen möge.¹³

Der verletzte Poetenstolz wollte sich die kurze Abfertigung nicht gefallen lassen. Brockhaus' kühles Verhalten liess es Heine nicht zweckmässig erscheinen, sich direkt an ihn zu wenden; so sucht er Keller zu bestimmen, seinerseits eine Anfrage an das *Conversationsblatt* zu richten, die eine eingehendere Besprechung der Gedichte veranlassen sollte. Er schrieb sogar den Wortlaut dieser Anfrage vor. Ob Keller ihm den Gefallen getan hat oder nicht, lässt sich nicht sagen; das *Conversationsblatt* hat die Anfrage aber unbeachtet gelassen, wenn sie überhaupt an den Verlag gelangt ist.

Auf irgend einem anderen Wege erfuhr Heine dann aber bald,

¹² Der *Gesellschafter* scheint in den Vereinigten Staaten leider nirgends vorhanden zu sein.

¹³ Hirth I, 180, nr. 21.

wer ihn "ausgehunzt" hatte. Zwei Monate später, am 15. Juni, schreibt er an Keller:

Der Ausfall gegen mich im *Conversations-Blatt* war von einem meiner Freunde, Namens Kochy,¹⁴ und alles, was ich dagegen thun werde, ist dass ich diesen jungen Mann im 3^{ten} Briefe tüchtig lobe Wahrhaftig, das thu ich.¹⁵

Der "3^{te} Brief" ist der letzte in der Reihe der bekannten *Briefe aus Berlin*, die Heine im *Rheinisch-Westfälischen Anzeiger* veröffentlicht hat.¹⁶ Er ist vom 7. Juni 1822 datiert und enthält in der Tat gegen Ende die folgende Bemerkung:

An Dichtern fehlt es nicht, aber an guten Gedichten. Nächsten Herbst haben wir doch einiges Gute zu erwarten Köchy (kein Berliner) der uns vor kurzem eine sehr gehaltreiche Schrift über die Bühne geliefert hat, wird nächstens einen Band Gedichte herausgeben, und aus den Proben die mir davon zu Gesichte gekommen, bin ich zu den grossten Erwartungen berechtigt. Es lebt in denselben ein reines Gefühl, eine ungewöhnliche Zartheit, eine tiefe Innigkeit, die durch keine Bitterkeit getrübt wird, mit einem Worte. echte Poesie

Das Lob ist allerdings reichlich bemessen. Aber man spürt die Ironie. Es ist natürlich kein Zufall, dass Heine sich für die weise Bemerkung des stud. jur. Kochy: "Ironie und Bitterkeit sind der Jugend nicht zutraglich," mit der Anerkennung revanchiert, dass Kochys tiefe Innigkeit durch keine Bitterkeit getrübt sei.

Der von Heine in dem neugefundenen Brief erwähnte Dr. Klindworth war ein dunkler Ehrenmann, der eine Zeitlang literarische Arbeit für den Brockhausschen Verlag leistete, dann aber als *agent provocateur* für die reaktionäre Gruppe in der preussischen Regierung tätig war. Brockhaus hatte im Herbst 1821 endgültig mit ihm gebrochen. Die Ausrufungszeichen, die Heine nachträg-

¹⁴ Karl G. H. Eduard Köchy (1800-1880), aus Braunschweig, studierte Jura in Berlin und verkehrte in literarischen Kreisen, ausser mit Heine auch mit Grabbe und Uechtritz, war später einige Jahre Advokat und von 1831 bis 1856 Theaterdichter, Regisseur und Intendanturrat am Hoftheater in Braunschweig. Veröffentlicht hat er *Poetische Werke* (1832), eine Novelle, einen Gedichtband *Garten, Flur und Wald* (1854) und verschiedenes Dramatische. (Vgl. Kurschner in der *Allgemeinen Deutschen Biographie* xvi, S. 414 f.)

¹⁵ Hirth I, 182, nr. 22.

¹⁶ *Rheinisch-Westfälischer Anzeiger*, Beilage "Kunst und Wissenschaftsblatt," 1822, No. 6-7, 16-19, 27-30. In den Ausgaben der Sämtlichen Werke sind die *Briefe* gewöhnlich hinter der *Harzreise* und *Norderney* abgedruckt.

lich, über der Zeile, hinter dem Namen einschaltete, scheinen darauf zu deuten, dass er von dem Konflikt zwischen Brockhaus und Klindworth wenigstens etwas wusste.¹⁷

Der *Brief über das hiesige Theater*, den Heine Klindworth zur Beförderung an Brockhaus übergeben hatte, war offenbar ein Feuilletonartikel in der Art der drei im selben Jahr geschriebenen *Briefe aus Berlin*. Heines Vermutung, dass Klindworth das Manuskript nicht abgeliefert habe, ist wohl richtig. Im Jahre 1822 hatte Klindworth mit dem Verlage keine Verbindung mehr. So ist der *Theaterbrief*, wenigstens als Ganzes, niemals gedruckt worden. Es könnte sein, dass ein Teil davon in dem zweiten *Brief aus Berlin* vom 16. März 1822 erhalten ist; da Heine von Brockhaus keine Antwort erhielt, kann er sich für berechtigt gehalten haben, das Material anderweitig, in seiner Korrespondenz für den *Rheinisch-Westfälischen Anzeiger*, zu verwenden. Der zweite *Brief aus Berlin* enthält in der Tat einiges Geplauder über Webers eben zum erstenmal aufgeführten *Freischütz*, über Spontinis Erfolg und über einige heute vergessene Opern, sowie ganz kurze Bemerkungen über kürzlich aufgeführte oder angekündigte Schauspiele; aber als Ganzes kann er mit dem Klindworth übergebenen *Brief über das hiesige Theater* nicht identisch sein. Er enthält weit mehr Gesellschaftsklatsch als Theaterangelegenheiten und passt nicht unter den Titel.

Es ergibt sich also, dass eine literarische Arbeit des jungen Heine verlorengegangen ist. Der Verlust ist allerdings wohl nicht gross. Die erhaltenen drei *Briefe aus Berlin* gehören zu dem Schwächsten, was Heine geschrieben hat, und der verlorene Artikel, gleichzeitig entstanden und verwandten Inhalts, wird schwerlich besser gewesen sein.

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¹⁷ In einer sehr energischen "Erklärung" am Schluss der No. 98 des *Conversationsblattes* vom 27. April 1822 ruckte Brockhaus öffentlich von Klindworth ab und drohte mit Enthüllungen über seine Tätigkeit. Ein ausführlicher Bericht von Brockhaus über Klindworth ist bei H. E. Brockhaus III, S. 266-269, abgedruckt.

FRA CELESTINO'S AFFIDAVIT AND THE RING
AND THE BOOK

Recent studies of Browning's *The Ring and the Book* made in the light of the court evidence in *The Old Yellow Book* seem to be more or less agreed that the poem is a "glorious misrepresentation" of the case. Of special interest, in this connection, is Fra Celestino Angelo's affidavit, along with the others in this same group, since they give Pompilia a character most like that of the poet's heroine. Critics have weighed this evidence and have been influenced by it one way or another in forming their opinions of Pompilia.¹ That Browning found his inspiration in this testimony, I think there can be no doubt. He tells us that he read *The Old Yellow Book* as he walked from the bookshop through the market of Florence to his home in Casa Guidi and "had mastered the contents, knew the whole truth" by the time he crossed the threshold. Judging from the matter, the format, the languages and the style of *The Old Yellow Book*, I would say that he thumbed through it, reading titles, marginal notes, summaries perhaps, and the text wherever his curiosity was aroused. He would have seen the following marginal note very early:

Attestations of priests and other persons, worthy to be accepted in all respects; who gave Francesca assistance even till her death; they speak of her honesty, and her declaration that she had never violated her conjugal faith.²

¹ Professor J. E. Shaw, "The Donna Angelicata in *The Ring and the Book*," *PMLA*, 41: 55-81 (March, 1926). Professor W. L. Phelps, *Robert Browning* (1932). Studying the evidence presented at the trial Judge J. M. Gest in *The Old Yellow Book, Source of Browning's "The Ring and the Book"* . . . (1925) pronounced Pompilia guilty. Concerning the affidavits Mr. Phelps writes (355 f.): "When I asked Judge Gest why he did not give more attention to this testimony, he replied that he had not only given it full attention in his book, but that he 'was even too indulgent from the legal standpoint.' . . . Other priests made similar affidavits: Judge Gest says that these affidavits, made in the circumstances, do not carry any conviction to his mind of Pompilia's innocence." No reasons are given. The affidavits do carry conviction to Mr. Phelps's mind. The lawyers in the case made grist of them for secondary legal debate; the judges, I think, were not influenced by them at all.

² C. W. Hodel, *The Old Yellow Book . . . in Complete Photo-reproduction, with Translation, Essay and Notes* (1908), 45 [lvii]. The translation is inaccurate. The Latin states that the witnesses are above legal exception, and not that their testimony is "worthy to be accepted in all respects."

Then he would have read the affidavits because they are short and clear.

I, the undersigned, barefooted Augustinian priest . . . attest . . . that to my own confusion I have discovered and marveled at an innocent and saintly conscience in that ever-blessed child. During the four days she survived, when exhorted by me to pardon her husband, she replied with tears in her eyes and with a placid and compassionate voice: "May Jesus pardon him, as I have already done with all my heart" . . . Although she suffered great pain, I never heard her speak an offensive or impatient word, nor show the slightest outward vexation either toward God or those near by. But ever submissive to the Divine Will, she said "May God have pity on me," in such a way indeed as would have been incompatible with a soul that was not at one with God. To such a union one does not attain in a moment, but rather by the habit of years.

I say further that I have always seen her self-restrained and especially during medical treatment. On these occasions, if her habit of life had not been good, she would not have minded certain details around her with a modesty well-noted and marveled at by me, nor otherwise could a young girl have been in the presence of so many men with such modesty and calm as that in which the blessed child remained while dying. And you may well believe what the Holy Spirit speaks by the mouth of the Evangelist, in the words of St. Matthew, chapter 7: "An evil tree can not bring forth good fruit." . . . You should therefore say that this girl was all goodness and modesty, since with all ease and gladness she performed virtuous and modest deeds even at the very end of her life. Moreover she has died with a strong love for God, with great composure, with all the sacred sacraments of the Church, and with the admiration of all bystanders, who blessed her as a saint. I do not say more lest I be taxed with partiality. I know very well that God alone is the searcher of hearts, but I also know that from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks; and that my great St. Augustine says: "As the life so its end"

Therefore, having noted in that ever blessed child saintly words, virtuous deeds, most modest acts, and the death of a soul in great fear of God, for the relief of my conscience I am compelled to say, and can not do otherwise, that necessarily she has ever been a good, modest, and honorable girl.*

The next attestation was signed by nine persons—priests, medical people, and other attendants—some of whom added notes with their names. They speak of Pompilia's assertion of her innocence and of her good dispositions on her deathbed; they offer no opinion at all

* *Ibid.*, 45-6 [lvii-lviii]. The inaccuracies in this translation are misleading and make Fra Celestino even more enthusiastic than he is. To point out only one example, in the last paragraph "necessarily" modifies the first part of the sentence, and not the last; he is *compelled necessarily* to say that she has ever been good, and not, he is compelled to say that *necessarily she has ever been good*.

about her former life. Giuseppe d'Andillo, probably a layman since he does not refer to himself as a cleric, says that he was the first to assist Pompilia after the stabbing, that she made her confession in his arms to the Rector of the Greek College, that he ministered to her until her death, and finally, that she was a most exemplary and edifying Christian and relied upon her own innocence. Abate Liberato Barberito, who was summoned to assist at her death, praises her resignation, the "superhuman generosity" of her condonation of the "offenses of the one who had caused her innocent death," and the "tenderness" of her conscience; he says that in all of his experience he "never observed the dying with like sentiments."

These affidavits would have convinced Browning, even before he read farther that here was another innocent lady in distress, though the thought of rescuing her in a poem did not occur to him until later; they decided the case for him by giving Pompilia a character like that which he wished her to have, and no later readings could shake his belief. But should Browning, who says that he is telling us the truth of *The Old Yellow Book*, have given so much weight to them, and should anyone follow him in this, since the other evidence does not indicate innocence? The affidavits, I think, should not be accepted as an indication of Pompilia's character nor of her guilt or innocence, because any or all of these things—the Seal of Confession, the professional secret, the natural secret, and the right of a person to keep his own conscience secret from the public—make them questionable. The writers of the affidavits could not have spoken otherwise if Pompilia had been guilty; a refusal to speak in any case would have been interpreted as an admission of her guilt.

The Seal of Confession binds the confessor (perhaps Fra Celestino) to keep under inviolable secrecy what he knows from the confession of a penitent (*Codex Juris Canonis*, canon 889, § 1); an interpreter, and everyone else to whom the knowledge of the matter of confession has come (certainly Giuseppe d'Andillo in our case), is also bound by the Seal (Can. 889, § 2). One should remember that affidavits signed by more than one person indicate by that very fact that someone is soliciting testimony and that some kind of pressure is being exerted; that no confessor ever offers testimony concerning a penitent for use in court unless some kind of pressure is brought to bear on him, and since he cannot reveal

what he knows from confession, he must give a favorable impression of the penitent when a refusal to speak at all would be an admission of guilt. In an ecclesiastical court such testimony of a confessor would be worthless, and volunteered testimony of anyone else would be suspect.⁴ A Spiritual Director (certainly Fra Celestino) is not at liberty to reveal damaging secrets of others; nor can doctors, nurses, and all those bound by professional secrecy, reveal such secrets except in rare instances (of which our case is not one) and to the proper persons; nor can anyone else reveal a damaging secret of another, upon which he may have stumbled. If all are bound to respect the right of another to his secret and his good name, that person has all the more right to keep the damaging knowledge to himself.⁵ Pompilia would have had that right.

To guard a secret from inquisitive ears everyone who has the right to his own secret, and everyone who is bound to keep a secret—sacramental, state, professional, committed, and natural secrets—can use statements which may be interpreted in two ways and let the hearer choose the wrong interpretation. These words of Fra Celestino, which at first seem very strong, might be an example: "for the relief of my conscience I am compelled to say, and can not do otherwise—and that necessarily—she has ever been a good, modest, and honorable girl." He could mean: "Lest my conscience be burdened with the guilt of breaking the Seal, I am necessarily compelled to say that she has always been honorable. He would be speaking truthfully, but the reader might immediately jump at a different interpretation: "Lest I have a lie upon my conscience,

⁴ A priest is absolutely debarred from giving testimony before an ecclesiastical court concerning anything which he knows from confession alone even though the penitent gives him permission to do so; even more, what has been heard from one on the occasion of confession—before or after the confession, or in the place where confessions are made, and so on—cannot be received as even an indication of truth (Can. 1757, § 3, 2°). Anyone at all who is not cited and who volunteers testimony in an ecclesiastical court is considered an interested party; his testimony though suspect, can be admitted or rejected as the judge thinks fit (Can. 1760).

⁵ The Church so respects this right of a person to guard the secrecy of his conscience from the public, that in cases in which a person cannot make his sacramental confession without being overheard—as frequently happens after accidents or in hospitals—he is not obliged to confess those things which would seriously damage his reputation.

I must say that she is innocent." * Some answers are no more than polite ways of telling others not to be inquisitive.

There still remains the rather intangible enthusiasm of Fra Celestino for Pompilia, but in a reasoned judgment the rest of the evidence of *The Old Yellow Book* outweighs it. Unfortunately, Judge Gest has so thoroughly cut the ground from under the Pompilia lovers that they are forced to take their stand upon the affidavits of Fra Celestino and the others—affidavits which in the circumstances should be disregarded completely.

Fra Celestino is not a sufficiently important character to have a Book in the poem. Browning does the next best thing for him; he puts into poetic form all the usable matter of the affidavits,⁷ and finally makes him one of the speakers in Book XII by using the clever device of having Bottini send to a friend several paragraphs from the Friar's alleged sermon about the case, preached on the Sunday after the execution of Guido and now "hot from the press." Browning had exhausted the material of the affidavits, but not the possibilities of the character as a spokesman of his own views. There is no source for the sermon; it is Browning in the pulpit, just as it is Browning speaking through the Pope. It is extremely doubtful whether a priest would preach on such a topic because of the danger of scandal to the faithful; the case was not so crystal clear as it seemed to Browning.

Fra Celestino tells us that just because we have seen Pompilia's purity prevail, we must not conclude that virtue always triumphs in this world. He runs through several long, beautiful and striking figures illustrating the point, and then says that one who trusts to human testimony is a fool, that truth and the reward of virtue are

* In two passages (*RB*, iv, 1476-85; ix, 1494-1503) Browning shows that he knows only enough about confession to make his imperfect knowledge dangerous. Moral theologians—"casuists" as he calls them, thereby damning their solutions by the lying, sophistical connotations of the word in English—do not teach what he says they do. His difficulty seems to be that he cannot see how a person's sacramental confession can be any different from what that person maintains in public. He would not allow one putting off impertinent questions to use statements which can be understood in two senses, because this is outlawed for the English mind by the bad connotations of a once good word "equivocation." Yet good people who shudder at the word would not hesitate to say, "Mr. Jones is not in," and mean only that Mr. Jones does not wish to see visitors.

⁷ For example: *RB*, iii, 18-9, 45-50, 795-803; iv, 1443-57; vi, 2060-3.

reserved for heaven. Browning thought the sermon important since in subsequent editions he made more changes in its text than in any other part of the poem; he thought Fra Celestino important because he put into his mouth one of the important statements of the poem—one that seems opposed to Browning's usual optimism.

How many chaste and noble sister-fames
Wanted the extricating hand, so lie
Strangled, for one Pompilia proud above
The welter, plucked from the world's calumny,
Stupidity, simplicity,—who cares? (RB, XII, 487-91)

The sermon is the payment of Browning's debt of gratitude to Fra Celestino for affidavits which should have been stricken from the legal record.

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NOTES ON SEBASTIAN BRANT'S *NARRENSCHIFF*

The following notes on Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* are a by-product of a six-months' study of the work while making a modern English verse rendering of it, which we hope will some day be published. The notes are of various kinds—purely linguistic, about the author himself, and about his prosody—but most of them discuss the wood-cuts, which are an inseparable part of the work.

1. *Vorred*, line 25: Der bildnisz ich hab har gemacht. This line has led to one of the most important controversies raised by the work.¹ Do we need to interpret it as meaning "habe machen lassen," even if we admit (contrary to the belief of both Zarncke and Bobertag)² that Brant could *not* draw?³ Is it not simpler to interpret "har gemacht" (hergemacht) as "hier angebracht," without

*Owing to the war, the author has not read the proof of this article—
THE EDITORS.

¹ Cf. Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff. Faksimile der Erstausgabe von 1494 mit einem Anhang . . . und einem Nachwort* von Franz Schultz. Strassburg, 1913, p. xlii ff.

² Cf. Sebastian Brants *Narrenschiff* herausgegeben von Friedrich Zarncke, Leipzig, 1854, p. xxix. *Kurschners Deutsche Nationalliteratur*, vol 16: *Brants Narrenschiff* herausgegeben von Franz Bobertag, p. xxvi.

³ Schultz, *op. cit.*, p. xlv, believes that Brant could *not* draw, thus contradicts Zarncke and Bobertag.

reference to his having made any of the illustrations himself? We would be inclined to understand the words in that way—not “hergestellt,” but rather “hergesetzt,” and thus to see in them no claim by Brant to any part in actually producing the drawings or cuts.

2. *Vorred*, line 114: Metzen. We cannot credit Zarncke when he comments (pp. 300, 399) on this word as always being used by Brant in a derogatory sense. In this place, also in 62, 8, there is no reason for interpreting it thus, although the situation may be different in 61, 28 and 66, 85. Certainly Grimm's *Wb* gives enough illustrations of favorable uses of the word in Brant's time. Goedeke in his edition⁴ supports our view, while Bobertag (p. 9) agrees with Zarncke.

3. The cut to Chapter 4, “Von nuwen funden,” has always struck us as inappropriate. The work of an inferior artist, it shows a capped old tippler Uly with a “stouffen” (beaker) in his right, handing a mirror to a fashionable young dandy (bareheaded, without cap) with a sword. There are hills in the background. The drawing is rather crude. A scroll near the top reads “Uly von Stouffen frisch und ungeschaffen” (i. e., ugly). At the bottom is a date: 1494. The cut fits the chapter only in the sense that it shows a young cavalier in “ultramodern” dress such as the chapter satirizes. But the central figure, Uly, is not even referred to in the text. It is our belief that this is an older cut for a typical fifteenth-century single caricature “Flugblatt,” with a descriptive verse on the fool in question—note the scroll. Brant himself is said to have published such “Flugblätter”⁵ and originally may even have got out separate chapters of the *Narrenschiff* in this way. But the rime “Stouffen—ungeschaffen” is certainly not by him. Is it possible, then, that something happened to the cut intended for this chapter, or that no better one was available, and that consequently this older cut was used as the next best thing? The inserted date, 1494 (the year of the first edition of the *Narrenschiff*), we would then conjecture, was inserted by Brant's artist, to make the cut seem more appropriate and more recent than it actually was. Strobel, p. 38 (see note 13 below), mistakes Uly for the name of the artist.

⁴ *Das Narrenschiff von Sebastian Brant herausgegeben von Karl Goedeke*, Leipzig, 1872, p. 6.

⁵ Zarncke claimed to have such a “Flugblatt” by Brant in his possession, p. xxix. Cf. P. Heitz, *Des Sebastian Brant Flugblätter*, Strassburg, 1915.

4. The cut to Chapter 6, "Von ler der kind," is one of the masterpieces. It shows an interior, with a view to the street, such as we frequently see in the work of the master of the Bergmann shop. Two children are playing with daggers. There are cards, coins, etc. on the table, at one end of which their father sits, with a cap, half-clad. He is *not* wounded or bandaged, as both Simrock, in his modern German translation, and Schultz (p. li) seem to think. He is merely blind-folded—as a symbol of his heedlessness⁶—to indicate what the text states twice, viz. line 1: "der ist in narrheit ganz erblindt," and again line 42: "verblent."

5. The cut to Chapter 53 has always puzzled commentators. It, too, is said to be by the master of the Bergmann shop. Three capped fools with swords and hellebards are fighting off wasps and pushing a cart on which a keg is mounted. From the bung of the keg a man's head protrudes. A hill in the background is in flames. Is Bobertag right in calling attention to the medieval *Neithart Fuchs* collection⁷ in this connection? Here we read how Neithart, dispensing wine from a keg, releases bees from it to plague the peasants. See the two cuts in *D.N.L.* 11, pp. 163, 189, which bear a striking similarity to the altogether symbolical *Narrenschiff* cut. See also the text of Neithart, *ibid.*, p. 165, where Neithart speaks:

Da lag ich in dem vasz verschmogen
bei dem kelen weine,
bisz dasz ein schimpfel und ein schant
von in da geschach.
Der Engelmeir war ser betrogen
von den bienen meine.

When we bear in mind that Brant mentions Neithart in line 3 of the motto to the chapter, the relationship becomes even more obvious. The fire on the hill probably symbolizes the raging of hatred and envy, as described in line 1 of the motto. Zarneke's explanation of the cut (p. 389) is, then, incorrect, but he pertinently points out that bees and wasps, too, often stand for envy.

6. The cut to Chapter 76, by a lesser artist, shows Ritter Peter,⁸ an old stooped man with a cap pushed back, with a staff and his

⁶ The cuts to the *Narrenschiff* are full of symbolism.

⁷ *Kürschners Deutsche Nationalliteratur*, vol. 11.

⁸ It is puzzling why Zarneke, p. 307, and, copying him, Goedeke and Bobertag, call him "fingierter Name" or "Persönlichkeit" when the text, line 20 ff., of the chapter clearly says who he is.

coat of arms, holding his head. At the other side of the table, with cap also back, is Doctor Gryff, pinching Peter's ear. Each of the names is in a scroll above the figure, but instead of Doctor Gryff (as we read in line 72 of the chapter) the scroll has "doctor, griff." Who is this doctor, a favorite of Brant? He is mentioned several times in the cuts. In the frontispiece, lower half (by the Bergmann master) the fool's galley has, written on its side, "doctor griff," and on the next cut, preceding the *Vorred*, one of the fools in the crowded galley holds a banner with a capped fool's face and the words "doctor griff" on it. Now, in the text of Chapter 76, lines 65 ff., we read:

Des glich, will mancher doctor syn
Der nye gesach Sext, Clementin
Decret, Digest, ald institut,
Dann das er hat eyn pyrmment hut
Do stat sin recht geschriben an
Der selb brieff wiszt, als das er kan
Und das er gutt sy uff der pff
Dar umb so stot hye doctor Gryff
Der ist eyn gelert, und witzig man
Er griff eym yeden die oren an
75 Und kan me dann manch doctor kan
Der ist doch in vil schulen gstanden
In nohen, und in ferren landen
Do doch die gouch nye kamen hyn
Die mit gwalt went doctores syn

A key to the solution of the Doctor Gryff riddle, it seems to us, lies in the interpretation of lines 75 ff. Our interpretation is: "And knows more than many a doctor knows, although he (i. e., the latter—many a doctor) has been (or claims to have been) in many schools in nearby and in foreign lands to which those cuckolds never got who would be doctors at any cost." This would contradict the interpretation of Zarncke (p. 421) and his followers, who seem to believe that this name already stood for a grasping opportunist *before* Brant's time.⁹ Our interpretation is that Brant depicts Dr. Gryff not at all as a grasping swindler (the word "pff" in line

⁹ We admit that Doctor Gryff *later* acquired such an evil connotation—in *Reineke Vos*, and in Murner, Eckstein and Styfel. See Zarncke, *loc. cit.*, and Goedeke, p. 150. But we believe that either Brant invented the figure and gave it the meaning which we propose below, or that, if it was in earlier use, it originally had the meaning we propose.

71, it should be clearly noted, is not applied to Dr. Gryff, and the rime "pfiß—Gryff" is a case of "Reimbrechung"), but rather as an admonisher, or "Getreuer Eckart," and that, despite his fool's cap, which has misled all the commentators, Dr. Gryff is Brant himself.¹⁰ That would help explain why Dr. Gryff is mentioned three times in the cuts (plus the repetition of the one preface cut before Chapter 108). He, then, is the *real* doctor who twits the charlatans (griff eym yeden die oren an). He knows more than many another doctor who has (i. e., claims to have) studied not only at home, but also at foreign universities (Brant studied only at a German university—Basel), and he certainly knows more than those would-be (mit gwalt) doctors who have not travelled at all (do doch die göuch nye kamen hyn). One should note, too, the difference in the spelling of the name: in the two preface cuts "Doctor griff," and in the cut to Chapter 76 "Doctor, griff (comma!)", but in the text to Chapter 76 "Doctor Gryff." All these versions, except the last, stress the pun on *griffen*, "to nab, to twit." Our explanation becomes even more plausible when we notice (and so far as we know, this has never been noted before) that in the third preface cut the fool holding the Doctor Griff banner is looking up to the image of the doctor, pointing to him and sticking out his tongue at him—his progenitor, Brant! Finally the face in the banner may be said to bear a resemblance to Brant, as we know his features.¹¹ The passage which Zarncke quotes (p. 422) from the *Renner* (lines 16149 ff.) as illustrating an earlier use of the idea, fits in perfectly with our interpretation:

Sage ich in heimlichen maere
So bin ich ein sloteraere,
Sweige ich mit zuhten an gevaere
So bin ich ein glichsenaere,
Spriche ich die wahrheit nach der swaere
So bin ich ein griffelaere.

¹⁰ That Brant was fond of self-persiflage is well known. He scores drinking and overeating (Chap. 16, Chap. 92, 31, also Chap. 110 a), although his grandfather, father and brother were wine merchants or innkeepers. He satirizes printing (65, 63, and 103, 84), although his one brother and his close friend Bergmann were printers, and toward the end of his work he admits several times that he wears a fool's cap himself willy nilly (110, 27, and 111, 68 ff.). See also the cut to Chapter 111, where he is depicted with a fool's cap.

¹¹ For Brant's iconography, see Schultz, p. xxxix.

7. We have found what seems incontrovertible proof that neither Goedeke nor Bobertag took the trouble to consult the original edition of 1494 in checking their text, and that they merely copy Zarncke's text and on that basis make whatever revisions they like.¹² There is *one* misprint in Zarncke (103, 85), which Zarncke overlooked¹³ and did not note among his errata on p. 474. He writes "die lügen," while the Berlin copy of the original 1494 edition, which he used, clearly has "sie lügen."¹⁴ Both Goedeke and Bobertag religiously copy this, just as Zarncke did before them. Moreover, it is amusing to note that Bobertag even copies the two errors that crept into Zarncke's text, and were noticed by Zarncke too late for correction in the text, but noted by him among the errata: "zornt" for "zorn" in 35, 28, and "do hebt" for "so hebt" in 72, 47. Goedeke corrected these, at least.

8. Zarncke notes that Brant's rimes are often impure, according to strict modern standards. For his own day, however, his rimes are unusually good and pure, according to strict modern standards, two-thirds of them being pure. Such "rimes" as "gebrest—täsch" (83, 120-121), and "resch—lest—nest" (84, motto) are very exceptional. We note, too, that 85, 153 does not rime with anything:¹⁵

151—grab

152—ab

153—zyt

154—höbst

155—bösst

Is that one of the lines that was later inserted as a filler? A curious line, too, is 74, 31, which when read naturally has a perfect trochaic, instead of an iambic rhythm: wenig jager als humpertus.¹⁶ Such

¹² Bobertag, in fact, admits this, p. xxvi, but Goedeke expressly states (p. xxxi) that he is not dependent on Zarncke.

¹³ And, still more surprising, Zarncke seems to have copied this error from his predecessor, A. W. Strobel, *Das Narrenschiff von Dr. Sebastian Brant, nebst dessen Freiheitstafel*, Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1839, p. 269.

¹⁴ See the Schultz facsimile, p. 280.

¹⁵ See Zarncke, *op. cit.*, p. 288. This oversight was finally corrected in the Strassburg edition of 1512.

¹⁶ So far as we can determine, none of these phenomena are mentioned by Paul Claus in *Rhythmik und Metrik in Sebastian Brants Narrenschiff*, Strassburg, 1911.

lines, however, cannot be used to disprove that the rhythm of the *Narrenschiff* is prevailingly iambic.

9. In our opinion the statement made by every Brant scholar, especially since Goedeke, that Brant's Latin poems are more worthwhile and contain more valuable material than the *Narrenschiff*, does not seem to rest upon first-hand knowledge of these poems. It is our belief that nine-tenths of the interesting thought they contain can be found in his German masterpiece or in his German poems as well. In the poem *Jerusalem*, for instance, much of the subject matter treated in Chapter 99 of the *Narrenschiff* can be found in expanded form.

10. Finally we would say that in our opinion the most important remaining problem in Brant research—more important even than the question whether young Albrecht Dürer actually had a hand in preparing the woodcuts—is the relation of the *Narrenschiff* to the *Encomium Moriae* of Erasmus. Many editions of the latter work have appeared without shedding much light either upon this question or upon the relations of these two important figures to each other.

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DER DRUCKORT DER SCHRIFTEN DES THOMAS VON IMBROICH

Unser dürftiger Vorrat an Frühdrucken der Wiedertaufer ist durch die Auffindung eines wohl kurz nach 1560 gedruckten Sammelbands der Schriften des Kölner Wiedertaufers Thomas von Imbroich, den das Landis Valley Museum so glücklich war, sich zu sichern, um ein Unikum vermehrt worden. Beschreibung und Analyse des Buchs aus der flüssigen Feder des dortigen Kustos F. Reichmann¹ liefert eine Anzahl religionsgeschichtlicher Details, versagt aber bei dem Versuch, den Druck zu lokalisieren. Der Grund dafür liegt in der Methode. Sogar in den Händen eines Experten ist die Wortgeographie ausserstande, die Herkunft eines Textes der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts innerhalb allgemeiner Dialektbestimmung genauer zu fixieren. Ebenso wenig ist die Betrachtung der Druck-Type oder des Papiers in *dieser* Zeit

¹ *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* xvi (1942), 99-107.

und bei der gewollten Anonymität des Druckers zu Aufschlüssen fähig.

Dem Aufsatz, der über eine verschwommene Bezeichnung der Sprache des Drucks als eines "alemannischen Dialekts" nicht hinauskommt, ist das Facsimile zweier Titelseiten des Sammelbands beigegeben (a. a. O. nach Seite 104), dessen genauere Betrachtung sich lohnt. Man liest dort die Worte *Erdbidem* statt Luthers *Erdbeben*² und *zeucht* statt gemeindeutsch *zieht*, was dem a. a. O. 103 gebotenen Material hinzuzufügen ist; doch ist das nicht genug, um zwischen Baden, Pfalz, Elsaß, Schweiz und Westschwaben eine Entscheidung zu treffen.

Auf den beiden Titelblättern des Facsimile sind unter den eigentlichen Titeln als Motti Bibelstellen zitiert, und ich schlage vor, diese Zitate zur Lokalisierung des Drucks heranzuziehen. Da feststeht, daß die südwestdeutsche Offizin sich nicht um die Sprache des Kölner Autors kümmert, sondern sie in ihre eigne umdruckt, ist ja klar, daß der Drucker den Bibelzitaten seine eigne Bibel, das heisst die, die ihm vorliegt, zugrunde legt. Die Aufgabe ist also, diese Vorlage zu lokalisieren. Der Wortlaut der Bibelstellen bei Thomas ist charakteristisch genug:

- Jes. 59. Die Warheit ist hingenommen / vnd welcher sich von dem bösen zeucht der muß beraubt werden.
- Luc. 21: Es werden geschehen grosse Erdbidem hin vnd wider / Pestilentz / tewre zeit vnd schrecken / auch werden grosse Zeichen vom Himmel geschehen. Aber vor diesem allen werden sie die händ an euch legen / vnd verfolgen / vnd werden euch uberantworten in jhre Schulen vnd Gefängknussen / vnd fur Könige vnd Fursten ziehen / vmb meines Nammens willen.
- Ebr. 12 Mein Sohn / acht nicht gering / die zuchtigung deß Herren vnd laß nicht ab / wann du von jhm gestrafft wirst / dann welchem der Herr lieb hat / den strafft er.

Die Stellen sind jedenfalls keiner der Lutherbibeln entnommen, was die Aufgabe wesentlich erleichtert. Auch der Vergleich mit einer 1711 gedruckten *Biblia Pentapla*, von deren 5 Verdeutschungen die katholische des westfälischen Konvertiten Caspar Uhlenbeck (um 1600 begonnen), die evangelische Luthers, die reformierte des Straßburger Joh. Piscator (1603/04) erschienen) herangezogen wurden, ergab keine Beziehung. Ich drucke *Luc. 21* in drei mir zugäng-

² *Erdbeben* nur in der *Septemberbibel*. Vgl. Bahder, *Zur Wortwahl in der frühnhd. Schriftsprache* (Heidelberg 1925), 15.

lichen Lesarten ab; in Hier. Emsers Text aus dem Freiburger Druck von J. Faber 1539; in Heinr. Pantaleons Ausgabe, Basel bei Brylinger 1556; im Wortlaut der Zürcher Bibel des Druckers Froschauer in der Ausgabe von 1560.³

<i>Emser</i>	<i>Pantaleon</i>	<i>Froschauer</i>
vñ werden geschehen grosse erdbudungen hin vnd wider / pestilentz vñ thewr zeit / auch werden erschrecknis vom hymmel / vnd grosse zeychen gesche- hen. Aber vor disem al- lem / werden sie die hend an euch legen / vnd verfol gen / vñ werden euch vber ant- worten in jre schülen vnd gefencknisse / vnd fur künig vnd fursten ziehen vmb meines na- mens willen.	vnd werdend geschehen grosse erdbudem an al- len orten, theure zeyt vñnd pestilentz vñnd schracken, auch wer- dend grosse zeychen vom himmel geschehen. Aber vor disem allē werdend si die hend an euch legen, vnd verfol- gen. vñ werdend euch überantwortē in jre schülen vnd gefencknus- sen, vñnd fur künig vñnd fursten ziehen vmb meines nammens willen.	vñnd werden geschehen grosse erdbidem hin vñnd wider / pestilentz vnd theure zeyt / vnd schracken auch werden grosse zeichen vom him- mel geschehen Aber vor disem allem werden sy die hend an euch legen / vnd vervolgen vnd werden euch uber antworten in jre schü- len vñ gefencknissen / vnd fur künig vnd fur- sten ziehen vmb meines Namens willen.

Die Übereinstimmung mit der Zürcher Bibel liegt auf der Hand; deren Reichweite ergibt sich aus dem einschlagigen Kapitel ("Verbreitung der Zürcherübersetzung") in J. J. Mezger, *Geschichte der Deutschen Bibelübersetzung in der schweizerisch-reformierten Kirche* (Basel 1876), 161 ff. Sie schließt neben Zürich, dem Thurgau, Glarus und Toggenburg, St. Gallen und Schaffhausen (die beiden letzteren nicht mehr im 17. Jh.) auch kleine Teile Südbadens und des Südsaß mit ein, aber weder Strassburg noch auch Freiburg. Ein Text, der sich auf die Zürcher Bibel stützt, ist da gedruckt, wo die als authentisch galt, d. h. in der Schweiz.⁴

³ Die ersten beiden Drucke sowie die *Biblia Pentapla* habe ich in der an altem religionsgeschichtlichen Material reichen Bibliothek des Theologischen Seminar in Hartford eingesehen, die Froschauer-Bibel in Yale

⁴ Dazu wurde schön passen, daß Bullinger in Zürich 1562 in einem Brief an Engelbert Fabricius darüber klagt, Thomas' Schrift sei in aller Hände, was Reichmann a. a. O. 101 erzählt. Aber die *Annales Anabaptistici* auf die er sich beruft, sagen das Gegenteil. Bullinger ist der Empfänger des Briefes, den Fabricius aus Wolfsheim in der Pfalz an ihn richtet. Daß die Pfalz von der ketzerischen Schrift überschwemmt ist, überrascht nicht, spricht aber eher für einen elsässischen Druckort.

Leider bestätigt *Ebr.* 12 den ermittelten Tatbestand nicht. Die Wendung *Laß nicht ab* des Thomas-Druckes kehrt bei Froschauer 1560 nicht wieder; da heißt es, wie bei Luther, *Verzag(e) nit*. Der Thomas-Druck steht allein, ihm am nächsten ist noch die katholische Lesart *Lass den Muht nicht sincken*. Doch heißt der Schluß des Zitats bei Luther und allen, die ihm folgen, *den zuchtiget er*, in der Zürcher Bibel *den straffet er*. Die Lesart *Laß nit ab* findet sich aber in früheren Froschauer-Drucken,⁵ ebenso bei Pantaleon, dessen Text ja mit dem der Zürcher Bibel von 1535 identisch ist.⁶ Da heißt es dann auch wortwörtlich: Dann welchē der Herr lieb hatt / den strafft er.

Divergenzen des Wortlauts in *Luc.* 21 schalten die Pantaleon-Ausgabe (oder deren Vorlage) als Vorlage für den Thomas-Druck aus. Ebenso wenig kommen Froschauer-Drucke nach 1542 (Revision des Textes des N. T.) in Frage.⁷ Benutzt worden ist also augenscheinlich eine Zürcher Bibel der 30er Jahre (1531?) Unser Mangel an Ausgaben verbietet eine noch genauere Fixierung, aber ihre Ermittlung könnte zu der des Druckers doch nichts weiteres beitragen.⁸ Sicher ist, daß er im Geltungsbereich der Zürcher Bibel seine Offizin hatte. In Zürich selbst dürfen wir den Verleger von Ketzerschriften kaum suchen; von andern möglichen Orten wie Winterthur, Basel, St. Gallen, Schaffhausen gebe ich *Basel* den Vorzug. An einem kleinen Platz durfte eine Drucklegung der Schriften des Thomas nicht damit rechnen, anonym zu bleiben; Basel mit seinen vielen Offizinen bot Gelegenheiten wie sonst nur

⁵ W. Kurrelmeyer war so gutig, es mir sowohl aus der Duodez-Ausgabe von 1529/30, als aus den ihm gehörigen Ausgaben von 1534 und 1536 nachzuweisen. Der Text lautet da: Mein sun acht nit gering (die) zuchtigung deß Herren / vnnd laß nit ab wenn du von jm gestraafft wirst.

⁶ Vgl. Socin *Schriftsprache und Dialekte im Deutschen* (Heilbronn 1888), 247.

⁷ Die *Jes.*-Stelle habe ich absichtlich nicht ausgenutzt, weil Pantaleons Ausgabe nur das N. T. bringt. Auch da stimmt der Wortlaut zu keiner andern Bibel als der von Froschauer gedruckten.

⁸ Zu diesen Ergebnissen stimmt völlig eine Bemerkung R. Friedmanns in *The American-German Review* IX (1942), 2, 13: *it was this Froschauer Bible which became almost exclusively used by the Anabaptists in countries of German tongues*. Und fast gleichlautend in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* XVI (1942), 213 f.: *Swiss Brethren were wont to use a particular edition of the Holy Scriptures, namely, the so-called Froschauer Bible*. Beide Veröffentlichungen Friedmanns sind erst nach Beendigung dieses Aufsatzes erfolgt.

noch Straßburg, das aber nicht mehr in die Reichweite der Froschauer-Drucke fällt.

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FRIESISCHER REITER, '*Cheval de frise*'

German lexicographers usually cite first *spanischer Reiter*, and then, as a further, presumably later development, *friesischer Reiter*. Under *Reiter*, Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (VIII, 780) says:

g) *spanische reiter* (*spanische oder friesische CAMPE*), große balken, durch welche spitze mit eisen beschlagene pfähle gesteckt sind, deren je zwei ein schiefes kreuz mit einander bilden, die ältere kriegführung bediente sich derselben um den sturmangriff auf verschanzungen zu erschweren, besonders auch um der reiterei den zugang zu einem orte zu versperren.

Thereupon a Low German instance of *ruteren*, without qualifying adjective, is cited from a text whose date does not appear; then come *spanische reiter* from a text of 1664, *friesische reiter* from 1665.

Weigand, under *spanisch*, cites *spanischer Reiter* from the year 1691, and *friesischer Reiter* from the year 1726.

The *NED.*, under *Cheval de frise*, says: "lit. 'horse of Friesland'; because first employed by the Frisians in their struggles for freedom during the latter half of the 17th century to supply their want of cavalry; cf. the Du. name *Vriesse ruyters* (Frisian horse-men)". In agreement with the date "17th century" the first English quotation is of the year 1688.

With the above passages cited from the dictionaries we may now compare the testimony of Adam Freitag, in his *Architectura militaris*, second edition, 1635, page 9:

Gall. *Barricades, Cavaliers de Frises*. Germ. *Frisische Reuter*. Belg. *Friesche Ruyter*. Lat. *Echini*. Seind sechseckichte Baume mit lochern, dadurch stäbe mit eisernen spitzen beschlagen, in lange einer halben picquen kreitzweyse eingesteckt werden: Haben den nahmen daher, daß sie in Frieslandt in der Belägerung der Stadt Gröningen grossen nutz geschafft. Diese werden auff die Wege vnd Pässe gelegt, die Reuterey vnd das Fußvolck auff zu halten.

On page 187 this statement is expanded:

Woher man die Igel Frisische Reuter nennet, haben wir in der erklärungs der nahmen aufgezeichnet, daß sie in Frieslandt in der belägerung der

Stadt Groningen mit grossem nutz seindt gebraucht worden, in dem sie die Reuter welche der Stadt mit einem entsatz haben zu hulf kommen wollen auffgehalten darauf der nutzen dieser Igel (welche wir Frisische Reuter mit dem meisten, hauffen heissen wollen) zu sehen; daß sie nemlich gegen die Reuterey sehr dienstlich seindt; daher sie auch allezeit im felde auff sonderlichen wägen sollen gefuhret werden, dann man mit denselben in eyl einen paß verlegen kan, welches mit dem graben viel langsamer zugehet In den Vestungen da man sonsten ketten pflegt zu haben die vor die gassen gezogen werden, kann man diese Frisische Reuter viel nutzlicher gebrauchen; denn, wenn die ketten vorgezogen seindt, so kan man vnter denselben durchgehen, oder aber mit einem gutten pferde vbersetzen: wenn aber die Frisischen Reuter an statt der ketten angelegt sein, da kan man weder zu fuß noch zu roß vberkommen, weil sie von allen seiten scharffe spitzen haben.

Explicit directions are then given for the making of *Frisische Reuter*. The siege of Groningen, to which Freitag both times refers, ended on July 22, 1594. Freitag's testimony is corroborated, to be sure not as to Groningen, in 1594, but in connection with the siege of Groll in 1595, by Ant. Duyck, who, in his *Journal*, I, 621, records that the Dutch, when they hurriedly gave up the siege of Groll on July 25, 1595, had to abandon

een groote quantiteyt van schuppen, spaeden, bijlen ende houwelen ende ander diergelijcke gereetschap ende over de thien duysent stocken van 6 voeten over beyden syden met iysers beslaegen, genoemt Vriesche ruyters, die man tegen cavalerie gebruyckt ende in de eerde steeckt, alles tot een seer groot verlies van tiant.

We here have the testimony of an eye-witness that the Dutch, in 1595, had, as part of their military equipment, not only shovels, spades, axes, and the like, but also more than ten thousand 'Frisian horsemen': it may well be assumed, therefore, that these engines had been used a year previously at Groningen.

W. KURRELMAYER

A NOTE ON KLEIST'S VERSE STYLE

A peculiarity of Kleist's blank verse which has not been remarked either in Minde-Pouet's classic treatise¹ or in subsequent studies of Kleist's style, is his use of a present active participle at a fairly

¹ Georg Minde-Pouet: *Heinrich von Kleist, seine Sprache und sein Stil*. Weimar (Felber), 1897.

definite place in his metrical line, usually straddling the third and fourth feet, but sometimes in another position, thus:

Von allen Hügeln *rauschend* niederströmt (*Guiskard*, 63)
 Die mich, wie Keulen, *kreuzend* niederschlagen (*Amphitryon*, 2269)
 Als hätt' ein Grossknecht *wütend* ihn geführt (*Krug*, 46)
 Auf einem Hugel *leuchtend* steht er da (*Penthesilea*, 1037)
 Soll ich dir die Quadriga *rasseind* schicken (*Penthesilea*, 1472)
 Der überm Putztisch *glanzend* eingefügt (*Käthchen*, 264, 33)^a
 Zur neunten Holle *schmetternd* stürzt er nieder (*Hermannsschl.*, 1448)
 Aus deinem Fullhorn *lachelnd* mir herab (*Homburg*, 380)

In all such cases, the expression is complete without the participle; the latter is a distinct addition to, or expansion of, the sentence in question. Though it occurs with striking regularity, it is not a mere "filler," but an enhancement and pointing-up of the verse. Kleist's style in general is marked by a manifest fondness for the present participle, and it is most germane to his dramatic, dynamic temper; part verb, part adverb, part adjective, it describes a person or thing and at the same time lends it continuous activity; it is concise, picturesque, and vivid. Kleist prefers it to other constructions, for example *Amphitryon*, 227:

. . . eine Flasche Wein
 Zur Hälfte *opfernd* auf die Erde schütten,

where he might have said "als Opfer"; or *Amphitryon*, 1313:

Dich in die Schar
Glanzerwerfend aller Gotter führ' ich ein,

where he might have used an ordinary adjective in a less emphatic place; or "ich bin dringend" (*Amph.* 1743) for "ich habe Eile." Such examples could easily be multiplied.

In reading Kleist's prose and verse, one often suspects that he started with a fairly simple unit of thought and expression, and then crammed into it one addition and qualification after another, prying apart what belonged together, introducing strains and stresses that give his style a bulging, tri-dimensional quality. He could write smooth, Schillerian verse when he wished, but his natural bent is toward rugged hypotaxis: he breaks up the even flow of a sentence into cataracts of clauses that fret restlessly over

^a Vol. II, p. 264, line 33 of *Heinrich von Kleists Werke*, ed. by Erich Schmidt and others, Leipzig (Bibl. Inst.), [1904-05]; all references are to this edition.

opposing commas. With this habit of mind, his use of the participle is quite in keeping.

Occasionally one can almost see this "Einkeilung" at work: for example line 44 of *Guiskard*: "Lass uns — Lass *jammern*d uns . . ." One can see the dynamic participle wedging itself between two static adjectives: "den mächtig-*wankend*-hohen Helmbusch" (*Guisk.* 405). We can see it attach itself to a figure: in Kleist's letter of November 18, 1800, to Wilhelmine we find the factual-moralistic observation: "Der Sturm reißt den Baum um, aber nicht das Veilchen";³ in *Schroffenstein*, 961 f., this becomes

Die kranke, abgestorbne Eiche steht
Dem Sturm, doch die gesunde stürzt er nieder;

at the end of *Penthesilea*, this is intensified into

Doch die gesunde stürzt er *schmetternd* nieder.

Some incomplete verses of the hastily-written *Hermannsschlacht* seem to call for the characteristic participle to fill the gap, e. g.,

Mit einem Heere [*drohend*] steht er da (179)
Die deine Rache [*schmetternd*] treffen soll (1146).

And, on the other hand, Kleist's penchant for the participle occasionally makes a line hypermetric:

Die manch ein andrer Wunsch zur Seite *lockend* zieht (*ibid.*, 237).

That this participle is not a mere "Notbehelf" to eke out the metre is indicated by the paucity of it in *Die Familie Schroffenstein*,⁴ where, certainly, the young author had metrical difficulties enough. Conversely, it is most plentiful in *Penthesilea*, which is perhaps the most worked-over and polished of all Kleist's plays. The reason is, I believe, that in *Schroffenstein* Kleist had not yet achieved a characteristic style. In *Guiskard*, however, as one might expect, we begin to get significant examples of this "expansion-participle," as it might be called. In *Amphitryon* it becomes noticeably frequent, especially in those passages in which Kleist enlarged on and deepened the French original, so that it might be regarded as in some sort a criterion of the authenticity of these passages. It occurs with fair frequency in *Der zerbrochene Krug*,

³ *Werke*, v, 162, 1.

⁴ There is no case of it in the most characteristic position (3rd/4th foot), and very few others occur.

Käthchen (in the blank-verse parts), and *Homburg*, more often in *Die Hermannsschlacht*, and by far the oftenest in *Penthesilea*, which is thereby corroborated as Kleist's most personal and most high-strung play. *Penthesilea* fairly bristles with present participles functioning in a variety of ways.

In the patchwork verse of Kleist's juvenile poems (e. g., *Werke*, iv, 9-12), adjectives serve as "Flickwörter"; but in the pentameters of his mature lyrics, the typical participle is in evidence, for example in *Der Engel am Grabe des Herrn*:

In eine Felsklüft *schmetternd* eingehauen (iv, 15, 4).

Again, if this participle were merely a metrical expedient, one would expect to find it abundantly in Kleist's epigrams, which are notably "holprich" and full of small patchwords; but there is not a single case of it in the *Epigramme*. Moreover, it occurs in his prose, where there is no question of metrical exigency.⁵ After all, if it was merely a dissyllabic unit he wanted, he could have used some other word;⁶ but he clearly prefers the present participle.

This usage is not unexampled in other writers. There are instances in Goethe:

Die Riesenfichte stürzend Nachbaräste
Und Nachbarstämme *quetschend* niederstreift (*Faust*, 3230)

Wo Tod und Leben *grausend* sich bekämpfen
(*Marienbader Elegie*, 118).

And similar cases can be found occasionally in Schiller and Grillparzer and Hebbel. But in Kleist's verse the participle is so prominent as to constitute a mannerism, an integral element, almost a touch-stone of his style.⁷

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⁵ E. g., in the prose of *Käthchen*. "rasselnd, der Erzgepanzerte, vom Pferd stieg" (ii, 185, 26); in six lines of *Das Erdbeben in Chili*: "umherschleudernd . . . blitzend . . . brüllend . . . brennend" (iii, 297, 23-29).

⁶ Kleist employs, much less frequently, but even more consistently in the 3rd/4th foot position, a dissyllabic adverb which has the same metrical value and function as the present participle, e. g.:

In einen Mantel *flüchtig* eingehüllt (*Gnaskard*, 154)

Zu einem Helden *rustig* gross gezogen (*Hermannsschl.*, 434).

⁷ For those interested in examining the evidence, I list the occurrences of Kleist's participle as follows. *Schroffenstein* 532, 1666, 2057, 2175; *Guis-*

JAKOB WASSERMANN'S FIRST PUBLICATION

In biographical writings on Jakob Wassermann there is considerable divergence and contradiction on the question of his first publication. His own statement is at variance with those made by Julie Speyer and Marta Karlweis.

Wassermann's account is as follows: "In meinem fünfzehnten Jahr hatte ich einen Roman geschrieben, ein unsaglich durftiges und abgeschmacktes Ding, und das Manuskript trug ich eines Tages in die Redaktion des Tageblattes . . . Kurz darauf erschien der Anfang des Elaborats unter meinem Namen, gespickt mit Druckfehlern, in der Unterhaltungsbeilage der Zeitung."¹

Marta Karlweis, Wassermann's second wife, writes: "Selbst als das Fürther Lokalblatt eines Tages mit der Veröffentlichung eines Romans des kaum dreizehnjährigen Schülers begann, . . . änderte sich die Atmosphäre fast gehässigen Mißtrauens gegen den Knaben nicht."²

On the other hand, Frau Julie Wassermann-Speyer, the author's first wife, reports: "Mit 12 Jahren veröffentlichte der Schüler einen historischen Roman im Fürther Tagblatt und erhielt dafür Schularrest."³

Each of these three statements assigns a different age to Wasser-

kard 11, 26, 44, 63, 198, 470; *Amphitryon* 89, 143, 334, 419, 677, 708, 940, 981, 993, 1016, 1195, 1220, 1392, 1398, 1400, 1503, 1547, 1861, 1880, 1953, 2015, 2026, 2071, 2127, 2216, 2217, 2269, 2339, *Krug* 46, 451, 751, 764, 774, 1007, 1049, 1343, 1479, 1521, 1770, 1961, and *Variant* 140, 339; *Penthesilea* 28, 40, 92, 157, 169, 177, 184, 253, 264, 327, 386, 398, 401, 411, 416, 717, 718, 756, 759, 770, 771, 812, 934, 1037, 1111, 1142, 1150, 1178, 1188, 1220, 1431, 1434, 1472, 1485, 1595, 1642, 1935, 1995, 2059, 2063, 2079, 2125, 2215, 2237, 2556, 2653, 2668, 3042; *Käthchen* 195, 5; 206, 23; 252, 22; 262, 20; 264, 33; 268, 26; 280, 14; 288, 26, 293, 16; 307, 23; *Hermannsschlacht* 19, 35, 109, 147, 190, 237, 325, 333, 335, 447, 544, 572, 582, 909, 929, 990, 1137, 1448, 1886, 1888, 2258, 2397, 2448, 2499, 2501; *Homburg* 110, 187, 197, 309, 360, 373, 389, 412, 533, 642, 859, 1291, 1579, 1640, 1797, 1837; *Gedichte (Werke, IV)* 15, 4; 17, 16; 18, 48, 51, 55; 26, 34; 28, 85, 88; 29, 117; 30, 131; 35 (second) 1, 2; 38, 6, 10, 12, 14; 39, 45, 48

¹ Wassermann, Jakob: *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude*. Berlin, S. Fischer, 1922, pp 26 f.

² Karlweis, Marta: *Jakob Wassermann*. Amsterdam, Querido, 1935, p. 28.

³ Jakob Wassermann, *Briefe an seine Braut und Gattin Julie 1900-1929*. Basel, Verlag Bucherfreunde, 1940, p. 5.

mann at the time of publication: fourteen, thirteen and twelve, respectively. However, one may well assume Wassermann's own figure to be the correct one, since the other two would have to be based on hearsay, and might more readily be in error.

Julie Speyer differs from her husband and Marta Karlweis by pronouncing the publication an historical novel. Moreover, she states that a novel, rather than a part of it, appeared in print, as is asserted by the other two. Whereas she and Wassermann designate the journal as the *Tageblatt* of the author's native city Fürth, Marta Karlweis refers to it as the *Fürther Lokalblatt*. Since these names appear neither within quotation marks nor in italics, it is impossible to determine whether they are intended as the titles of journals or merely as loose designations for a daily or local paper. Inquiries made in Fürth at newspaper offices and the public library brought forth no information about a paper that had appeared there during those years under either of these titles. It is probable that, when thirty-five years later Wassermann wrote *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude*, he had forgotten the name of the newspaper, and consequently referred to it merely as the *Tageblatt*.

According to the director of the Fürth public library, the only local daily published there during the years in question was the *Fürther Volks-Zeitung*. But careful perusal of the library files of this journal for a number of years failed to disclose the unnamed historical novel by Wassermann to which Julie Speyer refers. There is, however, a narrative entitled *Über Berg und Tal* von J. V., in the *Fürther Volks-Zeitung* of August 25 and 26 of the year 1887, when Wassermann was fourteen years old. This year coincides with that designated by Wassermann in his autobiographical writing, *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude*.

Yet this narrative is neither an historical novel nor does it necessarily give the impression of being the beginning of a novel. It is a rambling tale of a tramp by two youths in the Hersebrucker mountains, through villages such as Poppenreuth, Günthersbühl, Oedenberg, Kirchsittenbach, Nuschelberg, Schnaittach, Rupprechtsstegen and Krottensee, all in the vicinity of Fürth. The humor is somewhat forced and juvenile, the narrative lacks originality, and the style is faintly reminiscent of Heine's *Harzreise*. It is quite apparently written by a young lad who is overreaching himself.

The signature J. V. leads to the conjecture that this tale may have been written by Wassermann, who in his early years used the pen-name Jan Vasman. The story might possibly be the beginning

of a loosely joined novel, it appeared in a Fürth daily newspaper when Wassermann was, as he stated, fourteen years of age, and it is obviously written by a boy. Moreover, it is the only publication in that journal during those years which could conceivably be in accord with the meager details given in the above biographical statements.

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OTFRID'S *AD LIUTBERTUM*, ll. 105-11, AND THE OHG *TATIAN*

The Latin letter, commonly known as the *Epistula ad Liutbertum* or just *Ad Liutbertum*,¹ which Otfrid (fl. 863-71), monk of the Benedictine foundation at Weissenburg 1. El.,² addressed to his diocesan Liutbert, archbishop of Mainz (863-89), and in which he seeks episcopal approbation (*Ad Liutbertum* is not a dedication)³ for his *Liber Evangeliorum*⁴ ("Evangelienbuch" of German liter-

¹ Included in all editions of Otfrid today this work is commonly cited according to the text in Oskar Erdmann, *Otfrids Evangelienbuch* ("Germanistische Handbibliothek," Vol. v) (Halle, 1882), pp. 4-8. Line-references are here, as is usual, to the lines in Erdmann's edition. The letter has also often been edited as an independent document (see Joh. Kelle, *Otfrids von Weissenburg Evangelienbuch*, 1 [Regensburg, 1856], Einleitung, p. 44, n. 2), most recently by Ernst Dummier in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae*, vi, 1 (Berlin, 1902), 166-9. For a survey of the scholarship on the *Ad Liutbertum* and a tentative translation see my forthcoming paper in *PMLA*.

² For the few facts known about Otfrid's life see Kelle, *op. cit.*, p. 3; Rudolf Koegel, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1892), I, ii, 2-7; Gustav Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, I (2d ed., Munich, 1932), 181-3, esp. 183, § 4. See also Kelle, p. 13 and n. 1, for details concerning the early history of the Weissenburg foundation.

³ Cp. Koegel, pp. 15-16; Ehrismann, pp. 182-189.

⁴ Otfrid's work has, properly speaking, no title, but *Liber Evangeliorum* may be inferred from the incipit of the poem: "*Incipit Liber Evangeliorum [primus] Domini gratia theotisce conscriptus*" (see Erdmann, *ed. cit.*, p. 11), of which the commonly used title "*Evangelienbuch*" "Gospel harmony," "diatessaron" is but a German translation (Koegel, p. 18; Ehrismann, p. 184 and n. 2). The phrase *Liber Evangeliorum* Otfrid quite possibly owes to Juvencus, whose work bearing the closely similar title *Evangeliorum Libri* (ca. 330) Otfrid evidently knew; see C. Marold, "Zu Otfrid," *Germania*, xxxi (1886), 119-20.

ary historians), ranks high in interest among several documents prefatory to Christian vernacular works written in the medieval Germanic world. In this connection one thinks, for example, of the Latin material supposedly prefatory to the Old-Saxon *Heliand* (ca. 830);⁵ of Alfred the Great's circular prefatory epistle in Old English to his translation of Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis* (ca. 895);⁶ of the Latin letter to Hugo II, bishop of Sitten (998-1017), by Notker Labeo in which Notker surveys his own literary activity;⁷ and, with his interest in metrics and orthography perhaps closest akin to Otfrid, the Englishman Orrm of Scandinavian descent in his English preface to the *Orrmulum* (ca. 1175). Otfrid's *Ad Liutbertum* is important to all students of the older Germanic literatures for the information which it furnishes us about the author's life, about contemporary German poetic composition, especially for Otfrid's observations on elision (*synalæpha*) and end-rhyme (*homæoteleuton*), and, in a more general way, about the medieval approach to the difficult art of translation. The document is well worth the considerable study that has been devoted to it.

The present note is concerned with one passage (Erdmann, p. 7, ll. 105-11) in this little work, a section devoted to what Otfrid views as German reluctance to compose in the vernacular. On examination it would appear that the author is here indulging in literary criticism, perhaps specifically, as I believe to be the case, of his predecessors, the Fulda translators' version of the diatessaron of the second-century Syrian Tatian.

The text runs:

quippe qui nec historias suorum antecessorum, ut multae gentes caeterae, commendant memoriae, nec eorum gesta vel vitam ornant dignitatis amore. Quod si raro contigit, aliarum gentium lingua, id est Latinorum vel Grecorum, potius explanant; cavent aliarum et deformitatem non veredundant suarum. Stupent in aliis vel litterula parva artem transgredi, et pene propria lingua vitium generat per singula verba

⁵ See Koegel, I, i, 277-80; Ehrismann, pp. 158-62.

⁶ See Charles Plummer, *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1902), pp. 151-2.

⁷ See Koegel, pp. 601-3; Ehrismann, pp. 421-3, with a German translation, pp. 421-2. As a general report on his literary life Notker's letter has much in common with Alfred's.

In translation:

Indeed, (1) they (Germans) do not, as many other peoples, commit the stories of their predecessors to (written) record nor do they adorn (in literary style) the deeds or the life of these (same) out of (any) appreciation of (the latter's) distinction (2) But if it occasionally happens (that Germans write of such matters), they set forth (the narrative) preferably in the language of other peoples, that is, of the Romans or the Greeks. (3) They guard against the (grammatical) crudity of other languages, yet are not ashamed of the crudity of their own; in other (languages) they are shocked to transgress (grammatical) art by even a little letter; yet, as I may say, their native (German) language produces a fault in every single word!

Continuing somewhat in the vein of the lines immediately preceding the present passage (ll. 99-105, on the rusticity of German), Otfrid here makes three charges against his fellow-countrymen: (1) that they are negligent or slothful in writing up the deeds of their heroes; (2) that, on those occasions when they do so, they write in Latin—or in Greek (!), which they write carefully; and (3) that, when they do write in the vernacular, they commit egregious blunders. These sweeping statements are, generally speaking, quite wrong, but the particularly improbable sounding third charge seems to contain a certain not uninteresting kernel of truth.

As for (1), before his day a considerable body of vernacular legendary-heroic poetry (Ehrismann 21) had not only existed but had been written down. The sole surviving *Lay of Hildebrand* (Ehrismann 121 ff.) Otfrid would no doubt have viewed as a *cantus . . . obscenus* (ll. 4-5) and beneath serious notice! He might also have known *Waltherii poesis*, if this Latin poem is not Ottonian but Carolingian as Karl Strecker recently urged (*Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters*, iv [1941], 355-81). Furthermore, he must also have known such prominent Frankish historians and historical works as Gregory of Tours (540-94), the seventh-century chronicle of the so-called Fredegar, the *Liber Historiae Francorum* (727), and Einhard (ca. 770-840), Charlemagne's distinguished biographer, not to mention various annalistic collections such as those of Lorsch. In a word, there seems to be little or nothing in Otfrid's first charge.

In the second charge (2) exception may be taken to the implication that the Latinity of the works mentioned above is not crude. It is, generally speaking, atrocious; Einhart is a brilliant excep-

tion. The *Waltharius*, too, is well written, though it is by no means certain that this could have been known to Otfrid. What writings in Greek (l. 108) he may have had in mind, I do not know. Taken all in all, most of what Otfrid has said thus far must be put down as rhetoric rather than considered judgment.

His third charge (3) is on the surface stranger still: German writers write bad German, by implication are guilty of barbarisms, solecisms and what not (l. 111). Such a statement is hard to understand. How or why under medieval conditions, that is, at a time when there was no Received Standard to force regional writers into an artificial or unnatural manner, could or should a native writer be guilty of barbarisms or solecisms in his own language? above all when writing on historical or pseudo-historical themes not requiring the expression of foreign ideas such as Christian theology. That Otfrid himself knew better than this is plain when he emphasizes the point that everyday German usage has the right of way over imitations of Latin syntax or grammar (cp. ll. 90-99). "Bad grammar" is in the Middle Ages only likely in cases where, like the tenth-century Englishman Aldred, glossator of the Lindisfarne Gospels, a writer is glossing in school-boy fashion a foreign text and where such a gloss, interlinear or not, is passed off as a "translation."⁸ Now in the course of his life at Fulda, Weissenburg and elsewhere Otfrid no doubt ran into many interlinear, overliteral and hence "ungrammatical" German translations of Latin works, and it is just this sort of thing that he apparently has in mind here. It may even be possible to pin down somewhat more narrowly the object of his criticism. It is clear enough from the *Ad Liutbertum* that Otfrid took great pains with his *Liber Evangeliorum* and prided himself on an idiomatic style (cp. ll. 94-5); he is, indeed, even a little smug about the matter (cp. ll. 115-21). And he would scarcely have been human, had he

⁸ With reference to Aldred (on whom see Eric Millar, *The Lindisfarne Gospels* [London, 1923], pp. 3-5) I have in mind such arrant nonsense and bad grammar as a few examples from Matthew will show (from Henry Sweet, *A Second Anglo-Saxon Reader* [Oxford, 1887], the even pp. 124 ff.; see new collation of this selection in *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages*, No. 3, 1934, pp. 10-16): deponent verbs treated as passive, e.g., *demolitur* (6, 19) glossed *gfreten bið 7 gespilled bið*; *quia* frequently glossed *forðon* where the meaning is *post*; *sine* (7, 4) "let!" glossed by *buto* (WS Gospels *þafa post*); *in domum illam* (7, 27) glossed in *huse ða ilco* (vs. *ðam* of 7, 25!); *per viam illam* by *ðerh woeg ða ilco* (8, 28).

not given some thought to the one substantial competing work in OHG,⁹ namely, the OHG *Tatian*, composed a generation earlier (ca. 820-30) at Fulda under Hraban with whom Otfrid had studied (see ll. 123-5) and which he must surely have known. The OHG *Tatian* in its slavish adherence to its Latin source (Koegel 526, Ehrismann 289-90) embodies just those defects of which Otfrid complains in Germans writing in the vernacular and in comparison with which Otfrid's rhyming poem is a versatile and brilliant literary performance! In his third charge, then, Otfrid is, I think, quite likely getting in a dig at the deficiencies of his Fulda predecessors.

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A GAWAIN EPIGONE

Humfrey Newton (1466-1536) is one of the growing number of gentlemen authors whom literary research is continually bringing to light. His sixteen or eighteen original love poems are contained in the autograph Capesthorpe MS., along with copies of several 'best-sellers' of his day—de Caistre's popular hymn, Advice to purchasers of land, and the gnomic tag "When feith failes in prestes sawez."¹ Our concern here, however, is with a curious poem, which is quite unlike the rest of the series,² as it is written in alliterative cross-rimed quatrains. The first sixteen lines may be taken as a single stanza, *ab⁶ c⁴*; the remaining eight quatrains use only two rimes and preserve the three-stress alliterative lines throughout. The meaning is obscure and disjointed: quatrains 1-4 describe a castle on a high hill; stanzas 5-8 tell of the approach of summer; and stanzas 9-12 deal with a love adventure. The final five lines manage to bring together the themes of

⁹ Even assuming that he knew of the work, it is doubtful if Otfrid would have attempted to pass judgment on the style and language of the OS *Heliand*.

¹ My edition of the complete series of poems is forthcoming.

² This poem, and de Caistre's hymn, are both written in a very neat book-hand which contrasts with the carelessly written style of some of the earlier and original poems in the MS. Both poems may be copies, either written by Newton himself or (less likely) by some other scribe.

summer and love, but otherwise there is little unity of subject, and it is possible that the three sections are independent of each other. For this text, I am obliged and grateful to my friend, Miss B. H. N. Geary, of Leicester, England, who obtained permission a number of years ago to examine and publish the Capesthorpe MS.

On clife þat castell so knetered, f. 106^b
 as cloude vmbe knagged *and* knatered,
 Bilde is on brynke þat is betered,
 Bigge with no brond may be batered.

Withe tussches *and* tagges so tatered,
 þat hille *with* hurnotes vmbe hetered,
 ffull hydously is hagged *and* hatered,
 Withe slifters *and* slughters vmb sletered.

Who slippis his slugh is for-slatered,
 Who clymbes þat clif on so knetered 10
 Cleue left be his cors as all for-clatered,
with cragge. . .

Two wardes *with*-Inne wight
 That price place has pight
 At day wacche ouer right,
 no wynd is so wild þat it w(ight).

Wyntre that snartely snewes
 And snappes vs *with* mony snartte snawes,
 Is gurde out *and* gon *with* her gewes
 That many gome be glopened *with* glawes. 20

The swete somer seyson that sewes,
 Miche salace to the segges hit sawes;
 To herken the hunt howe he hewes,
and halows his houndes *with* hawes.

The brome *and* the blossom it blewes,
 So blithe is the breth that her blowes,
 The likyng of louers it lewes
 þat listen to layke by the lawes

Rise vp *with*-out any rewes,
 Arayke downe radly by þe rawes, 30
 And stele to thi steyuen by stewes,
 In strynd or In stide þer it stawes.

And mete *with* þat mayden in mewes,
 And medell *with* þat meeke *with* her mawes;
 Let her not for-thrast the *with* threwes,
With her threpe ne be thilge the *with* thawes.

ffor at that tyme if ho tas trewesse
 and taries the till eft with her trawes,
 ho will for-cast the with her knewes,
 And come no more to clayme as thow knows. 40

Therefore that birde if thou bewes, f. 107^a
 And buxumly in þi armes þou hawes,
 Leese not the whene þof ho whewes
 With a whip, hey and war, nowe' þof ho whawes.

And thof ho thries threte þe thewes
 Ne be ho neuer so throe with hir thrawas,
 Fleche her euen vpt to thi klewes,
 ffor a koyntise while ho þer bak klowes.

ffor while somer foles synges
 Loue spreyledes and sprynges, 50
 And iche man mynges
 to medes his mak to,
 and to teche hir þat connot for to tak to.

This is the only one of the twenty-two poems in the MS to use the old-fashioned pronoun, *ho*, for the third person feminine, which, in so far as the poem is full of restricted dialect words, implies the use of *ho* in the North as late as 1500. In the other poems the pronouns *she*, *sho*, *scho*, are used. In this glossary, words occurring in *Sir Gawain* are marked (G).

- 1 *knetered*] ?
- 2 *knagged*] *NED* furnished with protuberances
- knatered*] *NED* gnatter, v, to nibble (but first ref. 1747); Wright,
 Dial. Dict., Sc. & northern counties.
- 3 *brynke*] Wr. *DD*, sb⁴, the edge of a hill (not noted for Cheshire)
- betered*] *NED* batter, v² 1, to incline from the perpendicular; *DD*
 "Cheshire. In building a wall, particularly against a
 bank, the term batter is used, and means to make the
 wall incline so as to withstand by its inclination the
 pressure of the earth, which, were the wall not inclined,
 would bring it down."
- 4 *bigge*] (G) seemingly participial construction (built), but form is
 adjective (big)
- batered*] *NED* batter v² 2, to demolish walls; *DD* nth. ets.
- 5 The conception of 'castellation' is continued.
- 6 *hurnotes*] ? young heron
- hetered*] cf AS *haeteru*; = *hatér*, to clothe
- 7 *hagged*] *NED* v¹, hack, cut (nth. dial.)
- hatered*] *NED* hatter 1, to erode (Sc & n. di)
- 8 *slifters*] crevices (Halliwell, *Dictionary Archaic Provincial Words*,
 Lancs.); *DD* a vertical fissure in a cliff (but not noted
 for Ches.)

- slughters*] ? (or perhaps another spelling for slifters?)
sletered] ?
- 9 *slippis his slug*] = stumbles
for-slatered] of slat, dash to pieces; *DD*, v¹ 2, to break in pieces
- 10 *knetered*] (as in v 1)
- 11 *cleue*] (G) *NED* cleave, v¹, to cleave, split assunder.
for-clatered] *NED* clatter, v¹ b, to be shattered; *DD* 2 sb, "A blow accompanied by a rattling sound from a fall or otherwise" See *Gawayn* 2201.
- 12 and 16 are written at the side as stanzas 3 and 4, and have been cut off in the binding
- 15 *wacche*] watch
 16 *w(ight)*] * wīcen, to move; of *AS* wīcan
 17 *snartely*] (G) bitterly
snewes] snows; and *snaues* (18)—see *Gawayn* 2003.
 18 *snappes*] (G) nips cruelly
snartte] (G) bitter
 19 *gurde*] girded
gewes] Perhaps 'gow' quoted in *DD* only for Angus county (Scot.) as "A halo, a cloudy, colourless circle surrounding the disk of the sun or moon, supposed to portend stormy weather." The conception is that of winter with its bad weather passing away so quickly that men are startled at (*glopened* with, 20; see *Gawayn* 2461) the brightness and warm color (*glawes*, 20) of the approaching spring.
- 21 *sewes*] (G) follows; see *Gawayn* Somer (510), seyson (516)
 22 *salace*] (G) solace
segges] sedges, rushes
aawes] *NED* show (sawes recognized), 5, to present (an object to a person (or thing) to make use of
 23 *herken*] *NED* hark, v⁴, used in hunting &c as a call of attention and incitement
hewes] *NED* hue, v³, to shout, make an outcry, specially in hunting
- 24 *halows*] (G) *NED* halloo, v¹, to urge on with shouts
hawes] *DD* haw, int. 1, a call to horses or cattle
- 25 *brome*] broom
blewes] (G) blows; and so *blawes* (26); see *Gawayn* 512
- 27 *likynge*] fancy
lewes] warms
- 28 *layke*] (G) play (*DD* Sc. & n. c.); cf. *Gawayn* 1111
lawes] (G) cairns, knolls; *DD* often used in Cheshire place names
- 29 *rewes*] order, *ie* in disorder
- 30 *arawke*] (G) wander: of *Gawayn* 1076, 1715; *Patience* 89; &c
radly] (G) quickly
rawes] (G) hedge-rows

- 31 *steuyn*] (G) tryst
stewes] in original meaning of hut or shed
- 32 *strynd*] cf Icelandic *strind*, slope
stide] (G) place
stawes] = stows, is placed
- 33 *mewes*] Halliwell, *DAPW* haystacks (Nth), cf mow (barley-mow)
- 34 *medell*] *futuere*
mawes] stomach ('middle')
- 35 *for-thrast*] (G) thrust away
threwes] = throws, *DD* 28, the act of twisting or wriggling, and so *thrawes* (46)
- 36 *with*] = in opposition to
threpe] (G) importunity
thilge] (G) be patient; cf *Gawayn* 1859
thawes] (G) good-manners
- 37 *tas*] gives
trewesse] AS *treow*, promises (unhistoric *e*); MS *trewesse*
- 38 *taries*] causes to wait
trawes] ? *trow*, *DD* sb^s 1, a short fit of sickness
- 39 *for-cast*] throw over
knewes] knees
- 40 *to clayme*] tr in response to calling
- 41 *bewes*] ? ('buss')
- 42 *buwumly*] probably with earlier meaning (cf *buzan*); tr. vigorously
baues] bend
- 43 *leese not*] tr. do not let go
pof] (G) even though
whewes] and *whawes*] (44) ME *wazien*, move quickly; note *DD* *whew* (v^a 1, gives first ref. 1864)
- 44 *whip*] hoop (interjection); MS *whiphey*
hey and war] cf *Gawayn* 1158
- 45 *threte*] (G) rebuke
thwes] *NED* b, your bodily strength
- 46 *throe*] (G) eager
thrawes] see *threwes* (35)
- 47 *kiewes*] cf *NED* *clew*, sb 1, globular body; here used figuratively
- 48 *koyntise*] (G) *NED* *quaintise*, an instance of cleverness
bak klowes] scratch back (n. e.); claws back at you
- 51 *mynges*] tr Each man mingles (with others) to the meadows to (see) his mate, and to teach her that does not know about love (*connot*) to marry (*tak to*).

The vocabulary is, of course, that of the poems of the alliterative 'revival,' and in consequence there are words common to many

poems. In several lines, however, there are complete phrases which are paralleled in *Sir Gawayn and þe Grene Knyȝt*:

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| Newton 18 | And snappes vs with mony snartte snawes |
| <i>Gawayn</i> 2003 | þe snawes snitered ful snart þat snaypes þe wyld |
| Newton 20 | That mony gome be glopened with glawes |
| <i>Gawayn</i> 2461 | With glopnyng of that ilke gome |
| Newton 21-2 | The swete somer seyson that sewes
miche salace to the segges hit sawes |
| <i>Gawayn</i> 510 | For solace of þe softe somer þat sues þerafter |
| Newton 36 | With her threpe ne be thulge the with thawes |
| <i>Gawayn</i> 1859 | þene he þulged with her þrepe |

These resemblances surely indicate a more than casual connection. It may well be that this poem is a conscious literary imitation of the alliterative style of a hundred years earlier, and that the author had an intimate acquaintance with *Sir Gawayn and þe Grene Knyȝt* (for the parallels are not confined to any one part of the earlier poem). The suggestion that our poem is just such a literary exercise is strengthened by two other factors. Humfrey Newton was a man of considerable wealth and his friends were the richest and consequently most cultured families of the county: his neighbors, the Booths, "produced an extraordinary number of church dignitaries during the XV century,"³ and were patrons of letters;⁴ and at his own parish church Newton contributed to the upkeep of no less than six priests. His original love poems, indeed, show a familiarity with the latest fashions in versification. Everything in his background would support the theory that he had at least a working acquaintance with literature, including alliterative verse. Furthermore, Humfrey Newton was born and lived in the Hundred of Macclesfield in Cheshire, the general area in which *Sir Gawayn* and its related poems were written, and where possibly the alliterative tradition was kept alive. In any case, and no matter to which theory we subscribe, here is a literary curiosity which testifies to the continued strength of the alliterative style.

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³ Ormerod, *History of the County of Chester*, 1882, III, 592, footnote f.

⁴ The Harley MS. 2250 of the *Life of S. Erkenwald* may have been com-

MORE TEXT-NOTES ON *DEOR*

V

Line 1: Welund him be wurman wræces cunnade.

For the notorious 'locus desperatus' formed by the MS *be wurman*, I venture to offer a new solution, *be womman* = *wommum* (inst. pl.) from *wom(m)*, *wamm* 'evil, anguish, torment.' This slight change would be paleographically satisfying. It might seem tempting to take this new phrase as an adverbial equivalent, 'direly, grievously.' A possible parallel would then be *Beowulf* 3072 f.: *hellbendum fæst, wommum gewitnad*, where the adverbial value 'grievously (punished)' is suggested by Fr. Klaeber in his edition (Glossary, s. v. *womm*)¹ and is approved in the Bosworth-Toller lexicon (s. v. *Wamm*). To be sure, in this the opening line of the poem a somewhat colorless adverbial phrase would seem preferable to the many suggested alterations and explanations which involve over-piquant and problematic allusions to the Weland legend.² But we should still lack a precise parallel for the preposition *be* in such a usage; and both *Beowulf* and *Deor* contexts may well be taken literally, 'through, by means of torments.' A significant similarity in these two contexts seems to me to add weight to this view. The *Beowulf* passage marks the only appearance of the word *womm* in that poem; there for certain, the word is used with reference to the pangs of hell. It seems to me most probable the *Deor* usage would contain the same reference. In the same section of *Deor*, line 4, the acute anguish Weland bore is termed *wintercealde wræce*, a remarkable phrase which I have elsewhere claimed is borrowed from medieval concepts of an ice-cold hell.³ Occasionally in other lines of the poem we come on terms

missioned by Laurence Booth (ob. 1480); see Gollancz, *Select Early English Poems* iv, London, 1922, pp. vi-vii, and also Foster, *EETS.*, 166, xii.

¹ *Beowulf*, 3d ed. (1936), p. 427.

² For a convenient brief collection of earlier attempts, see Klaeber, "The First Line of *Deor*," *Anglia Beibl.* xxxii (1921), 38-40. Cf. also (G. P. Krapp &) E. V. K. Dobbie, *The Exeter Book* (1936), p. 318. No full account has appeared as yet.

³ *PQ.*, xvii (1938), 367 ff.

which may bear a similar theological flavor: for instance, *dryhtne dyre* (37), a formula for the elect of God;⁴ or the striking epithet *grundlease* (15), strongly reminiscent of hell's bottomless abyss, cf. *Genesis* (B) 390 (Apoc. 9. 1 f., Milton's *Paradise Lost* i. 47). So too in this first line of *Deor* a term fittingly used of hell torment, may be introduced with some confidence.

VI

Line 10: *þæt heo gearolice ongieten hæfde*.

The emendation *þa* for *þæt* which Thorpe proposed, is a possible improvement. It was adopted among earlier editors by Klipstein and Ettmüller; it is still favored by Holthausen and Sedgefield in their latest editions.⁵ It could indeed be claimed that *þa* was possibly in the original MS, later shortened to *þ̅*, the regular abbreviation for *þæt* of any value, and then wrongly expanded and so appearing as *þæt* in the surviving copy. But instances in which an original *þa* is suggested for the sign *þ̅* are isolated and questionable.⁶ Moreover, the use of *þæt* here is quite idiomatic. The experienced text-critic Ernst A. Kock once observed⁷ that "the attempts on *þæt* in Beow. 15, Beow. 766, and *Deor* 10 all show insufficient knowledge of Old English syntax." Here it is a semi-explanatory conjunction referring to the (anticipatory) noun *þing*, line 9, in the governing clause; cp. lines 35 f.: *þæt ic . . . secgan wille, þæt ic hwile wæs . . .*, where the second *þæt* refers back to the first, cp. *Maldon* 5 f., 36 f. It is also possible, though less idiomatic, to follow Malone's suggestion⁸ of another punctuation in this *Deor* passage by placing a semicolon after *þing*, 9b, and treating *þæt*, 10a, as the demonstrative pronoun.

Sedgefield⁹ seems to have been first in pointing out the more

⁴ Cf. *MLN.*, LV (1940), 207.

⁵ B. Thorpe, *Codex Exoniensis* (1842), L. F. Klipstein, *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, II (1849); L. Ettmüller, *Scôpas and Bôceras* (1850); F. Holthausen, *Beowulf, etc.*, I, 6th ed. (1919); W. J. Sedgefield, *Beowulf*, 3d ed., (1935).

⁶ Cf. G. P. Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript* (1931), p. xxii, on *Daniel* 717; Klaeber, ed. cit., p. 125, on *Beowulf* 15, giving other references.

⁷ *Anglia*, XLV (1921), 123.

⁸ Kemp Malone, *Deor* (1933), p. 24.

⁹ Sedgefield, *An Anglo-Saxon Verse Book* (1922), p. 140.

usual adverb in OE verse with verbs of knowledge, like *witan*, *cnawan*, *ongietan*, *gefrignan*, etc., is the short form *gearwe*, *geare* 'readily, well, clearly' (together with similar adverbs *georne*, *eaðe*, *swutole*). But the appearance of the extended form *gearolice* is quite regular here in *Deor* 10: though far less common than the short forms, it is seen, e. g., in *Elene* 288: *ic þæt gearolice ongiten hæbbe*. Here as there, it is demanded by the meter and serves to give a special emphasis, 'completely, fully, thoroughly.' A similar usage: *ðu sylfa miht/ ongitan gleawlice*, *Andreas* 860 f.

VII

Lines 25 f. tell how many a warrior of the Goth king Eormanric grew disheartened at the treacheries of his powerful ruler:

wyscte geneahhe,
þæt þæs cynerices ofercumen wære.

Apart from the (problematic) 'refrain' of *Deor*, no sure parallel for the construction of line 26 has been found by critics. But the poem is a series of much abbreviated allusions in highly compressed phrasing; hence its several obscurities. Lacking precise syntactical parallels, we may still interpret it as a bold elliptic construction. Fortunately, in this instance the story itself is not obscure. The men of Eormanric are in like case with those of Heremod in *Beowulf* (901 ff.) or of Mezentius in the *Aeneid* (VIII, 481 ff.): they were driven to wish their cruel and treacherous king overthrown. Yet surely they would not wish their mighty empire to be destroyed along with him. Many modern translators of *Deor* have overlooked this essential difference. The poet who wrote *Deor* was more precise: for him, the Goths of Eormanric did not 'wish constantly that their kingdom might be overcome.' They sought only that one part of the rule, the figurehead of the tyrannous king himself, should fall, they wished 'that (this part) of their kingdom should be overcome.' To convey this delicate shade of meaning, the elliptic partitive construction is purposefully introduced.

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THE ORTHODOXY OF *PEARL* 603-4

Recent notes on *Pearl* by Mr. Sledd¹ and Sister Mary V. Hillman² call attention afresh to the crucial lines 601-6:

"Of more and lasse in Godes ryche,"
 Dat gentyl sayde, "lys no joparde,
 For ðer is uch mon payed inlyche,
 Wheðer lyttel oðer much be hys rewarde.
 For the gentyl Cheventayn is no chyche,
 Queðer-so-ever he dele nesch oðer harde."

The passage continues to attract and merit scrutiny for two reasons. It appears to contradict itself regarding the equality or inequality of heavenly rewards; and line 603, 'For ðer is uch mon payed inlyche,' seems to be heretical in claiming equal blessedness for all the elect.³

Besides noting that the compensations of the blessed are said to be, not identical, but merely alike (*inlyche*), Mr. Sledd chiefly inquires whether *rewarde* in line 604 means 'reward' or 'regard.' He inclines to think that it means 'reward,' and so that the line is in harmony with 606, '*Queðer-so-ever he dele nesch oðer harde*,' and with other evidence that the poet conceived the elect as having graded joys, over and above the common joys of Paradise. That is, "all the blessed are rewarded alike, since they are all in the presence of God, but . . . they are not rewarded equally, since they differ in their capacity to realize His presence." Sister Mary Hillman cites parallels for this double system of award from Dante, *Paradiso* 31, 32, and from Hilton's *Scala Perfectionis*.

It remains to consider whether *payed inlyche* actually means 'paid alike,' as these, and all other commentators, and all modernizers of *Pearl*, have supposed.

In allusion to the central Parable of the Vineyard, with its talk of laborers and their hire, the fugue-like poem plays upon the word *paye(n)* as one of its leading motives. Thus *paye*, sometimes as verb and sometimes as noun, is prominent in the first

¹James Sledd, "Three Textual Notes on Fourteenth Century Poetry," *MLN.*, 55 (May, 1940), 381.

²Mary V. Hillman, "*Pearl*: 'Inlyche' and 'Rewarde,'" *MLN.*, 56 (June, 1941), 457-8.

³Carleton Brown, "The Author of *The Pearl*, Considered in the Light of His Theological Opinions," *PMLA*, 19 (1904), 115-53.

and last lines of the poem, in the last line of stanza 97, and in the first and last lines of all four subsequent stanzas. In most of these instances, however, the word does not have the derived meaning, 'to compensate,' but rather the original meanings of *paye(n)* (F. *payer*, L. *pacare*), 'to set at peace, gratify, content, satisfy, please.' Thus the noun, *paye*, signifying 'pleasure' or 'satisfaction,' is found in lines 1, 1164, 1176, 1188, 1189, 1200, 1212; the verb, with the force of 'please,' 'gratify,' or 'satisfy,' appears in lines 1166, 1177, 1201. A cognate of the synonymous middle English *apaye(n)* (F. *apayer*, L. *adpacare*), 'to content' or 'pacify,' is the *appagare* by which Dante twice describes the effect of the Beatific Vision upon the souls of the chosen.⁴

Surely Pearl is using *payed* in the same sense. She has already explained that there is no envy or detraction in Heaven, 'where each rejoiceth in the other's possessions, and would that her comrade's crown were five-fold as rich.'⁵ She would be safe in asserting that there each man is satisfied, contented, alike, 'whether his reward be little or much.'

Yet *inlyche*, with its several meanings, also requires further attention. In *Pearl* 546, where the lord of the Vineyard commands his reeve to pay the laborers, *in-lyche* clearly signifies 'alike':

Set hem alle upon a rawe,
And gyf uchon in-lyche a peny.

This meaning, which seemingly arose from a confusion between *i-lyche* and *inlyche* (O. D.), appears, however, to have been rare; the Oxford Dictionary records only three instances outside of *Pearl*. The adverb *inlyche* (*in(n)lice*, *in(n)lic*, *inlich*, *inly*, *endly*), on the contrary, is common in Old and Middle English in the sense,

⁴Though *appagare* had all the meanings of *paye(n)* and *apaye(n)*, Bickersteth's rendering of the two passages keeps the sense close to the Latin *adpacare*:

For the true light that fills them with content
unto itself compels their steps to cleave.

(chè la verace luce che le appaga
da sè non lascia lor torcer li piedi.

Par. 3. 32-3).

O trinal light which in a single star
sparkling upon them, so doth pacify!

(O trina luce che in unica stella,
scintillando a lor vista sì gli appaga'

Par. 31. 28-9).

⁵ *Pearl* 450-2: Professor Osgood's rendering.

not only of 'internally,' 'inwardly,' and so 'intimately,' 'heartily,' but also of 'entirely,' 'thoroughly,' 'extremely.' With this latter signification it is found, for example, in the Old English Boethius,⁶ Cynewulf's *Christ*,⁷ *The Tale of Beryn*,⁸ *Piers Ploughman*,⁹ *Generides*,¹⁰ *The Time's Whistle*;¹¹ in Chaucer¹² and frequently in Spenser.¹³

Thus the essential meaning of *payed inlyche* in the speech of Pearl must be 'completely satisfied, profoundly at peace,' and lines 601-4 may be interpreted: "Of more and less in the kingdom of God," that gentle one said, "there is no debate. Each man there is completely satisfied, whether his reward be little or much." In view of the manifest glance here at the Vineyard, where there was debate about more and less and each man was paid alike, the poet enjoyed the equivocation in 'payed inlyche,' which was enhanced by the setting, the seeming paradox of these lines:

For ðer is uch mon payed inlyche,
Wheðer lyttel oðer much be hys rewarde.

Pun and scholastic paradox might be indulged in without scruple since the orthodoxy of the 'double wordes slye' was safe under either interpretation. The elect literally were paid alike in the common gift of eternal life, the 'penny' of the Vineyard; and, regardless of celestial hierarchies, each soul was perfectly satisfied, filled with that boundless contentment that is essential to the very nature of the blest.¹⁴ Compare the testimony of Dante's Piccarda, in the lowest circle of Paradise, that the wills of the heavenly citizens are wholly satisfied by the quickening power of that love which makes them desire only what they already possess.¹⁵

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⁶ *Inlice*: xxxiv, 12 (O D).

⁷ The superlative, *inlocast*: 432. ⁸ *Inlich*: 867, *inly*: 1516, 2643.

⁹ *Inliche*: C. Passus 4 373; B. Passus 14. 89.

¹⁰ *Inly*: 3361, 4986; *endly*: 849, 4844.

¹¹ *Inly*: 3159.

¹² *Inly*: *Book of the Duchess* 276; *Troilus* 1. 640, 3. 1606; *House of Fame* 1. 31; *Romaunt of the Rose* 397.

¹³ *Inly*: *Shepherd's Calendar*, May, 38 (O.D.); *Heavenly Beauty* 225; *Fairy Queen* 2. 6. 51. 5, 2. 11. 21. 9, 3. 3. 17. 2, 3. 4. 13. 6, 3. 8. 34. 8, 4. 8. 55. 2, 4. 11. 1. 9, 5. 2. 3. 6.

¹⁴ See *Paradiso* 3. 79-81.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3. 70-2, 85:

Frate, la nostra volontà quieta

SIR GAWAIN AND THE GREEN KNIGHT, 1954

After the knight's return from his fox-hunting and the usual exchange of trophies, the evening was spent in feasting and merrymaking:

With merþe and mynstralsye, with meteȝ at hor wylle,
 Þay maden as mery as any men moȝten—
 With laȝyng of ladies, with loteȝ of bordes
 Gawayn and þe gode mon so glad were þay boþe—(ll 1952-55)

Tolkien-Gordon¹ translate *bordes* 'jests,' identifying it with *bourde* < OFr *bourde*, which occurs elsewhere in the poem. The same interpretation is given by Webster-Neilson,² who translate 'With laughing of ladies, with merry jests,' and by S. O. Andrew,³ who renders the line: 'What with laughing of ladies and lightsome jest.' By interpreting *bordes* as 'jests,' however, we ignore the pretty obvious parallelism or variation between the two halves of l. 1954: *With laȝyng of ladies, with loteȝ of bordes*. *Loteȝ* 'sounds, noises,' corresponds to *laȝyng*, and we should therefore expect *bordes* to be a word akin in meaning to *ladies*.

There is such a word, viz. *burde* < OE * *byrde* 'maiden, damsel,' which is used several times in the poem. Note particularly ll. 1372-73: *Thenne commaunded þe lorde in þat sale to samen alle þe meny, / Boþe þe ladyes on loghe to lyȝt with her burdes*. The o-spelling offers no difficulty, since the Gawain-poet not infrequently uses this symbol for original OE *y*, e.g., *gorde* (< OE *gyrdan*), 1851, and *gordel* (< OE *gyrdel*), 2035, 2037, 2429.

virtù di carità, che fa volerne
 sol quel ch' avemo, e d' altro non ci asseta. . . .
 e la sua voluntate è nostra pace.

St. Peter Damian's *Paradise* (Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae* 145. 980) describes the blessed in similar terms:

Avidi et semper pleni quod habent desiderant.

¹ This article is a by-product of Chaucerian studies made possible by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

² J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, *Sir Gawain and The Green Knight*, Oxford, 1930, Glossary.

³ K. G. T. Webster and W. A. Neilson, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Piers Plowman Translated*, Boston, 1916-17, p. 23.

⁴ S. O. Andrew, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, London, 1929, p. 74.

Having thus established that *bordes* most likely means 'maidens, young ladies,' the rest is simple enough. *Lotez* 'sounds, noises,' no doubt is used to depict the gay chatter or laughter of the young ladies; cf. *Pus wyth lazande lotez þe lorde hit tayt makez*, 988; *Þe lorde let for luf lotez so myry*, 1086; *Þe lorde ful lowde with lote—and lazed myry*, 1623. The meaning of the second half of l. 1954 is, therefore: "With the gay chatter (or laughter) of the maidens (young ladies)."

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AN ELIZABETHAN CHAUCER GLOSSARY

Among the materials added to the Chaucer codex, Manuscript Gg. 4. 27 in the University Library, Cambridge, by Joseph Holand about 1600 is a very free adaptation of the glossary in Speght's first edition (1598) of Chaucer's *Workes*.¹ For no apparent reason, this adapted glossary omits about three-fourths of the entries in Speght;² it also changes some of the meanings, adds further meanings, adds words and forms not given in Speght, omits parts of meanings, and occasionally combines entries. The errors in Gga are perhaps neither more frequent nor more serious in kind than Speght's; the corrections and additions show that Holand was surely no worse a philologist than Speght—though he was just as surely no better. To list all the errors would be merely tedious, but the corrections and additions may deserve a small place in the history of Chaucer glossaries. As I have not found the added words with their meanings in any earlier glossary or vocabulary, there seems to be no reason for denying Holand full credit for them.³

¹ Cf. John M. Manly and Edith Rickert, *The text of the Canterbury tales* (Chicago, 1940), I, 178, 182. I have presented the evidence that Holand owned the MS. and have discussed the other additions in a paper, "Joseph Holand, collector and antiquary," *MP*, XL (February, 1943). The glossary occupies fols. 30-32^v of the additions, which I designate as Gga.

² The statement in Manly and Rickert, *op. cit.*, I, 178, that Speght's glossary is 'expanded' is misleading. The fault is altogether mine. When I first studied Gga, my attention was so exclusively centered on the additions and corrections that I neglected to consider the omissions.

³ It should perhaps be pointed out that the MS. glossary mentioned in

CORRECTIONS.⁴ Speght *fond* "to make a foole," *fonne* "to be foolish," *fonne* "foole," Gga "foolish"; Speght *fell* "skinne," Gga "skinne or ferse"; Speght *grisly* [adj.] "abominably," Gga "abominable"; Speght *hew* "welfare," *hew* "to hoouer," Gga "couler"; Speght *leuer* "better," Gga "better, or rather"; Speght *nigh* "to draw neare," *ngh* "almost," Gga "*neare*" [perhaps the more usual meaning]; Speght *nempt* "tell, or name," Gga *Nimpt* "named"; Speght *tane* "take," Gga "taken"; Speght *slough* "ditch" [a possible meaning first cited by *NED.* from 1532], Gga "dirty place" [which better fits Chaucer's use of the word]; Speght *shede* "depart," Gga "spill"; Speght *ruse* "take pity," Gga "to slide down" [which is at least closer to the meaning of *rused*, *BD.* 381].

ADDITIONS. *Burlace* "to carry a ded man to bury";⁵ *Chad* "I had"; *Chud* "I wold"; *Crased* "broken"; *Daggled*⁶ "dirtye"; *Iapes* "iestes"; *Ich* "I will"; *Pinge* "thrust"; *Queme* "know" [erroneous]; *Vvand* "meate", *Vang* "take."⁷

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ELIZABETHAN LYRICS FROM TASSO

The earliest English translations from Torquato Tasso seem to have been Abraham Fraunce's *The Lamentations of Amyntas for the death of Phyllis* (1587) and Thomas Kyd's *The Householders*

the *British Museum catalogue* as being at the end of the Museum copy of Thynne's third edition (printed by Thomas Petit, 1545 [?]) is nothing but a copy of the glossary in Speght's second edition (1602).

⁴ Many of the corrections and improvements, including some of those listed, are admittedly slight and of minor importance.

⁵ Perhaps a partial explanation of *Burlace*, which does not occur in Chaucer, is to be found in the fact that *burles* occurs in the so-called ME translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, College of Arms MS. Arundel xxii—which Holand owned—, fol. 27, as a translation of *sarcophago*.

⁶ *Daggled* and several of the other words in Gga do not occur in the Chaucer *Concordance*; they are, nonetheless, of value as indicating Holand's philological interest.

⁷ *Vang*, obviously for *fong*, does not occur in Gg, which has the usual form. I do not know whether *vang* or some similar form occurs in MS. Arundel xxii.

Philosophie, from the *Aminta* and the *Padre di famiglia*, respectively. The first known translation from Tasso's *Rime* is a version of the madrigal "Tirsi morir volea," printed in the first part of the *Musica transalpina* in 1588.¹ I wish to point out here what appears to be the first printed English imitation of any part of the *Gerusalemme liberata*. Thomas Watson's *Italian Madrigals Englished*, published in 1590, contains the following madrigal, accompanied by the Italian text from *Madrigali a quatro voci di Luca Marenzio* (Venice, 1587):

Evry singing bird, that in the wood reioyces
 come & assist me, with your charming voices:
 Zephirus, come too, & make the leaues & the fountaines
 Gently to send a whispring sound vnto the mountains:
 And from thence pleasant Echo, sweetly replying,
 stay here playing, where my Phillis now is lying,
 And lovely Graces with wanton Satyres come & play,
 dancing & singing a hornpype or a rundelay.

Vezzosi augelli in frà le verdi fronde
 Temprano a proua lasciuette note
 Mormora l'aura e fa le foglie e l'onde
 Garir che variamente ella percote
 Quando taccion gl'augelli alto risponde
 Quando cantan gl'augei piu lieue scote
 Sia caso od arte hor accompagn' ed hora
 Alterna i versi lor la Musica ora.

Watson's modern editors, Carpenter and Bolle,² have neglected to point out that this Italian "madrigal" is a stanza from the *Gerusalemme liberata*, xvi, 12. This preceded by several years the imitations or translations of Carew, Spenser, and Fairfax. Watson's madrigals xxiii and xxiv are not translations of the Italian texts given in Marenzio's song-book;³ but it is interesting to note

¹ Indicated by G. A. Dunlop, "The Sources of the Idyls of Jean Vauquelin de la Fresnaye," *MP*, xii (1914), 163. This *rapprochement*, as well as the others I have noted here, was overlooked by Dr. H. M. Priest in his dissertation, *Tasso in English Literature, 1575-1675* (1934), a MS. copy of which is in the library of Northwestern University.

² F. I. Carpenter, "Thomas Watson's 'Italian Madrigals Englished,' 1590," *JGP*, ii (1898), 323-358; W. Bolle, *Die gedruckten englischen Liederbücher bis 1600*, Berlin, Mayer & Müller, 1903 [vol. xxix of *Palaestra*].

³ These madrigals are to be found in the *Quarto libro di madrigali*, Venice, 1587.

that the Italian musician here set to music the first eight lines and the last six lines, respectively, of a single sonnet by Tasso, beginning "Di nettare amoroso ebro la mente."⁴

The second part of the *Musica transalpina* (1597) contains still another imitation from Tasso's *Rime*. One of the best madrigals in the collection runs as follows:

Browne is my love but gracefull,
and each renowned whitenesse,
matcht with thy lovely browne, looseth its brightnessse.
Fair is my love but scornefull,
yet have I seene despised
daintie white Lillies, and sad flowres wel prised
Browne is my love but graceful.

Bolle gives the somewhat faulty Italian text from Ferabosco's *Secondo libro*. It corresponds to the first six lines (with the first line repeated at the end) of Tasso's madrigal:

Bruna sei tu, ma bella,
Ed ogni bel candore
Perde col bruno tuo, giudice Amore.
Bella sei tu, ma bruna;
Pur se ne cade incolto
Bianco ligustro, e negro fiore è colto
Chi coglie ad una ad una
Le tue lodi più elette,
Che se ne tessa in rime ghirlandette?⁵

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FALSTAFF'S "TARDY TRICKS"

Absence from London was so distasteful to Falstaff that when he was sent by Lancaster to procure a charge of foot for the army, he went by way of the Boar's Head Tavern. There he lingered long enough to eat Mistress Quickly out of house and home and be seized by Fang for indebtedness. The Chief Justice, attracted by the squabble between the sheriff's officer and Falstaff, reproached the fat knight for dawdling in the capital when his services were

⁴ Tasso, *Opere* (Florence, 1724), II, 292.

⁵ Tasso, *op. cit.*, II, 367. I am indebted to Professor C. B. Beall for the identification of the source of this madrigal.

needed in the field, and his words were the dramatic echo of many an official who had the heartache of assembling an English army in the 1590's.

Doth this become your place, your time, and business?
You should have been well on your way to York.

Sir John, you loiter here too long, being you are to
take soldiers up in the counties as you go. (*II Henry IV*, II, i)

When finally he reached Yorkshire, unwieldy Jack met similar admonitions from Lancaster.

When everything is ended, then you come:
These tardy tricks of yours will, on my life,
One time or other break some gallows' back. (IV, iii)

No doubt Shakespeare was satirizing contemporary army officers when he pictured Falstaff delaying his return to camp. Jack's tricks were all too frequently practiced by Elizabethan captains. Though leaders of footbands, they absented themselves from their charges, left them in command of lieutenants, and revelled in London. Judging from the letters sent to Cecil and the Privy Council from Dublin by the Lord Justices Loftus and Carey, captains employed for the Irish campaign were especially tardy in taking over their commands. In October, 1599, Carey complained that "our Commanders here for the martial forces are very few. The most are in England. If they will or shall receive Her Majesty's pay, it is fit they should forthwith be commanded to their charge."¹ The Privy Council agreed. Writing to Loftus and Carey the same month, the members declared that "we have warned all such Captains and Commanders, as are now in Her Majesty's pay and absent from their charge, to return presently; but, because we know not how they may delay it, it is Her Majesty's pleasure that you do forbear to pay any man that is absent from his charge until he return again."² The next month the Council in Ireland again complained to the Privy Council that "many of the chief captains and commanders of the army are now absent in England."³

The Privy Council, however, found it was a difficult matter to

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland (1599-1600)*, pp. 192-3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 212.

³ *Ibid.*

round up captains and send them back to their companies. The members could not, they said, "tell what commanders to turn back, or how to order them, because divers . . . deny to have any companies . . . (or) pretend unto us to bear only the name of some of them, without any wages."⁴ By June 1600, the situation (in spite of the endeavors of the Privy Council) was so bad that "Certain instructions" were sent to the queen's deputy and council in Ireland concerning absentee Captains. The instructions read in part:

henceforth any Captain whatsoever, that shall not reside in his garrison, and live with his company, and not (*sic*) depart from there other than for cause of sickness, or by special license in writing from the Lord Deputy shall be immediately discharged of his place, and another preferred to it.⁵

The instructions were not effective. Two months after their conception, Sir Geoffrey Fenton wrote a long letter to Cecil complaining that

the example is dangerous, when servitors dare presume to take wages of a Prince and disdain to do the service they are appointed to. I have often written and spoken in this, and have reaped no other fruit than envy and malice, . . . For these two sores of the absence of Captains and the licentiousness of the soldiers must either be stopped, or else the whole cause will run to an incurable course.⁶

Although Falstaff was absent from the Yorkshire camp by order, he remained away so long that Lancaster began to think of his absence as a hanging matter. Hanging might be one effective way of curing the "two sores" spoken of by Fenton, and Shakespeare may be satirically suggesting such a procedure. At least, there can hardly be a doubt that he is portraying the actions of Elizabethan captains through the antics of Falstaff and that he is expressing contemporary opinion of these actions through the mouths of the Chief Justice and Lancaster.

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⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁵ *Ibid.* (March-October, 1600), p. 272.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 357-58.

GREENE'S "TOMLIUCLIN": *TAMBURLAINE*, OR
TOM A LINCOLN?

In the Epistle "To the Gentlemen Students of both Universities" prefixed to his *Farewell to Folly*, which was published in 1591, Robert Greene wrote:

I presented you alate with my Mounning garment,¹ howe you censure of the cloth or cut I knowe not, but the Printer hath past them all out of his shop, and the Pedler founde them too deare for his packe, that he was faine to bargain for the life of Tomhuclin [*sic*] to wrappe up his sweete powders in those unsavorie papers²

Ever since Richard Simpson saw in this passage a reference to *Tamburlaine*, saying, "Tomlivolin [*sic*] is an obvious misprint for Tamburlain,"³ the custom has been to interpret it as a slur at Marlowe.⁴ I am not concerned here with the difficult question of Greene's relations with Marlowe,⁵ but it seems at least possible that "Tomliuclin" is a typesetter's error for *Tom a Lincoln*. If it were possible to say that the word written was "Tomlindlin," a

¹ This had appeared in 1590; see Arundell Esdaile, *A List of English Tales of Prose Romances Printed before 1740* (London, 1912), p. 68.

² Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *Complete Works . . . of Robert Greene* (London, 1881-86), ix, 230. The text reprinted by Grosart is that of the first quarto, dated 1591; see Esdaile, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

³ *School of Shakspeare* (New York, 1878), ii, 349.

⁴ A. W. Ward, ed., *Marlowe's "Dr. Faustus" and Greene's "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay"* (4th ed., Oxford, 1901), p. xix; Thomas H. Dickinson, ed., *Complete Plays of Robert Greene* (London, 1908), p. xxxv, n 2; C. F. Tucker Brooke, "The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, xxv (1922), 365-66, n. 29; Chauncey Elwood Sanders, *Greene's Last Years* (Unpublished dissertation, University of Chicago, 1926), pp. 177-78; René Pruvost, *Robert Greene et ses Romans* (Paris, 1938), pp. 253, 412.

⁵ There has been a good deal of speculation on this subject. A cryptic passage in the Epistle to Greene's *Perimedes* (1588) contains a reference to "Atheist Tamburlan"; *Works*, ed. *cit.*, vii, 8. An unfavorable reference to the historical character of Tamburlaine occurs in *Menaphon* (1589); *ibid.*, vi, 84. Yet in the *Groatsworth of Wit* (1592), Greene appears to address Marlowe with friendly admonitions as "Thou famous gracer of Tragedians"; *ibid.*, xii, 142-43. Sanders, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-235, tries to show that Greene and Marlowe were continuously enemies and argues that Marlowe, not Shakespeare, is the "upstart crow" of the *Groatsworth of Wit*.

good deal of its present strange look would be removed. In Elizabethan handwriting small *n* and *u* were almost identical, but in the absence of Greene's manuscript we can not say definitely that they were confused here.

On the bibliographical side the question is, was *Tom a Lincoln* in print or in existence early enough for Greene to have referred to it in 1591? The earliest record of the publication of this fantastic imitation of medieval romance, authored by Richard Johnson, is its transfer from Danter's widow to William White on 24 December, 1599, when it was entered as "*The history of the souldiour Tom of Lincolne called Red cros[s]e Knight, surnamed the boast of England.*"⁶ Presumably this refers to both parts of the romance.⁷ The transfer would seem to indicate that it was not new in 1599. Among the romances condemned by Francis Meres in 1598 there was, besides Johnson's *Seven Champions of Christendom*, an otherwise unknown book of "the blacke Knight."⁸ Meres may possibly be referring to *Tom a Lincoln's* son, the Black Knight, but this suggestion must not be pushed, since it is not known that the exploits of Tom's famous offspring received independent treatment.

The paleographical and bibliographical clues are not especially cogent, but Johnson's literary methods make it likely that the story of *Tom a Lincoln* may have been familiar long before he got hold of it. In his version it has many features of genuine medieval romance,⁹ indicating, perhaps, a traditional basis. A similar work by Johnson, his more celebrated *Seven Champions of Christendom*,¹⁰ is a popular romance of obscure derivation which was prob-

⁶ *Stationers Register*, ed Edward Arber (London, 1875-77), III, 55.

⁷ The second part, which was entered separately 20 October, 1607, gives the hero's name correctly as "Tom a Lincolne, the Red Rose Knight"; *ibid.*, III, 362. The earliest known extant edition is the seventh, of 1635, in the British Museum; see Thomas Seecombe, "Richard Johnson," *DNB.*, x, 912. This edition was reprinted in William J. Thoms's *Early English Prose Romances* (2d ed., London, 1858), II, 228-361.

⁸ *Palladis Tamia, Scholars' Facsimile Reprint* (New York, 1938), fol. 258v.

⁹ R. S. Crane, *The Vogue of Medieval Chivalric Romance during the English Renaissance* (Menasha, Wis., 1919), p. 26, says that it is indebted to Malory; see also Thoms, *op. cit.*, II, 220-21.

¹⁰ The oldest known copy of the *Seven Champions* is dated 1597, but this is probably a second edition, for it was entered in the *Stationers Register* in 1596; Seecombe, *op. cit.*, p. 912.

ably based on an original now lost.¹¹ He compiled his *Pleasant Conceits of Old Hobson* from various popular sources, and he also produced a prose version of *Tom Thumb* in this way.¹² Anything current was material for his pen. Moreover, in Part I, chapter 2 of the romance, Tom a Lincoln is said to have given to the city of Lincoln a "bell [which] he caused to be called Tom a Lincolne, after his own name, where to this day it remaineth in the same citie."¹³ But since the famous bell known as "Great Tom of Lincoln" dates from the early fourteenth century,¹⁴ it is more likely that the hero owes his name to the bell.¹⁵ In that case, the tradition of a connection between the two could be of an early date. Thus, when Nashe in *Strange News* (1593) says, "thou shouldst heare Tom a Lincolne roare,"¹⁶ he may be referring either to the bell of Lincoln cathedral or to the Red Rose Knight. Everything known concerning Johnson and the sort of stuff he dealt with makes it difficult to believe that this story originated with him.

For these reasons, it would not be strange if a lost original of *Tom a Lincoln* had been in existence when Greene wrote his Epistle to his *Farewell to Folly*. If an early version did indeed exist, "those unsavorie papers" would certainly have earned the contempt of a University Wit like Greene.

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¹¹ William T. Lowndes, *Bibliographers' Manual*, ed. Henry G. Bohn (London, 1865), III, 1216; F. J. Harvey Darton, ed., *The Seven Champions of Christendom* (New York, 1927), pp. vi-ix.

¹² In the preface to the latter work, Johnson comments on its early currency; see Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1935), p. 393, n. 36.

¹³ Thoms, *op. cit.* (new ed., London, n. d.), p. 612.

¹⁴ A. F. Kendrick, *The Cathedral Church of Lincoln* (London, 1902), p. 62. See also Camden's *Britannia*, ed. Richard Gough (2d ed., London, 1806), II, 371.

¹⁵ This is suggested by William E. Mead, ed., *The Famous Historie of Chynon of England*, *EETS.*, OS, CLXV (1925), xxxiv, n. 1.

¹⁶ R. B. McKerrow, ed., *Works of Thomas Nashe* (London, 1910), I, 321. McKerrow thought that Nashe's context seemed to require that Tom a Lincoln be the name of a piece of artillery, but he failed to find any such; *ibid.*, IV, 190.

¹⁷ Owing to the war, the author has not seen the proof of this article—
THE EDITORS.

A POSSIBLE SOURCE FOR *THE IRISH KNIGHT*

One of the lost plays presented at Elizabeth's court in the season of 1576/77 was "The Irisshe Knyght shoven at Whitehall on Shrovetide at night enacted by the Earle of Warwick his servauntes."¹ This performance has been generally noted by chroniclers of the Elizabethan drama.

One attempt has been made to identify *The Irish Knight*,² and several attempts have been made to discover a source for it. Professor Feuillerat suggests that the hero of the play may have been one Mariano d'Irlanda, who appears briefly in the late Spanish romance, *Historia del Nobile y Valeroso Cavaliero Felice Magno*.³ A subsequent critic objects to this work as a source because it had not yet been translated into English, and thinks a better guess is that the play dealt with Morhoul of Ireland, a well-known character in the romances of *Tristram* and *Meliadus*, the latter containing the part of Morhoul's career which "would perhaps offer most opportunities to a dramatist."⁴ R. S. Crane seems to favor this suggestion, remarking that the play was "based perhaps upon the French romance of *Meliadus*."⁵ A large element of conjecture is often involved in hunting for any particular source for an early Elizabethan chivalric play,⁶ but in the case of *The Irish Knight* a rather striking possibility appears to have been overlooked.

¹ Albert Feuillerat, ed., *Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth* (Louvain, 1908), p. 270.

² F. G. Fleay in his *Chronicle History of the London Stage, 1559-1642* (New York, 1909), p. 36, identified *The Irish Knight* with "the play of Cutwell," recorded in the same season. The insufficient grounds for this identification are pointed out by Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, II, 381, n. 6.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 461, n. For this romance, see Henry Thomas, *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in Spain . . . before 1601 now in the British Museum* (London, 1921), p. 33.

⁴ Lee M. Ellison, *The Early Romantic Drama at the English Court* (Menasha, Wis., 1917), pp. 69-70. The description of a single MS of the *Meliadus* in H. L. D. Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1883), I, 364-369, is cited as evidence that this romance was "well known" in England.

⁵ *The Vogue of Medieval Chivalric Romance During the English Renaissance* (Menasha, Wis., 1919), p. 24.

⁶ Ellison, *op. cit.*, p. 62. Reginald Whidden, *Chivalry in Pre-Shakespearean Drama* (Unpublished dissertation, Yale University, 1937), p. 89, states the principle that borrowings from chivalric romance in early Tudor

Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur* must have been familiar to the aristocratic circle which the revels of the court were intended to entertain.⁷ This storehouse of romance offers in the episode of Launceor, "the Irysshe knyght," and his lady Colombe⁸ a chivalric plot which would easily lend itself to dramatization.

At the time when Balen cut off the head of the lady of the lake, there was at court "a knyghte the whiche was the kynges sone of Ireland," Launceor, who asked Arthur for permission to ride after Balen to revenge the despote done to Arthur's hospitality. Launceor, "the knyght of Irelande," overtook Balen on a mountain and challenged him, but "the Irysshe knyght" was slain in combat. Then came a damsel dashing up on a palfrey, and when she saw that Launceor was slain, "she made sorowe oute of mesure and sayd O Balyn two bodyes thou hast slayne and one herte and two hertes in one body and two soules thow hast lost." She seized her dead lover's sword, and though Balen tried vainly to take it from her, "sodenly she sette the pomell to the ground and rofe her self thorow the body." Shortly after, King Mark of Cornwall came riding by, and when he understood how the lovers had died, "thenne maade the kyng grete sorowe for the true loue that was betwix them and said I will not departe tyl I haue on this erthe made a tomb." The two lovers were accordingly buried together with "the names of them bothe on the tombe. How here lyeth launceor the kynges sone of Irlond that at his owne request was slayne by the handes of balyn and how his lady colombe and peramoure slewe her self with her louses sward for dole and sorowe."⁹

A play based on this incident would have appealed to a courtly group keenly interested in mixing knightly exercises and chivalric

drama were usually general and typical in nature, and less often from recognizable sources. Dr. Whidden discusses, pp. 121-123, the romantic properties used for *The Irish Knight*, but offers no suggestion as to a source.

⁷ We have Gosson's statement in *Plays Confuted in Five Actions* (1582) that stories of the Round Table were among the sources which had been "thoroughly ransackt to furnish the Playe houses of London." W. Carew Hazlitt, ed., *The English Drama and Stage under the Tudor and Stuart Princes* (London, 1869), pp. 188-189.

⁸ H. Oskar Sommer, ed., *Le Morte Darthur* (London, 1889-1891), I, 79-84.

⁹ The inscription on the tomb in the *Suite de Merlin*, which Malory used as a source, reads: "Chi gist Lancer, fuis au roi d'Irlande, et dalés li gist Liône s'amie, qui pour le duel de li s'ochist si tost comme elle le vit mort." Except for the name of the heroine, the story of the Irish knight in Malory is essentially the same. See Gaston Paris and Jacob Ulrich, eds., *Merlin* (Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1886), I, 225-231; also, Eugene Vinaver, *Malory* (Oxford, 1929), Appendix Two, pp. 131-132.

displays with dramatic entertainments. The conventions of knightly adventure and courtly love, which had frequently appeared in the disguisings at the court of Henry VIII,¹⁰ were prominent in the revels at the court of Elizabeth. These conventions are admirably illustrated in the story of Launceor and Colombe in the *Morte Darthur*, a story which may well have been adapted into a chivalric play called *The Irish Knight*.

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FELLTHAM'S CHARACTER OF THE LOW COUNTRIES

The Theophrastian Character was expanded in various ways in the second half of the seventeenth century. Fewer collections of short characters appeared, and their place was taken by descriptions or pamphlets such as *The Character of a Low Churchman*, *The Character of a Towne Misse*, and Halifax's *Character of a Trimmer*. Owen Felltham seems to have been the first writer to use the character form for a full-length description of a nation—unless the *Perfect Description of Scotland* by James Howell,¹ printed with Felltham's *A Brief Character of the Low-Countries* in Amsterdam in 1680, and first printed separately in 1649, was written at an earlier date: it describes the visit of James I to Edinburgh. Two pirated editions of *A Brief Character of the Low-Countries* appeared in 1648² and 1652, followed by several authorized editions from 1652 onwards. It was also circulated in manuscript copies: two of these are in the H. E. Huntington Library. MS. HM. 14201 is entitled "Three weekes observation of the State Countrey, and especially Holland." This was written by "Mr. Jo: Silden³ to Mr. Farnaby the schoolemaster": it is a practically full-length version,

¹⁰ C. R. Baskervill, "Some Evidence for Early Romantic Plays in England," *MP.*, xrv (1916), 469 ff.

¹¹ Owing to the war, the author has not seen the proof of this article.—
THE EDITORS.

¹ The 1660 edition of *A Brief Character of the Low-Countries* is erroneously attributed to Howell in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. VIII.

² I have not been able to trace a copy of this edition.

³ I do not think that this can have been John Selden the lawyer and antiquary.

with some minor cuts and variations. MS. Harleian 6893 No. 6 in the British Museum is another copy of this version: it is entitled "Three weeks observation of the States Countries, especially Holland." The heading is repeated in a different hand "Three *Months* observations *etc.*" The second Huntington manuscript (El. 1181) is entitled "Three monethes obseruation of the Lowe Countries especially Holland," which is the title of the pirated edition. Although this text is shorter and inferior to HM. 14201, it is not as garbled or as brief as the pirated version. The text is preceded by this letter to an unknown addressee:

Towchinge the Lowe Countries

Hoble Sr

I should be ioyfull to heare how yo^u faire. I am well in bodie nowe, but a relapse lately had almost killed me, and I looke like an Embleme so ill drawne that you would scarce knowe me, but by the Concept; If drinkinge bee a cryme, I conclude my selfe faultie, for I haue typled with such appetite, as I had bene composed of sponge and stockfish and that recovered me, for one euill hath expelled a worse Here I haue sent yo^u a badd old peice, newe drawne and composed in the furie of Lubecke beere, pray read it, as you like this, Ile find you a better, yo^u that haue the better part of me (my hart) may comāund.

J. S.

AEgypt this

22 Jann:

MS. Harleian 5111 No. 1 in the British Museum, "Three monethes observation of the Lowe Countries, especiallee Holland," also contains this prefatory letter from Egypt signed J. S. *A Brief Character* was included by Felltham in the revised edition of the *Resolves* (1661);⁴ and there seems no reason to doubt his authorship. The best explanation of these manuscripts is that Jo: Silden wrote this letter, possibly to Mr. Farnaby, and that the correct interpretation of it is that with the help of Lubeck beer, Silden has rewritten Felltham's "badd old peice." The scribe of HM. 14201 (who however did not take his text from El. 1181) was aware that Silden had sent a copy of *A Brief Character* to his friend, but apparently did not realize that Silden was not the original author.

There is reason to suppose that *A Brief Character*, this "badd

⁴ *A Brief Character* was retained in the subsequent editions of 1670, 1677, 1696, and 1709.

old peice," was written long before its first appearance in print in 1648. On the title-page it is described as "written long since": the only clues in the text are the mention of the Queen of Bohemia's exile in the Low Countries, which lasted from 1621 to 1661; the Spanish War, 1621-1648, is still going on; and the mention of a large reclamation project "within these twenty years" is a possible reference to the draining of the Beemster Polder, which was carried out between 1608 and 1612. The first century of the *Resolves*, written in 1628, contains one or two passages that suggest a visit to Holland had already been made by Felltham;⁵ and the Elegy on Henry, Earl of Oxford, who died in the Netherlands in 1625, reveals a certain knowledge of Holland and the Dutch people.⁶

A Brief Character of the Low-Countries created a small vogue for the short travel book containing personal impressions, digressions, humour, and satire. Each European country was in turn "Characterized." John Evelyn's scurrilous *Character of England* (165-?) was replied to by a "*Character of France. To which is added, Gallus Castratus* or, an answer to a late slanderous pamphlet etc." (1659). In 1660, appeared *The Character of Italy, or the Italian anatomiz'd by an English Chyrurgion*. The author follows the general scheme of Felltham's *A Brief Character*; he gives a more detailed account of his tour, and frequently interrupts the narrative to retail the kind of anecdote which is mercifully absent from *A Brief Character of the Low-Countries*. The author was

⁵ Cf. *Resolves*, I, 12. "Even the mud of the World, by the industrious Hollander, is turned to an usefull fuell"; and *A Brief Character*: "'Tis the Port-*Esquilline* of the world, where the full Earth doth vent her crude black gore, which the Inhabitants scrape away for Fuel, as men with Spoons do Excrements from *Civitate*ts."

Resolves, I, 74, contains the following anecdote: "I knew a French Gentleman invited by a Dutch to his house, and according to the *vice* of that Nation, hee was welcom'd so long with full *Cups*, that in the end the *drinke* distemper'd him and going away, in stead of giving him thanks, he quarrels with his *Host*, and strikes him. His friend blaming him, he answered, It was his *Host*'s fault, for giving him *liquor* so strong. It pass'd for a *jest*: but certain, there was something in it more." Quotations are from the sixth edition of the *Resolves* (1636).

⁶ *Lusoria* VI: there is also a copy of this poem in MS. Addit. 21433 f85 (British Museum) where the title is given erroneously as "An Elegie on John Earle of Oxford" Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford, died of a fever in the Low Countries, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 25th July, 1625.

evidently acquainted with the *Resolves*,⁷ which increases his debt to Felltham. Nathaniel Brooke printed a *Character of Spain* as well as *The Character of Italy* in 1660; and apparently that was the end of this brief fashion.

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THE POEMS OF OWEN FELLTHAM

In *Lusoria*, first printed with the revised folio edition (the eighth) of the *Resolves*,¹ Felltham collected together forty-one poems most of which had been written at a much earlier date. There are only four poems known to be by Felltham that are not included in *Lusoria*. In *Fasti Oxonienses* (II, 454) Anthony à Wood gives an account of Lishbon Long, and wonders in his desultory way whether he was any relation of Kingsmill Long "who translated from *Latin* into *English*, *Barclay* his *Argenis* . . . which translation is dedicated by Long to Will. Drake of Averbury, Esq.; Owen Feltham hath verses in commendation of the translation." This is the earliest printed poem by Felltham:² some clumsy heroic couplets inform us that the translator has done his difficult work well. Two similes have the distinction of the imagery of Felltham's *Resolves*:

Tis Rare: for Bookes translated doe, like Silke
Twice dy'de, lose glosse, or like remou'd Trees, welke.

Felltham's poem on Thomas Randolph,³ which was first printed in

⁷ Cf. *Resolves*, I, 32, "When a man shall exhaust his very *vitalitie*, for the hilling up of *fatall Gold*" and *The Character of Italy*, p. 12, "Another trick that helps him to hill up his fatal riches"

Resolves, I, 1, "I remember *Ovid's fable* of the *Centoculated Argus*" and *The Character of Italy*, p. 3, "his bastards that closed the eye-lids of *Centoculated Argus*."

Resolves, I, 28, and *The Character of Italy*, p. 52, "*Sun-bak'd Peasant*." The achievements of the past are spoken of in *Resolves*, I, 46 as "eaten up by the *steely teeth of Time*" and in *The Character of Italy*, p. 69 as "consumed by the iron teeth of time."

⁸ Owing to the war, the author has not seen the proof of this article—
THE EDITORS.

¹ 1661: there were further editions in 1670, 1677, 1696, and 1709.

² It is not mentioned in the article on Felltham in the *DNB*.

³ Reprinted in *The Poems of Thomas Randolph*, ed. G. Thorn-Drury.

The Muses Looking glasse, and *Amyntas* (1638), and the poem *To the Memory of Immortal Ben* that Felltham contributed to *Jonsonus Vvrbus* (1638)⁴ are also omitted from *Lusoria*.

In Hazlitt's *Handbook* (1867) there is the following entry: "An Elegie on ye noble and excellent Mris M. Coventry per Owen Felljam (?Feltham) MS. Ashmole, 37. Art. 17." This entry refers to MS. Ashmole 36 f172: there are fifty-two lines covering both sides of the manuscript leaf. The second side is again endorsed: "Feltham's Elegie on Mrs Coventry." The whole manuscript, which is a collection of poems, is written in a seventeenth century hand. Although this poem was not included in *Lusoria*, nor printed separately in an anthology, there is no reason to doubt Felltham's authorship. We know that he had some connection with the Coventry family. Mistress Mary Coventry, who died on October 18th, 1634, was the daughter-in-law of Thomas Lord Coventry, to whom Felltham dedicated the second edition of the *Resolves* in 1628. *Lusoria* contains an elegy "*On Thomas Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, who died Decemb. 1640.*" The *Elegie on Mrs. Coventry* is very much in Felltham's style; the simile of the industrious bee, one of his favourite illustrations, is used: the neo-platonic conception of the soul as a prisoner in the body, a continually recurring image in the *Resolves*, makes one of its less frequent appearances in the Poems. As this poem is not accessible in print I have transcribed it in full:

An Elegie on ye hoble and excellent Mris M. Coventry. by Owen Feltham.

I might persuade she were not dead and cry
That soe much vertue knew noe way to dye
But his Almighty Truth forbids; & we
Will be believd for powerfull sh' is; as she
When she was living, now alas' in vaine
We flatter desperate Ioyes, when we would faine
Lyfe in those lymbes y^t are as cold, & low,
As her freinds hopes, or as pale Sorrow now.
The sun returns, & every yeare ye Springe

Randolph had written a poem in praise of the *Resolves* before he had met their author.

⁴ Reprinted in *The Works of Ben Jonson*, ed Gifford Felltham also wrote a parody of Jonson's "New Inn Ode" which was included in *Lusoria*; it had already appeared in *Parnassus Biceps* (1656). There are versions in MS. Harleian 4955 and MS. Ashmole 38. It was quoted in full in Langbaine's *Lives of the Dramatick Poets* (1691).

Bidecks ye frozen Winters languishing
 But when ye Soul from her clay house removes
 There's noe reinsuing of their pristine loves
 She now is gone for ever, ever to us,
 There's noe Elisha now, noe Thesius
 That may returne her from ye shades, & if
 There were such vertue left, when she had lyfe
 Tis now benum'd and fled, ye good we have,
 With her is hasting to her sylent Grave.
 Beauty and feature both since she is gone,
 Suffer Eclipse and diminution,
 And this is it wch makes most ladyes knowne,
 Borrow from Arte, what now is not then owne,
 That in ye face, where harmlesse Ignorance
 Thinks beauty sitts, lyes Italy and fraunce
 But if there be, since her, y^t does not paint
 To her chaste wayes she owes her being Saint.
 The Virgin Yce roab'd with a Mayden Snow,
 None knew a Chastity more pure; noe show
 But sweetnesse all, such a Cherubick looke,
 You'd think 'twere spotlesse Innocencyes booke
 So in ye cradle-houres of new borne tyme
 Shewd vncorrupted Nature in her pryme.
 The Industrious Bee, y^t midst her Hony lives
 Yet vn-intangled keepes her winges & thrives
 In hir owne stock of sweetnesse; told how she
 Liv'd in y^e World, from ye world's mazes free.
 Mild as ye sent of Rose, that where ere
 She with Charming Influence did appeare
 The world (tempestious else) wore a calme peace,
 As by ye Halcyon's nest, ye Tyrrhene-seas.
 Not affable for ends, but from a minde
 That in humility more height could fynde
 Then ere sombre greatnes reacht at: and herein
 Not seeking votes, she was cry'd up a Queene.
 To whome, came all y^t had but Eares or Eyes
 Bowd, & departing, left their heartes hir prize.
 Soe sweete, y^t now, it cannot be withstood
 But women may be loved, cause she was good
 And sanctified their Sex. The world shall see
 That they hereafter more shall honoured be,
 For when Greate Queenes by fate are tane away,
 Still to their figures, Subjectes reverence pay.

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⁵ Owing to the war, the author has not seen the proof of this article—
THE EDITORS.

WORDSWORTH IN AMERICA: ADDENDA

1.

Professor Leon Howard has effectually shown that American critics, as represented by Joseph Dennie, the chief at the time among them, were not unimpressed by Wordsworth at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He has called attention to the publication of "We Are Seven" in the *Philadelphia Gazette of the United States* on August 8, 1800, and of a number of other selections from the *Lyrical Ballads* in the *Port Folio* during 1801 and 1802.¹ He has also mentioned, without specific reference, that Dennie had welcomed Wordsworth earlier, in the *Farmer's Museum, or Lay Preacher's Gazette*,² in Walpole, New Hampshire; but a file of that periodical was apparently not available to Professor Howard at the time he wrote. It was on September 2, 1799, just one year after the publication of the Bristol edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*, that Dennie first praised "the admirable author" of this "very new collection of poems," and reprinted, with prefatory remarks, "Goody Blake and Harry Gill, a true story." This, so far as I have been able to discover, is the first of the writings of Wordsworth to be printed in America; and the brief prefatory remarks constitute the earliest American criticism of the "very new collection." Dennie introduced his remarks by identifying the source of the legend on which the poem was built as a tale from Darwin's *Zoonomia*. In America at that time there could have been no higher recommendation. The legend had been versified, Dennie said, by the unknown but "admirable author"

in the genuine spirit of ancient English song, and shews, by proof irrefragable, that simplicity and the language of ordinary life may be connected with the most exquisite poetry. The pathos, fine painting, and natural imagery of this tender ballad are worthy the mighty mind of Shakespeare. No man, who has a soul alive to the high enthusiasm of poetry can read, without emotion and tears, the following beautiful specimen of the magic of the bard.

When Dennie reprinted "We Are Seven" eleven months later and praised it for "inimitable simplicity and tenderness," he supposed

¹ "Wordsworth in America," *MLN*, XLVIII (June, 1933), 360.

² As did Milton Ellis in *Joseph Dennie and His Circle. University of Texas Studies in English*, No. 3 (Austin, Texas, 1915), pp. 104, 146.

its author to have been Coleridge.³ In his earlier comment in 1799, however, with a critic's privilege of inconsistency and apparently innocent of knowledge either of the anonymous "admirable author" or of the "friend" whose poems Wordsworth later asserted "have the same tendency as my own," Dennie concluded his prefatory remarks:

It is indited in the very language of Nature, and transcends the French taste and tinsel of the childish Coleridges, Southseys, and Merrys of the age, as far as Hesper outshines the "dubious light" of the glow worm. The poem in question is derived from no Gallic force; it is written by an English gentleman and relishes of the character.

2.

But Joseph Dennie, though representative perhaps of the most enlightened and articulate critical opinion of his time, was not alone in America in appreciation of the new collection. Professor Howard has elsewhere shown that the influences which inspired the most vital work of Wordsworth were operating in America perhaps earlier than they were in England;⁴ and both the precepts and practices of the American Philip Freneau have suggested the impact of those influences.⁵ It was natural then that by January of 1802 James Humphreys of Philadelphia was able to publish by subscription an American edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*. But even at this time, while Dennie was praising the collection in the *Port Folio*, there was present in America a solid and reasoned conservative criticism which refused superlatives to Wordsworth. "The long, but ingenious and well written preface," said a reviewer in the *New York American Review, and Literary Journal*⁶ soon after the appearance of the American edition, ". . . should be read by all who wish to enter into the spirit of these ballads." Of Wordsworth's language, however, of his exclusion from his poetry of "personifications of abstract ideas," of "phrases and figures of speech," it was suggested:

³ Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁴ "Thomas Odiorne: An American Predecessor of Wordsworth," *American Literature*, x (January, 1939), 417-436.

⁵ Lewis Leary, *That Rascal Freneau: A Study in Literary Failure*, Rutgers, 1941, pp. 105, 322.

⁶ II (January-March, 1802), 118.

This is indeed stripping poetry at once of half her plumage, and condemning her to skim along the vale, without daring to soar into the sublime regions of fancy. The laws prescribed by Mr. W. may suit a particular species of poetry like his own, but we apprehend that their authority will not be acknowledged by lovers of poetry in general.

The poems themselves, "almost entirely free from intricacy of thought or expression, . . . may be read by the simplest swain without difficulty." But this in a self-conscious and culturally subservient America was not said to praise Wordsworth. The reviewer continued:

Some of them appear to us too humble both in style and sentiment to be generally interesting. Many of the pieces display a lively sensibility to the beauties of rural scenery; but they are particularly distinguished for the delicate and affecting manner of portraying the sensations of the mind when agitated, as the author expresses it, by the great and simple affections of our nature;—of nature, however, as she appears in the walks of low and rustic life.

Two years later, when even in the *Port Folio* praise of Wordsworth was tempered by reaction of this sort against him, a "Critical Notice" in the *Philadelphia Literary Magazine and American Register*⁷ summed up what seems to have been a more representative American estimate:

It appears to be the great aim and study of Mr. Wordsworth to be simple; but he knew not what simplicity was—He did not know how to distinguish this daughter of beauty and grace from affectation. His pretended simplicity resembles the vacant-headed girl, who, in order to appear interesting, and to discover more infantile sweetness, hangs her head on her shoulders, points forward a coral lip, and rolls backward and forward a dark eye-ball void of speculation.

By 1809 even the *Port Folio* had joined the cry against him: "William Wordsworth stands among the foremost of those English bards, who have mistaken silliness for simplicity; and with a false and affected taste, filled their pages with the language of children and clowns."⁸

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⁷ I (January, 1804), 336.

⁸ VII (March, 1809), 286.

ANOTHER GRISWOLD FORGERY IN A POE LETTER

Harrison and Campbell made it clear that the texts of Poe's letters to R. W. Griswold, as printed by Griswold, did not in all instances agree with the original manuscripts that have survived. Quinn, showing that Griswold altered the text of Burton's letter to Poe, dated May 30, 1839, which also survives in manuscript, extended Griswold's activities in deliberate falsification to letters written by others than Poe.¹

However, all students of Poe (except perhaps Campbell) took in full faith the authenticity of the Griswold text of Poe's letter to him dated "March 29, 1841."² This date comes from a note in Griswold's hand on the manuscript of the letter itself. The original manuscript as Poe wrote it has been divided into two pieces, one of which is in the Boston Public Library, the other now on indefinite loan from the Griswold Collection to the Poe Foundation in Richmond, Virginia; the portion in the Boston Public Library bears a postmark showing the town mark of Philadelphia, and the date as "29 MA," the next letter being obscured by ink scratches.

Suspecting from the contents of letters between Poe, F. W. Thomas, and Griswold written in May and June, 1841, that something might be wrong, I requested the authorities at the Boston Public Library to re-examine the postal markings, and expert opinions confirmed my suspicion that the mutilated postmark was really MAY 29. Thus May 29, 1841, is the correct date of the original letter, and I believe the alteration to have been a deliberate falsification by Griswold, Poe's first editor.

On the piece of the manuscript in the Boston Public Library only part of the address appears: "R. W. Grisw / Bo." Harrison gives the inscription on the other portion of the manuscript as "ld, Esqre./ Mass."³ Furthermore, from a letter of George

¹ Poe, *Complete Works*, ed. J. A. Harrison (New York, 1902), xvii, 198, 200, etc.; Killis Campbell, *The Mind of Poe* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 88, etc.; A. H. Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1941), p. 279, etc.

² Printed first in Griswold's "Memoir" of Poe, p. xxi. (The memoir appears in Volume I of all Griswold editions of Poe except the first, where it is in Volume III.) The letter is also given in Harrison's edition, xvii, 83 f., and G. E. Woodberry, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1909), I, 351 f. Both seem to have followed the text printed by Griswold.

³ J. A. Harrison, *Life and Letters of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1903),

Roberts to Griswold, April 23, 1841, of which the manuscript is in the Boston Public Library, it is apparent that Griswold was urged to arrive in Boston about May 8 to take up his duties on the editorial staff of Roberts's *Times & Notion*. Thus we may conclude that the two pieces of manuscript are fragments of the original letter which Poe sent from Philadelphia, May 29, 1841, to Rufus W. Griswold in Boston.

Naturally the fragment that was separated from the letter proper has also been previously misdated. It begins "*Memo*. Born January 1811" and is a brief (and somewhat inaccurate) sketch of Poe's life. In a note to a later letter by Poe, Griswold alludes to this "*Memo*" as having accompanied Poe's first letter to him, and obviously he means the letter of May 29, which he had misdated.⁴ That the two fragments belong together is shown not only by the joining of the portions of the address, which fit each other, but by internal evidence of the texts.

In the letter itself Poe says, "As I understood you to say that you meant to preface each set of poems by some biographical notice, I have ventured to send you the above memo." The *above* does not refer to the preceding part of the letter, for Poe continues, "'The Coliseum' was the prize poem alluded to above." No such allusion is made previously in the letter itself, but his winning of the *Saturday Visitor* prize is mentioned in the "*Memo*."

By dating the letter in March Griswold led later biographers to think that Poe had made the overtures to be included in the *Poets and Poetry of America*, without invitation from Griswold. Actually, Griswold not only seems to have invited Poe's contributions but was dealing through Poe with F. W. Thomas. A letter⁵ from Thomas to Griswold, June 8, 1841, indicates that Griswold had asked Thomas through Poe to provide him with biographical material on E. C. Pinkney and "Amelia" (Mrs. Welby), that Poe had relayed the request, and had already "replied" for Thomas. Obviously Griswold was actively collecting material for his anthology at the end of May and in June.

1, 346; Woodberry, in the *Century Magazine*, XLVIII (August, 1894), 573, rightly connected the "*Memo*" with the letter now redated.

⁴ Griswold "*Memoir*" as cited by Harrison, *Complete Works*, xvii, 347.

⁵ *Passages from the Correspondence . . . of Rufus W. Griswold*, ed. W. M. Griswold (Cambridge, 1898), p. 66.

In the letter of May 29 Poe says: "On the other leaf I send such poems as I think my best, from which you can select any which please your fancy. I should be proud to see one or two of them in your book." Apparently the poems were copied out on an inner leaf of the letter, which, probably having been used as copy for the volume, has disappeared. Poe may have been proud or perhaps disappointed to see just three of his poems printed.

Griswold's March dating of the letter suggested to his readers that Poe had sought a place in the anthology on his initiative, which fitted in with the false picture of Poe that his first editor was painting. Restoration of the true date shows that Griswold asked the help of Poe, and puts the latter in a better light as regards his relations with Griswold than Griswold would have wished.

JOHN WARD OSTROM

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SOME WORDS IN SIR THOMAS ELYOT'S *OF THE KNOWLEDGE WHICH MAKETH A WISE MAN*

In *Of the Knowledge which Maketh a Wise Man*, 1533, Sir Thomas Elyot uses a number of words in ways not recorded by the *New English Dictionary* or uses them earlier than the other instances noted by *NED*. Interesting is the fact that most of them are not learned embellishments of the language, but are words that must have been in use for a considerable time. They are as follows:

cothed: a hole shepe from a cothed (C7 v). *Oothe* is a scabby disease of sheep; *cothed*, then, means diseased. *NED*. records no verbal form of *cothe*; its first verbal example from the worn-down form *coe* is 1746 *Hamoor Scolding* (E. D. S.) 40.

fynde out: to dygge vp the Oore / and after ceaseth not to trye it from the stones/ and with contynual trauayle to fynde out the pure gold (L4 v). *NED* does not record *find* or *find out* as meaning *refine*. *Fine out* does not occur.

malanders: wherbi stordy courage pride & ambitiō, & other like malādērs of the minde may be curid (H7 v). The word means a "dry scabby eruption behind the knee in horses." *NED*. does not record it as meaning disease in general or as, metaphorically, defects of the temperament.

imbosed: & therefore the bodi and membres shuld shewe to them as rounde and fulle, as it were imbosed and wrought in tymber, metall, or stone (D3 r and v). Here *embossed* means "carved or moulded in relief"; the earliest example with this meaning in *NED*. is 1541 Elyot *Image Gov.* 67.

mordicatif: that this disease requirith sharp medicines as those which be mordicatif or biting (K4 r). The earliest example in *NED* is 1612 *Benvenuto's Passenger* 113

passible: he shall therby not onely remembre / that he is passible / & therefore no god (H8 v). As meaning "transient" or "ephemeral," the first occurrence in *NED* is 1627-77 *Feltham Resolves* I. xx. 36.

phthiriasis: or the lowsy syknes callid phthiriasis (K v). As meaning "a morbid condition of the body in which lice multiply excessively," the first occurrence in *NED* is 1598 *Sylvester Du Bartas* II. i. 111.

rase: a rase of mares (D8 r). As meaning "a stud or herd (of horses)" the first occurrence in *NED* is 1547 *Privy Council Acts* (1890)

refricate: lest I moughte happen to refricate the late variaunce betwene the and me (C r and v). As meaning "renew (a wound or grief)," the first occurrence in *NED* is 1570 *Fox A. & M.* (ed. 2) 2121/1.

kepest tacke: and truely thou kepest tacke with me (G5 r). *NED* does not record to *keep tack* in the sense of "to hold one's own with." The first occurrence of *keep tack* in any sense is 1611 *Cotsgrove*.

white: and kepe them atte home all the day in the shadowe for burnynge theyr white (L8 v). There is no entry in *NED* for *white* as meaning "fair complexion," although there is for "fairness of complexion."

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REVIEWS

Matrimonial Law and the Materials of Restoration Comedy. By GELLERT SPENCER ALLEMAN. Wallingford, Pa. (privately published), 1942. Pp. vii + 155. \$2.00.

Since 1778 when Edmond Malone first advanced the theory that Shakespeare must have studied law, scores of books and articles have been written by lawyers and literators upon the subject of the law in his plays, with less frequent excursions into the field of Elizabethan drama generally. At the same time little consideration has been given the law in the Restoration drama. This inattention, however, may not prove to be a total loss if, as a consequence, the illogical and unsatisfactory practice, common among commentators upon the works of Elizabethan playwrights, of treating the subject play by play, or of giving a mere list of unconnected legalisms is avoided. The present work is one of the few treatises on law in the drama in which the author adopts the more systematic method of discussing "stage law" according to a particular legal subject.

Mr. Alleman divides his text into three major parts: Spousals (contracts of marriage); Irregular (i. e., clandestine and deceptive) Marriages; and Termination of Marriage (separation and dissolu-

tion of marriage). Within this framework he presents an "analysis of the manner in which Restoration comedy [to which his work is limited] *uses materials from matrimonial law to provide dramatic situations.*" His concern is with dramatic motifs, with how matrimonial law is woven into the structural plan of the drama, rather than with the explanation of passing legal allusions occurring in characters' speeches. In this the approach differs from that of most commentators upon law in the Elizabethan drama. Undoubtedly the disparate uses of the law by the dramatists of the two periods contributed in some degree to the adoption of the present method. The Restoration comedies regularly present plots which themselves raise these matrimonial problems; the Elizabethan plays, on the contrary, ordinarily suggest, rather than dramatize, a myriad of legal problems which usually do not form part of the plan of the drama.

As the author himself admits, the Restoration comedies are more readily grouped and tabulated than the Elizabethan. Where the latter present a variety of intricate and complicated problems, the former are limited to a comparatively few conventionalized plots and situations. This is demonstrated by Mr. Alleman's tables of successful clandestine, tricked, and mock marriages: they not only fill twenty-two pages of text (showing the frequency of their appearance), but all the dramatic problems readily break down and fit into a very few pigeonholes.

While some parts of this little treatise are of more value to the present-day lawyer than others, the entire book should be most helpful to the student of the drama and to people who read and see the plays of this period, since they often assume a knowledge of matrimonial law long since forgotten. The law of spousals, for example, as developed in the ecclesiastical courts became highly intricate and artificial. Much was made, legally and basically, of the distinction between words used by a couple, whether *de praesenti* (in the present tense) or *de futuro* (in the future tense). Now, as Pollock and Matland, with their customary perspicuity, point out, "Of all the people in the world lovers are the least likely to distinguish precisely between the present and the future tenses." The church courts applied their canons with little regard to the difficulties presented by variants of the human equation or by the idiomatic ambiguity of colloquial English. Similarly, when characters of the Restoration comedies speak of "divorce," they do not refer to the judicial decree dissolving the bonds of matrimony with which we are familiar today. At that time, once a valid marriage had been contracted no spiritual court could dissolve it; the nearest approximation to such dissolution was by Act of Parliament. Annulments (i. e., adjudications that no valid marriage had ever been effected) were more common, although not nearly so readily obtainable as before the Reformation.

On the other hand, some parts of the book are highly suggestive and valuable to the practicing lawyer of today. The courts of most

states, with varying degrees of readiness, permit annulments of marriages induced by fraud or deception, of mock marriages, of marriages contracted while one or both parties are drunk, etc. Our present law stems directly from decisions of the English ecclesiastical courts, before, during, and after the Restoration period.

Restoration comedies present almost every variety of situation involving this group of problems and suggest the legal answer, at least as understood by the dramatists. They developed, it is true, a body of "stage law" to reach a dramatic result which a lawyer then or today would not necessarily regard as sound. For example, it was regularly postulated that a marriage ceremony performed by a mock priest was always invalid. Most lawyers, however, would disagree, we think, where both parties were deceived and where both presently intended to effect a marriage.

Without any intention whatever of detracting from the value and importance of Mr. Alleman's work, we regret that he failed to include a full bibliography. This is the more unfortunate because of the practice of citing works as, for example, "Hutton, *op. cit.*," with no indication of where the complete title may be found—a common vice but not the more forgivable on that account. If space must be saved in this manner, a key to the abbreviations of works frequently cited would be helpful. For a book of this kind, typographical errors are remarkably few, the most persistent and disconcerting misspelling being that of "Vanburgh" for "Vanbrugh." A fuller, more topical index, not confined to names of persons and plays, would also have been an improvement.

Mr. Alleman's work is a scholarly, readable exposition of a very difficult and too little understood field. There should be more books of this kind.

CLYDE T. WARREN
PAUL S. CLARKSON

The Economic Novel in America. By WALTER FULLER TAYLOR.
Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942. Pp. xi + 378. \$4.00.

The Economic Novel in America is a much more important work than its title would suggest. It is not merely a careful and judicious literary-historical study of "some two hundred and fifty volumes of economic fiction" published in the United States between 1870 and 1901 with special emphasis on the social fiction of Mark Twain, Hamlin Garland, Edward Bellamy, William Dean Howells, and Frank Norris. It is, perhaps more significantly, a persuasive corrective of common conceptions concerning the atmosphere and literature of the Gilded Age. Finally, it is a telling exposure of the ignorance and prejudice that underlie sweeping judgments of the period uttered by such recent critics as Van

Wyck Brooks, Lewis Mumford, and Granville Hicks. This unbiased study demonstrates finally the invalidity of Brooks's judgment that "in that age, America, innocent, ignorant, profoundly untroubled, slept the righteous sleep of its own manifest and peculiar destiny," Lewis Mumford's assertion that the Gilded Age "denied, starved, frustrated its imaginative life," or Hartley Grattan's purblind conclusion that Howells' view of America was "scarcely distinguishable from Andrew Carnegie's."

Mr. Taylor's first task was the definition of the basic elements in the American view of life before the Civil War and the demonstration of the persistence of this view well into the Gilded Age. In his opinion the Gilded Age is "a story of class conflict between various middle-class groups and the plutocracy. It is a story of the sudden burgeoning of a capitalistic industrialism which challenged the cultural dominance of our agrarian-nurtured democratic middle classes. It is a story of the strenuous efforts of the middle classes to meet that challenge and to assimilate into their established culture the new disruptive forces loosed by the Machine." The critique of capitalistic industrialism by the novelists studied here takes on a number of intellectual forms. "The liberal Left-Center is represented by Mark Twain; the radical middle-class Left is represented in its individualistic bearings by Garland and in its collectivist by Bellamy and Howells; and the conservative Right-Center is represented by Frank Norris."

The body of Mr. Taylor's book is devoted to a careful study of the economic doctrines of these major writers and of the expression of their views in fiction. Of these five studies, that of Howells is the most richly rewarding, perhaps because the works of fiction analyzed are aesthetically superior and because the intellectual core of these works "is a system of economic thought at once more complex, more systematic, and better integrated than that of any of Howells' fellow-novelists except Bellamy." One might wish that Mr. Taylor had made a little more of the psychological and moral significance of the degree to which Mark Twain and Hamlin Garland were corrupted by the very forces they sometimes attacked or had made a little less of the aesthetic distinction of the novels of Frank Norris.

In point of fact, the least persuasive portion of the book is the attempt in the Conclusion to estimate the artistic worth of the works studied. One welcomes, of course, Mr. Taylor's judgment as to the half dozen most important works of economic fiction: Twain's *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, Howells' *A Hazard of New Fortunes*, Garland's *Main-Travelled Roads*, Norris' *The Octopus*, and Twain and Warner's *The Gilded Age*. But one becomes a little impatient with the critical diffidence that prevents his pointing out boldly the weaknesses in the novels of some of his major figures, and one finds

irrelevant the hortatory peroration addressed to contemporary writers of economic fiction.

FRED B. MILLETT

Wesleyan University

The Truth of our Times. By HENRY PEACHAM. Reproduced in facsimile from the edition of 1638, with an Introduction by ROBERT RALSTON CAWLEY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xxiii + 203. \$2.00. (Publications of Facsimile Text Society, 55.)

The Dignity of Kingship Asserted. By G. S. Reproduced in facsimile from the edition of 1660, with an Introduction by WILLIAM R. PARKER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xlv + 223. \$2.20. (Publications of Facsimile Text Society, 54.)

The Truth of our Times consists of brief essays by Henry Peacham, the author of *The Compleat Gentleman*, on such topics as "Gods Providence," "Opinion," "Of Clownes and rude behaviour," and "A religious honest man." The principal interest in this minor work by a minor author is in its reflections on dress and manners. Of ideas Peacham has few, and those few are the commonplace notions of a man of his rank and education in his time. In view of the great mass of vigorous and important writing which remains unexhumed from seventeenth-century pamphlet literature, this little work seems to me facile and pleasant but not very important. Nor do its qualities of clear-sighted observation and trenchant expression appear quite so pronounced as they appear to its editor.

The republication of *The Dignity of Kingship* is justified by the fact that it was an immediately contemporaneous direct reply to Milton's *Readie and Easie Way*. Professor Parker in his brief but informing introduction plausibly identifies the author, G. S., with George Starkey. Written in March 1660 during the restored parliament and on the eve of the Restoration, the pamphlet testifies to the final and complete political failure of Puritan godliness. It is essentially a polemic against the saints, the Rump, and the grandees of the Cromwellian and post-Cromwellian commonwealth. Although the writer voices the predominant royalism of the moment, his attitude toward Milton indicates that he felt a certain awe for the ability and the prestige of the man who had given both presbyterians and royalists such mighty learned drubbings in the press. He obviously has no stomach for similar punishment, and in effect says as much. In his opening pages, consequently, he speaks very

respectfully of the great man. Milton has every advantage over him, he says, except the truth and honesty of his cause. But as he warms to his argument, he is not afraid to abuse the author of the divorce tracts, without having taken the trouble, as indeed few did, to understand exactly what was set forth in them. Neither has he troubled himself to read much below the surface of *The Readie and Easie Way*. That pamphlet was Milton's penultimate effort by sheer power in discourse to lift the Puritan Commonwealth into the classical republic, or rather, into the humanistic Utopia of his own speculation and allegiance. His antagonist, whom he ignored, read what Milton wrote simply as defense of the Rump which might impede the restorers of the parliamentary monarchical regime. *The Dignity of Kingship* at least shows, however, that though Milton did not succeed in making himself understood by his immediate contemporaries, he made himself respected and even feared.

WILLIAM HALLER

Columbia University

Andrew Marvell. By M. C. BRADBROOK and M. G. LLOYD THOMAS.
Cambridge: The University Press, 1940. Pp. 161. \$2.25.

The Works of George Herbert. Edited with a Commentary by
F. E. HUTCHINSON. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1941.
Pp. 618. \$8.00.

Margoliouth's edition of Marvell's *Poems and Letters* lacks a critical introduction; Birrell's *Marvell* in the 'E. M. L.' is patently old-fashioned in its view of the poetry; the massive contemporary work on the *poet and patriot*, that of Pierre Legouis, is a French dissertation. Meanwhile the status of Marvell's poetry, already high with Lamb, Hazlitt, and Palgrave, is currently almost vertiginously exalted. Thus the new monograph by the Misses Bradbrook and Lloyd Thomas professes to have been written to meet the need for a "critical examination of his total work" and to prove that the whole is greater than such brilliant parts as "The Garden" and "Definition of Love." But the need is artificial, and the thesis is unsuccessfully maintained. The metaphysical poetry, the pastorals, the verse satires, *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, the M. P.'s letters to his constituents at Hull: these parts of Marvell's career remain disjunct; nor does the poet come to biographical life. The authors of the monograph painstakingly examine the whole of Marvell's work in verse and prose, laudably aiming to write criticism as well as historical exposition; their criticism, however, never opens out beyond itself and never really penetrates its object: it is unfailingly competent, intelligently pedestrian. Happily, with

Empson's chapter in *Some Versions of Pastoral* and Eliot's masterly essay we do not want for adequate direction.

Hutchinson's edition of George Herbert enters the Oxford Poets thus late (nearly thirty years after Grierson's Donne) out of respect to G. H. Palmer's edition. To the general excellence of his predecessor's work, the present editor does justice. But he properly takes exception (pp. lxxvii-ix) to Palmer's rearrangement of the poems under categories mixedly chronological and topical, the effect of which is, mistakenly, to represent Herbert as growing more melancholy toward the end of his life; and he sensibly restores the order of poems in the Tanner manuscript, which, presumably representing Herbert's own arrangement, shows "many instances of purpose. . . ."

Hutchinson's critical essay on Herbert (eminently sound but unexciting) appeared in *Seventeenth Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert Grierson* (1938) and is not here reprinted. The introduction to the *Works* includes a careful biographical sketch, superseding all others, and a careful study of Herbert's reputation, in which the most important discovery concerns John Wesley's devotion; and the volume concludes with a useful Commentary of exegetical notes which, citing the interpretations of such critics as Legouis, Leishman, Bennett, Empson, and Eliot, serves as a kind of Variorum.

AUSTIN WARREN

University of Iowa

War and the German Mind, The testimony of men of fiction at the front. By WM. K. PFEILER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. \$3.25.

Pfeiler's book is not just one of the many books dealing with one or the other aspect of the general war situation, as the title may lead one to expect. It analyzes most objectively the various trends of the German war novel, written during and after the first world war. A bewildering amount of material has been gathered by the author, and anybody who has read only a fraction of this material must envy Mr. Pfeiler for his enduring patience. Even if the book does not add anything radically new to the picture of present-day Germany and open a new vista into that abyss which is called "the German mind"—as a literary and critical study of the German war novel it can hardly be surpassed. The organization of the book may be called somewhat orthodox. In the first part, the historical background is summed up briefly and to the point. Part two discusses the works written during the war which are generally very personal and subjective in nature but which show a growing consciousness of the ugly realities of war. Parts

three and four analyze the two waves of war literature after the war, the first with a strong pacifist and individualistic tendency ("the egocentric novel," such as those of Remarque, Arnold Zweig, Franz Werfel etc.), the second attempting a revaluation of the war experience in the light of Hitlerism ("the ethnocentric novel"). The task of the author has been tremendous. The seemingly endless procession of writers and novels was not easy to survey and leaves the reader in a state of complete confusion. More than half of the names and titles discussed have never come to the attention of the general reader outside of Germany, and will not tempt him to make their more direct acquaintance. Perhaps it might have been better if the author had attempted a more critical evaluation of the most outstanding works, shifting all that is of minor importance into notes instead of losing himself in an enumeration that confounds rather than enlightens. On the other hand, the rigid limitation of the book to fiction is unfortunate. Some of the most characteristic and vivid attempts at recreating the war experience appeared in lyric and dramatic form (as in the work of Becher, Zech, Unruh, Goering, Rubiner etc.) and the consideration of poetry and drama might have complemented the material to its advantage. Occasionally the discussion narrows down the aspect of a book of greater scope by treating it merely as a war novel. That is particularly true in the case of the analysis of Werfel's *Musah Dagh* which Pfeiler calls "one of the greatest German war novels." But here the war is only background to a national and racial tragedy, and the book reveals its real greatness only when taken as a prophetic vision of the fate of the German Jews in a Germany where the adjectives "Nazi" and "Turkish" are synonyms. In a very interesting appendix, Pfeiler discusses the literature on the German war novel, refuting at great length the studies by Cysarz and Pongs. The foreword to the book was written by George N. Shuster who emphasizes briefly some of the general aspects of Pfeiler's investigations.

WOLFGANG PAULSEN

Southwestern, Memphis

The Writings of Jakob Wassermann. By JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL.
Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1942.

Blankenagel's book does not pretend to be a biography of Jakob Wassermann. It limits itself to a discussion of his works, proceeding in a more or less chronological order. Such an investigation could have been very interesting and most illuminating for the understanding of modern German literature; innumerable threads

lead from Wassermann's books to the great writers of other nations from whom he always tried to learn. And what is even more important: there are many elements in his writings that show their dependence on many if not all contemporary literary movements and artistic conceptions. Unfortunately, Blankenagel has not attempted to see beyond the mere content-matter of each book. He relates the stories at length and argues with the author about technicalities, instead of singling out the real problems. For instance, in his description of *Christian Wahnschaffe* he makes no mention of the very obvious attempt to experiment with the theories of German expressionism. In discussing Wassermann's two biographies, *Christoph Columbus* and *Bula Matari*, he could have pointed to the growing interest in the historical novel among the German reading public of the Twenties, and could have placed them side by side with the biographies by the two Zweigs, Alfred Neumann, Heinrich Mann, even Emil Ludwig and many others. But still more serious is the unhappy limitation of Blankenagel's analysis where the actual problems of Wassermann's books are being discussed. However one may approach his work, there is hardly a book with a purely subjective appeal. Wassermann's novels, almost perfect reflectors of their time, could have led to a very fruitful discussion of German middle-class society before and after the first world war. All his problems are the problems of his time, and they were his own only because of their universal significance, be it the problem of nationalism, antisemitism, religion, justice, "Tragheit des Herzens," love, marriage or prostitution. The tremendous popularity of many of these books should have made it quite clear that the instability of his average characters and their struggle for a higher morality were also the defect and the longing of his age. It would have been a truly valuable contribution to have viewed Wassermann's work with perspective instead of being satisfied to have assembled a collection of book reviews that do not even gather any new biographical or critical material.

Southwestern, Memphis

WOLFGANG PAULSEN

BRIEF MENTION

Meier Helmbrecht, a Poem by Wernher der Gartenære, edited by CHARLES E. GOUGH (German Mediaeval Series, Section A, vol. II.) Oxford: Blackwell, 1942. Pp. xxxv + 118. 6s. Despite innumerable difficulties the editor of the above MHG series has succeeded in having Bostock's *Armer Heinrich* followed by another war child, Gough's *Meier Helmbrecht*, likewise "to meet the special require-

ments of English speaking University students." Well known as a specialist in *Helmbrechtiana*, the author here offers of necessity a reconstructed MHG text—the only two MSS are of the 15th and 16th centuries—which, moreover, has made a certain standardization inevitable. In contrast to older, overstandardized texts, this edition offers not only some new readings, but also copious footnotes and frequent references to English parallels. The volume is rounded out with a rich glossary, in which the MHG words are rendered in their English and German equivalents.

Extremely valuable is the introduction, dealing with the MSS, localization of the story, the author, and his background. Basing his findings upon his own research of many years, Gough is able to advance a new hypothesis as to the personality of Wernher, so wrapped in mystery. He was not Bruder Wernher of Austria (C. Schröder), nor the Augustinian 'Pater Gardener' of Ranshofen (F. Keinz), nor Knight Wernher of Burghausen (K. Stechele), nor a wandering minstrel (Panzer-Schiffmann), but, according to Gough, a Tyrolean Franciscan monk, born South of the Brenner (Lago di Garda), who was engaged in missionary work in Austria and Bavaria. His poem intends to inculcate a moral lesson, the value of discipline, *zucht*. Meier Helmbrecht is, therefore, at bottom a sermon, popularized and peppered with humor. It was known beyond the German frontiers, for the Bohemians evidently knew this story and, as a parallel to Modern French *bismarquer* *q.*, they coined the terms *helmbrechtig* and *helmbrechtice*, to describe arrogance.

While the text is remarkably free of errors (except l. 490 *beilbe* for *belibe*; 765-6 *wil*, *il* for *wif*, *lif*; 1659 *êore* for *êre*), a few, of no consequence, do crop up in the bibliography (Panzer's ed. is of 1932, not 1930; Wilhelm's title reads *Abfassungszeit*, not *Auffassungszeit*; Hagelstange's title is *Bauernleben*, not *Baurenleben*). All in all, this new edition will be gladly received by all germanists.

Hunter College

CARL SELMER

Robert Bridges: A Study of Traditionalism in Poetry. By ALBERT GUÉRARD, JR. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1942. Pp. xvi + 332. \$3.50. Uncritically considered, this is a labor of great industry and obvious devotion. It is the first exhaustive study of the work of the poet laureate who died in 1930. It traces every small influence and remote association. It pays its respects to the "radical innovators and dubious allies of traditionalism." It is a solid but unpretentious monument of scholarliness and enthusiasm.

Critically, one could do with a little less "apparatus" and not quite so wholesale an endorsement of such statements as Brett Young's insistence that Bridges "is more consistently fine than

Keats" and Dr. Yvor Winters's pontifical conclusion: "It has long appeared to me that Bridges and Hardy must be regarded as the two most impressive writers of poetry in something like two centuries, perhaps since Milton." Such a summary, with which Dr. Guérard seems to concur, indicates that Bridges is not merely (to quote Dr. Winters again) "the heir of the universities," but—since Bridges presumably takes precedence over Blake, Burns, Keats, Shelley, Coleridge, and Wordsworth—the heir of the universe.

The reader must remember that this book is not only an analysis of Bridges but a tribute to Dr. Winters as teacher, friend, stimulator, and authority on the structure of a poem. Dr. Guérard is not always as logical as his master, but he is often as *doctrinaire*. He overrates the importance of metrical innovations; he confuses ingenuity with experiment, and prosody with poetry. He slights the influence of Gerard Manley Hopkins' "sprung-rhythm," that abrupt and breathless idiom, declaring that "no other poet has been able to make a similar use of the medium"—which leads one to question whether he has read such recent English poets as Auden, Spender, Day Lewis, and the younger W. R. Rodgers or, to leap across the Atlantic, Hart Crane, Elizabeth Madox Roberts, and Lawrence Hart's California group.

But no one can question Dr. Guérard's skill of argument, his unusual combination of energy and sensitivity. The weighty consideration of Bridges' sources, buttressed by the exhaustive appendix on Bridges' prosody, exhibits the author as an indefatigable scholiast. It becomes increasingly evident—though the author would vehemently deny it—that he is dealing with one who is not so much a poet's poet as a scholar's versifier. One wishes Dr. Guérard a more exciting subject for his next book.

Elizabethtown, New York

LOUIS UNTERMEYER

Princeton Verse Between Two Wars: An Anthology. Edited, with a Preface, by ALLEN TATE. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1942. Pp. xx + 112. \$2.50. Nowhere are the changes of taste recorded more significantly than in the anthologies. Comparing *A Book of Princeton Verse*, edited in 1916 by Alfred Noyes, with *Princeton Verse Between Two Wars*, edited in 1942 by Allen Tate, is like comparing two periods from two different worlds. Mr. Noyes himself has testified that he regrets the speed with which the course of poetry has altered in the world and particularly at Princeton. "I can find no sense in the anthology," he said in a remarkable interview impartially assailing Proust, Joyce, Lawrence, and the present reviewer. "There is no

poem that conveys any good idea to the reader, but," he added with no reference to the Greeks, "the incest motive is very prominent."

This is not the place for argument; but although a quarter of a century may bring about changes in subject matter, idiom, and emphasis, it should not destroy the recognition of poetic values. Such values—due to heightened awareness disciplined by critical consciousness—are evident not only in the work of such well-known "professionals" as James Whaler ('11), Theodore Spencer ('24), A. Fleming MacLeish ('33), and Philip Horton ('34), but in the contributions by men as young and gifted as Thomas Riggs ('37), John Beatty ('41), and especially William Meredith, Jr. ('40). These poets deserve a hearing, and—unless catastrophically stopped at the beginning of their careers—they will get it.

Elizabethtown, New York

LOUIS UNTERMEYER

Shores of Darkness. By EDWARD B. HUNGERFORD. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. x + 314. \$3.00. This book makes new and valuable contributions to our knowledge of some of the puzzling myths in Blake's Prophetic Writings (the myth of Albion), Keats's *Endymion* and *Hyperion*, Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* and *Adonais*, and Goethe's *Faust* (Part II, the Helena story). The myths are the products of ingenious and intricate invention playing not only upon the commonly known classic myths, but also upon a large number of unfamiliar variants and minor personages found in a host of forgotten mythographers. The taste for this recondite invention is traced to those eccentric, speculative 'mythagogues' who are satirized in Mr. Ramsbottom, the "zodiacal mythologist" of Peacock's *Crotchet Castle*, and in Mr. Casaubon of *Middlemarch*. Attention is directed to this vogue of wildly speculative interpretations of myths, to such "erudites" as Jacob Bryant, Jean Sylvain Bailly, Edward Davies, Pierre Hancarville, Francis Wilford, and to many others whose names and works are listed in Anthon's *Classical Dictionary*. The instances in which the poets are demonstrated to have borrowed their seeming erudition directly from these writers are comparatively few. But the major contention is that the poets' invention and interpretation are to be regarded as a poetic offshoot or continuation of the vogue of the mythagogues. Details of the poets' confusing aggregations of myth are disentangled, traced to possible sources, and so reconstructed that the narrative plans of the poems are made plainer than ever before. The author's learning is impressive. His ingenuity is undeniable, even if in some places it may rather amaze than convince the reader. But not seldom, after he has revealed the derivations of such characters as Albion, Glaucus, Ione, Panthea, Demogorgon, Homunculus, and Euphorion, he seems to feel

that he has put to rest questions concerning their meanings in the poems, and has 'debunked' them of misty, poetic interpretations. He assumes that the reader must be able "to trace the labyrinthine inventions of the poets" before the "poets can communicate with him." On this basis, with the enthusiasm of historical discovery, he suggests critical revaluations which the careful reader will wish to check with the obvious and sometimes declared intention of the poets to use the characters as symbols of operations of the human mind. But it is certain that much light of a new sort has been thrown upon these poems, and that no student of them can afford to neglect these discoveries and interpretations.

University of California

BENJAMIN P. KURTZ

Vauxhall Gardens, A Chapter in the Social History of England. By JAMES GRANVILLE SOUTHWORTH. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. xii + 199. \$2.75. Vauxhall Gardens became a place of public entertainment at the beginning of Charles II's reign, reached its heyday of magnificence in the eighteenth century, and, after being rechristened the Royal Gardens in 1822, continued its career (with some interruption) until the property was finally sold at auction and the gardens closed in 1859. What were these gardens like? What entertainment was provided for the patrons, on the stage and off? What were the people like who crossed the Thames to reach this "Mahometan Paradise," and how did they disport themselves on their holiday? These are some of many questions answered in this study, questions which every student of English literature has asked himself over and over as he came across references to Vauxhall in diaries, letters, comedies, essays, and novels. Everybody went to Vauxhall sooner or later and, after 1742, to its rival, the somewhat more sedate and respectable Ranelagh. Mr. Southworth found much valuable material, as would be expected, in comments and descriptions recorded in contemporary literature and newspapers. Some of the most detailed and vivid reports are contained in letters, especially those written by foreign visitors, most of whom considered it a duty to their correspondents to write up an evening at Vauxhall. Mr. Southworth had the good fortune to discover, besides, a vast deal of practical information, including much statistical material, hidden away in two scrapbooks, preserved in the Bodleian and Harvard libraries. The value of his study would have been greatly enhanced by specific reference to his sources; but readers will be grateful for an accurate and lively account of a very significant social institution.

University of Minnesota

C. A. MOORE

The Lone Shieling. By G. H. NEEDLER. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1941. Pp. vii + 109. \$1.85. Professor Needler adds his name to the long list of those who have speculated on the authorship of "The Canadian Boat-Song." He follows most recent investigators in assigning the poem to David Macbeth Moir, Blackwood's "Delta," but unfortunately adds virtually nothing in the way of proof. The single bit of new evidence is a poem addressed to Moir in Alexander Balfour's *Weeds and Wildflowers*, a posthumous volume edited by Moir. Several lines of this poem are reminiscent of "The Canadian Boat-Song," and without doubt the parallel is worth noting, but the relationship is too tenuous to constitute anything like proof. Professor Needler's parallels drawn from Moir's work have nearly all been previously pointed out by Mrs. S. C. Wilson and repeated by Edward MacCurdy.

Moir's interest in English Sapphics has turned Professor Needler's attention to the history of that form, and it is in his enumeration of its practitioners and in the application of its principles to "The Canadian Boat-Song" that the chief value of this book is to be found. Chapters on John Galt, whose Canadian experiences were well known to Moir and may have suggested "The Boat-Song" to him, are pleasant enough but contain no new information. The same is true of a slight sketch of Moir himself. We shall have to wait for more tangible evidence before the authorship of this beautiful but troublesome poem can be *definitely* settled.

BRADFORD A. BOOTH

University of California at Los Angeles

CORRESPONDENCE

IZAIAK WALTON A STATIONER?¹ According to H. R. Plomer's *Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers in England 1641 to 1667* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1907) and its companion *Dictionary . . . 1668 to 1725* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1922), a printer and printseller, Robert Walton, was in business in St. Paul's Churchyard between the years 1647 and 1687. As the north and west sides of the yard merge in a curve, his shop, described as at the sign of the "Globe and Compasses in St. Paul's Churchyard, between the two north doors," could very well have been immediately adjacent to "Curlew House," "near the west end of Paul's."

HENRY PETTIT

The University of Colorado

¹ See *MLN.*, May, 1941.

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THE PRINCIPAL SOURCE FOR MARLOWE'S *TAMBURLAINE*

There is pretty general agreement among Marlowe scholars that most of the plot in *Tamburlaine*, Part I, derives ultimately from the account of Tamburlaine in Pedro Mexia's *Silva de varia lecion*, a collection of miscellaneous informational essays, first published in Seville in 1543. Mexia's book evidently enjoyed wide and prolonged popularity. It appeared in twenty-six Spanish editions,¹ besides numerous translations in Italian, German, French, Flemish, and English. The original was a relatively small book divided into three parts, but by 1669 the Spanish version had grown to six parts, filling about seven hundred closely printed quarto pages.² The first English version was a sharply abridged one by Thomas Fortescue called *The Forest or Collection of Historyes no lesse profitable than pleasant and necessary doone out of Frenche into English* (1576, first published in 1571). It has been usually assumed that Marlowe used *The Forest* as his principal source for the plot, supplementing it with details drawn from wide reading. Miss Ellis-Fermor³ for that reason reprinted Fortescue's *Tamburlaine* chapter first in her appendix. The Mexia which Fortescue was translating is Claude Gruget's *Diverses Lecons de Pierre Messie*, first printed in 1552. Fortescue's copy of Gruget was probably of the 1561 edition, printed at Lyon, but he appears to have made use of only 67 of Gruget's 156 chapters. He did, however, include Gruget's entire chapter on Tamburlaine: "Du trespuissant Roy, le

¹ Introduction to Margaret L. Mulroney's *Diálogos o Coloquios of Pedro Mexia* (Iowa City, 1930).

² George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature* (New York, 1889), I, 538.

³ U. M. Ellis-Fermor, *Tamburlaine the Great* (London, 1930), pp. 286-297.

grand Tamburlan: des Royaumes & prouinces qu'il a conquises: & de sa discipline militaire."⁴ His translation is in the main quite close, as a comparison of the opening sentences will reveal.

Fortescue: There hath been among the *Greekes, Romaines*, the people of *Carthage* and others, infinit worthy and famous Capitains, which as they were right valiant and fortunate in war: so were they no lesse fortunate, in that some others by writing cōmended their Chivalry to the posteritie for euer. But in our time we haue had one, in no respect inferioure to any of the others, in this one point notwithstanding lesse happy, that no man hath vouchsaued, by his pen in any sorte to commend him to the posteritie following.⁵

Gruget: Il y a eu de fort excellens capitaines entre les Grecz, Romains, Carthaginiens & autres nations, lesquels comme ilz furent sages & bien fortunez en guerre, aussi furent ilz heureux à auoir des historiens, qui escriuerent amplement leurs actes genereux: Mais en nostre temps s'est trouué vn notable homme, que lon pourroit meritoirement egaler à quel que ce soit de tous les autres neantmoins infortuné en ce qu'il ne trouue aucun qui ait descrit ses faitz.⁶

But in at least one incident, which Marlowe used more than once, Fortescue translated inaccurately:

It is written of him, that in all his assaults, of any Castle or Citie, he vsually would hang out to be seen of the enemy, an Ensigne white, for ye space of one ful day, which signified (as was then to all men well knownen) that if those within, would in that daye yeelde them, he then woulde take them to mercy, without any their losse of life or goods. The second day he did to be hanged out another all red, letting them therby again to vnderstand, that if [they] then would yeeld, he onely then woulde execute the Officers, Magistrates, maisters of houtholdes and gouernours, pardoning, and forgivyn all others what soeuer. The third day he euer displayed, the third all black, signifying, that he then had shut vp his gates from all compassion & clemency, in such sorte that who soeuer were in that day taken or in any other then following, should assuredly die.⁷

Gruget's passage, which Fortescue was translating, says nothing of "an Ensigne white"; the corresponding words are "vne tente blanche." And when Marlowe tells of this custom, tents are again used.⁸

Again, though he translated Gruget's entire chapter on Tam-

⁴ Part II, Chap. xxvii, pp. 388-399 in the 1561 edition.

⁵ *The Forest* (1576 edition), p. 73r.

⁶ *Les Diverses Lecons* (1561 edition), Part II, Chap. xxvii, p. 388.

⁷ Page 69r.

⁸ iv, i, 50 ff.; v, i, 7 ff.

burlaine, Fortescue omitted an earlier chapter of Gruget's⁹ which contained a brief life of Bajazeth and supplied the information, used by Marlowe,¹⁰ that Tamburlaine made the kneeling Bajazeth's shoulders his footstool or mounting block.

These deviations made it necessary to assume that Marlowe in addition to Fortescue's *Forest* had consulted some other version deriving from Mexia's *Silva*. The fact probably is that Marlowe had no knowledge of *The Forest*. The most probable immediate source of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* plot has been consistently overlooked. It was printed in George Whetstone's *English Myrror*, which was entered in the Stationers' Register on April 29, 1586, and probably published shortly thereafter; the title page bears the date 1586. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part I, was apparently completed and performed for the first time during the winter of 1587/8. Richard Jones, who printed three editions of *Tamburlaine*, was also Whetstone's usual printer. Though he for some reason did not print *The English Myrror*, Jones did, on the back of the title page of Whetstone's *Enemy to Unthriftnesse* (1586), advertise *The English Myrror* as "ready to be printed."

Whetstone, like Fortescue, translated his *Tamburlaine* chapter from Gruget. But instead of "an Ensigne white" Whetstone says "a white tent,"¹¹ just as Marlowe later does. And Whetstone in addition to Gruget's chapter on *Tamburlaine* also translated the earlier passage on Bajazeth which includes the information that *Tamburlaine* used Bajazeth as a mounting block or footstool.¹² Every item of information that Marlowe has been supposed to gain from Fortescue is to be found in Whetstone, plus details which Fortescue omitted.

The English Myrror may have provided Marlowe with the original suggestion that *Tamburlaine* was a worthy subject for a play. Whetstone (following Gruget) seems to regard his information as exploratory, inadequate, and deserving of amplification. His account begins,

Amonge the illustrious Captaines Romaines, and Grecians, none of all their martiall acts, deserue to be proclaimed with more renown, then the conquest and millitarie disciplines of Tamberlaine: but such was the iniury of his fortune as no worthy writers vndertooke his historye at large.

⁹ Part I, Chap. XIII, especially p. 85.

¹¹ *The English Myrror*, p. 81.

¹⁰ At the beginning of IV, ii.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

And on his next page Whetstone adds, "It is pittie his pollicies and battayles be not largely written, which in these conquestes could not but be famous."

In addition to most of the plot that Marlowe took from any source he could also have found in *The English Myrror* his theme and his central character outlined with considerable clarity. Whetstone says of Tamburlaine: "Notwithstanding the pouertye of his parents: euen from his infancy he had a reaching & an imaginative minde, the strength and comelinesse of his body, aunswered the hautynes of his hart." He was dominated by "a ruling desire." "He parted the spoyle continually among his companions, & intertayned them with such faithfulness & loue, as the rumour thereof dayly increased his strength." When the king of Persia sent a captain with a thousand horse to take him, "*Tamberlaine* so behaued him selfe, as he won this captaine to be his copanion & assisted with al his strength." He "valiantly behaued him self" ¹³ and displayed "industry and dexterity in armes."

In his armye was neuer found mutine: he was wise, liberall, and rewarded euery souldiour with his desert: there is no remembrance of a greater army then his: his gouernment and order was such, that his campe seemed a goodly City, wherein euery necessary office was found . . . he suffered no theft unpunished, and as louingly honored, praised, and payed the vertuous and valiant souldiour, which favour ioyned with iustice, made him both feared and loued.

He "wanted neither vallour, pollicye, nor anye aduantage of war." ¹⁴ "He was euer best at ease when he found a stout resistance in his enemy: that his pollicie and prowesse might be the better known." "With diligence beyond expectation, he rayased a tower leuel with theirs: from whence he battred them in such sort as they were vnable to resist." ¹⁵ When citizens who had at first refused his offer of compassion sent to him

their wiues & children cloathed all in white, hauing Olive branches in their handes . . . *Tamberlaine* in place of compassion caused his squadrons of horsemen to tread them vnder their feete and not to leaue a mothers child aliue, and afterwarde he leuiled the city with the ground.

When his justice was questioned,

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Tamberlaine (with a countenance fiered with fury) answered: thou supposest that I am a mā, but thou art deceiued, for I am no other then the ire of God, and the destruction of the world. . . . And in truth *Tamberlaine* although he was endued with many excellencies & vertues: yet it seemed by his cruelty, yt God raysted him to chasten the kings & proud people of the earth.¹⁶

He is already in *The English Myrror* "*Tamberlayne* ye Great, surnamed *flagellum dei* . . . worthy the name of vengeance."¹⁷ What more in the way of impetus could Marlowe ask?

Professor Boas¹⁸ noticed that Marlowe placed the incident of the colored tents at Damascus, while Fortescue merely said a "strong and riche citie." Neither does Whetstone supply the name of the city, but his story follows immediately, without a paragraph break, his account of the siege of Damascus.¹⁹ Marlowe would naturally have associated it with Damascus.

Marlowe of course vitalized the bare bones of supposed fact in his source, created most of his characters, correlated characters and situations, amplified events, and liberally supplied his drumming decasyllabons with high astounding terms. Of the dozen words, "Envy had sowed discord between the king of *Persia* & his brother," Marlowe makes almost all of his opening scene, for which he creates seven characters. The bit of synopsis—"Tamberlaine ioyned with ye kings brother: and so valiantly behaued him self, yt he ouerthrew the king & seated his brother in the kingdom: the new king created *Tamberlaine*, chiefe captaine of his army"—became the first five scenes of Act II. Whetstone relayed a commonplace observation provoked by the downfall of Bajazet:

a notable example of the incertaintye of worldly fortunes: Bajazet, that in the morning was the mightiest Emperor on the earth, at night, and the residue of his life, was driuen to feede among the dogs, and which might most grieue him, he was thus abased, by one that in the beginning was but a poore sheepheard.

This passage quite possibly induced in Marlowe the mood which runs through Zenocrate's speech over the dead bodies of Bajazeth and Zabina:

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15. Cf. R. W. Battenhouse, "Tamburlaine the 'Scourge of God,'" *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 337-348.

¹⁸ Frederick S. Boas, *Christopher Marlowe* (Oxford, 1940), p. 86.

¹⁹ *The English Myrror*, pp. 81-82.

Earth, cast up fountains from thy entrails,
 And wet thy cheeks for their untimely deaths;
 Shake with their weight in sign of fear and grief.
 Blush heaven, that gave them honour at their birth,
 And let them die a death so barbarous.
 Those that are proud of fickle empery
 And place their chiefest good in earthly pomp,
 Behold the Turk and his great emperess!
 Ah, Tamburlaine, my love, sweet Tamberlaine,
 That fightst for sceptres and for slippery crowns,
 Behold the Turk and his great emperess!²⁰

.

Further examples of this kind were cited by Leslie Spence,²¹ though it would seem more reasonable to ascribe them to *The English Myrror* as a source, rather than to *The Forest*.

Of course, Marlowe drew allusions and details of character and plot from many other authorities, as has often been demonstrated. But practically all of his plot could have come from *The English Myrror* with a few supplementary details from Perondinus, Lonicerus, and Chalcondylas. Marlowe appears to have made use of every scrap of information on Tamburlaine contained in Whetstone's book.

The assumption that Marlowe used Whetstone eliminates the necessity of examining a number of related accounts. In addition to Fortescue, Gruget (whom both Fortescue and Whetstone were translating) may be omitted, as well as Mexia, who was Gruget's ultimate source. Then the list of authorities whom Gruget cited as his sources (following Mexia, and partially cited by Whetstone) seem no longer necessary, since all their information used by Marlowe is supplied by Whetstone. They were announced by Gruget²² as Battista Fregoso, Pope Pius II, Platina, Palmerius, Cambinus, and Baptista Ignatius.

Mr. Bakeless was understandably led astray in the maze of sources for *Tamburlaine*. He says:

Again, Marlowe's Tamburlaine delights in calling himself "the scourge of God." Nothing like this appears in Mexia or Perondinus; but it does appear in several of the other books, notably in the Corpus Christi copy of

²⁰ v, ii, 285 ff.

²¹ "The Influence of Marlowe's Sources on Tamburlaine I," *MP*, xxiv (1926), 181-199.

²² Page 399.

Pope Pius's *Asiae Europaeque Elegantissima Descriptio* (1531), where Tamburlaine is made to say: "I am the wrath of God and the destruction of the world."

Yet again, while most sources say that the Persian kings sent out a thousand soldiers to capture Tamburlaine, most of them are silent as to the number of Tamburlaine's own troops. But Baptista Fulgotius and Philip Lonicer give the same figure that Marlowe gives "The number came to five hundred."²⁸

It was unnecessary to search out Pope Pius, Baptista Fulgotius, and Philip Lonicer—they with their Latin. All this information was to be had in the none too elegant but perfectly clear and easily accessible English of *The English Myrror* by Marlowe's contemporary and fellow-Londoner, George Whetstone.

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THE PLAY OF THEANO

In the late Professor G. Q. Moore-Smith's collection of extracts from Cambridge college records, published in the Malone Society *Collections*, II, ii, under the title "The Academic Drama at Cambridge," there is included among the accounts for Queen's College a list of players' garments borrowed from the college tower by John Mey.¹ Most of these garments are described in terms of the materials of which they were made ("cassokes of white satten," "a white damaske coote," etc.), but a few are associated with the rôles for which they were used, rôles drawn for the most part from classical literature. Thus there are references to "Apollus coote," "Thrasos coote," "mercuris coot," and "Theanoes coote." Apollo, Thraso, and Mercury are at once recognized as "type" rôles, which can be identified with no particular story; hence, all that can be deduced from their occurrence in the costume list is that the plays in which they were used were classical or contained classical elements. Theano, however, is not a dramatic type, but a very minor figure in classical literature. Accordingly, it is perhaps possible to identify the specific story of the Cambridge play in which Theano was one of the rôles.

²⁸ John Bakeless, *Christopher Marlowe* (New York, 1937), p. 125.

¹ Pp. 196-198.

An examination of classical literature shows, first of all, that the "Play of Theano" was not a classical original, but was written by a student of Queen's. Whether Mey himself was the author is uncertain, for so little is known about the detailed process of keeping the university records² that it is impossible to determine whether in listing "Theanoes coote" he was describing the garment in terms of its former use or in terms of the rôle for which he intended it. At court, the names of dramatic characters were sometimes sewed upon the backs and breasts of their robes.³ If the costumes at Queen's were similarly decorated, then Mey was possibly copying onto his list merely the names sewed on the cloaks he was borrowing. Especially for the costumes of such well-known characters as Apollo, Mercury, and Thraso may this supposition be allowed, for they could be used repeatedly without alteration. Since Theano, however, is not a type rôle, it is highly improbable that it appeared in plays often enough for a robe to be reserved for it. In other words, had "Theanoes coote" been used very long before Mey borrowed it, the name which may have been sewed on it probably would have been replaced by another. If we assume as a first possibility, then, that the "Play of Theano" was not written by Mey, we must conclude that it was written by an immediate predecessor. The other possibility, of course, is that Mey himself was the first to use Theano in drama, and was thinking of the rôle when he entered the coat for it on the list of costumes. To decide definitely for either alternative is both unwise and unnecessary, since it is not the authorship of the play but its story that is of primary importance in this instance.

Whatever John Mey's actual connection with the play may be, the fact that he borrowed "Theanoes coote" is of value in dating the play and thereby establishing a time limit on the available sources. He proceeded B. A. in 1549-1550 and was appointed Fellow in 1550.⁴ Inasmuch as undergraduate students did not

² Moore-Smith, the best authority on the Cambridge accounts, sheds no light in either the Malone Society volume or in his work of commentary, *College Plays Performed in the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1923).

³ Cf. A. Feuillerat, *Documents Relating to the Revels under Queen Elizabeth* (Louvain, 1908), p. 20. The garments there mentioned were probably holdovers from Edward's reign. (Cf. Feuillerat, *Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary* [Louvain, 1914], pp. 133-5.)

⁴ Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1858), II, 233-4.

supervise plays at that time, Mey must have obtained the garment no earlier than 1550. The latest date at which he may have borrowed the coat is 1554-5, when he held the office of bursar, though, as we shall see later, his last recorded supervision of a play was in 1553-4.⁵ Sometime, then, between 1550 and 1554, "Theanoes coote" was borrowed for use in a play; hence, it is necessary to consider as possible sources of information about Theano only those works which were available before 1554. Since we have concluded that the play in which Theano appears was written, if not by Mey, by a near predecessor, we can set our backward limit at about 1540, at the very earliest. Possibly, then, our sources have to antedate 1540.

By applying the later limit, we can reduce the ten different Theanos recorded in classical literature to nine.⁶ Of these nine, two may be rejected from further consideration because of the fact that the references to them are merely genealogical, and hence not adaptable for dramatic purposes. The two so excluded are Theano, daughter of the Thracian king Kisses and wife of Antenor,⁷ but according to *Aeneid* x, 703, daughter of the Trojan Amykos; and Theano, a Cretan woman, daughter of Pythonax, wife of Pythagoras—but sometimes indicated as daughter of Brontinus of Croton and pupil of Pythagoras—and writer of philosophical commentaries, apothegms, and poems.⁸ Two additional Theanos that may be straightway dismissed are those vaguely alluded to by Suidas and Antiphanes.⁹

The remaining Theanos are more likely candidates for dramatic rôles because of the fact that some story is connected with them. Two of them, however, are so briefly sketched in classical records as to make it improbable that a university student would have attempted to use them as dramatic material. One is a Theban woman whose abduction by a Phocian led to the Sacred War;¹⁰ and

⁵ Moore-Smith, *Malone Society Collections*, II, ii, 189.

⁶ For an account of the various Theanos, cf. Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen altertumswissenschaft*, Second Series, V, ii (Stuttgart, 1934), 1377-81.

⁷ *Iliad*, XI, 223 and VI, 299; also *Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarum*, ed. 1548.

⁸ Diogenes Laertius, *De Vitis*, VIII, 42 f.; *Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarum*; Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus linguae romanae et britannicae*.

⁹ Pauly, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XIII, 560b.

the other is a Lacedaemonian woman who, when her son Pausanias sought refuge from public justice in the temple of Minerva, laid a tile in the doorway, thereby suggesting to the authorities that the temple be sealed up so as to punish the offender without arousing the goddess.¹¹ Both of these stories are too bare of details to have been readily adaptable for dramatic treatment. Equally bare and even less adaptable is the story of still another Theano, daughter of Menon of Agraule, and priestess of Demeter and Cora, who, when ordered to curse Alcibiades publicly for mimicking the mysteries, refused to follow the order on the grounds that she was a praying, not a cursing, priestess.¹²

We have thus disposed of seven Theanos on the grounds of dramatic inadaptability. Fortunately, the two remaining sources appeared in print before 1540, and hence were available to the author of our play, whether he was Mey or one of his predecessors. Furthermore, these last two Theanos are involved in stories which have sufficient detail and dramatic incident to be written into play form. One is to be found in Plutarch's *Amatoriae Narrationes*.¹³ The story centers around not Theano, but her father Scedasus, a poor but hospitable man. With his two daughters, Hippo and Miletia (or Theano and Euxippe), he once entertained two Spartan youths, who returned the kindness at a later date by ravishing and killing the girls. Scedasus, after seeking in vain for justice from the ephors and citizens of Lacedaemon, finally killed himself in despair. The general structure of the plot, plus a few additional details given by Plutarch, makes this story an excellent subject for drama: it has all the elements of bloody tragedy. Even so, this Theano is probably not the one referred to in the Cambridge records. In the first place, she plays a relatively minor part in Plutarch's account, so that it seems unlikely that a particular costume associated with the rôle should be designated by her name. Furthermore, *Theano* is an alternate name; a young playwright using this story would probably have employed the more customary *Hippo*. These objections gain added force from the fact that the only remaining possibility, the narrative given in Hyginus' *Fabulae*,¹⁴ meets all conditions more satisfactorily. In this latter

¹¹ Polyænus, *Stratagematum*, VIII, 51.

¹² Plutarch, *Vitae Parallelæ*, Alcibiades, XXII.

¹³ *Moralia*, X, 773c-774d.

¹⁴ No. 186.

version, Theano is definitely a major center of interest, and the plot more nearly approaches the Senecan pattern of tragic story than does Plutarch's anecdote. Because the account of Hyginus seems a more likely source than Plutarch, we shall center the rest of our discussion upon it, as though it were unquestionably the source. At the same time Plutarch must be kept in mind as an alternative to which will apply equally well our final conclusions about Hyginus' Theano.

According to Hyginus, Theano, Queen of Icaria, was ordered by King Metapontus, her husband, to bear him a son to succeed to the reign upon his death. Faced with the prospect of being put away if she did not obey the royal injunction, Theano appealed for help to some shepherds, who brought to her two boys they had found on the mountainside. (They were twins who had been born to Melanippe and Neptune, and had been placed at the mercy of wild animals by Desmontes, the enraged father of Melanippe.) Not long after Theano had given these boys to Metapontus as his own, she gave birth to twins herself. The king's favor, however, remained attached to the first set of boys. Anxious that her own children be heirs to the kingdom, Theano incited them, when they were older, to kill the two substituted boys while out hunting. They failed in the attempt, however; the intended victims, with the aid of their father Neptune, killed Theano's sons. When the bodies were brought before the Queen, she killed herself with a hunting knife. The surviving boys, informed by Neptune of their true parentage, liberated their mother, Melanippe, from the prison in which Desmontes had placed her, and brought her to Icaria, where Metapontus married her and took the boys again as his own.

It is at once evident that a play written upon this story would have been a bloody tragedy of the Senecan variety, and possibly even a conscious imitation of Seneca, for at about this time was beginning that interest in Seneca which was to result within a decade in Jasper Heywood's translations. In 1551-2, John Malham had supervised the performance of *Troades* at Trinity College,¹⁵ and we know the connections between Queen's and Trinity were fairly close, for on January 8, 1547-8, and January 14, 1548-9, students of Trinity gave dramatic presentations at Queen's.¹⁶ In

¹⁵ Moore-Smith, *Malone Society Collections*, II, ii, 155.

¹⁶ Moore-Smith, *College Plays Performed in the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 19.

view of this early interest in Seneca, it is quite likely that John Mey or one of his immediate predecessors attempted to write an imitation and went to Hyginus for his story. The Cambridge records indicate that Mey gave a *lusus* in February, 1551-2, and a tragedy in January, 1553-4, the expenses for each of which amounted to the same, 25s. 7d.¹⁷ Possibly at one of those times the tragedy of Theano was performed.

If such a play actually was produced, and the evidence for it seems good, then it stands as a transition work between the early performances of Seneca and the later *Gorboduc*, an English play modeled upon Seneca. Because of its classic subject matter, we have indicated that it probably was written in Latin; for such few plays as were written in English usually were topical plays, based on life in England.¹⁸ Thus the play of Theano falls into the general pattern of the Renaissance domestication into English of the classics: first, the development of an understanding of the original; second, the attempt to imitate the form and spirit of the original in its own language; and, finally, the attempt to imitate it in English. The story of Theano, as told by Hyginus, is exactly what we might expect a Cambridge graduate student to have written into a play around the middle of the sixteenth century, and is therefore probably to be associated with "Theanoes coote."

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A NOTE ON *THE TEMPEST*: A SEQUEL

Few if any Shakespearean words have received more comment than *pioned* and *twilled* in *The Tempest* iv, 1, 64. In the New Variorum (1892), after using almost six pages reviewing discussions of them, Doctor Furness concludes: "I doubt if there be any corruption in these lines. . . . As agricultural or horticultural terms, 'pioned' and 'twilled' will be some day, probably, sufficiently explained to enable us to weave from them chaste crowns for cold nymphs." In this statement, he agrees with William Aldis Wright

¹⁷ Moore-Smith, *Malone Society Collections*, II, ii, 188-9.

¹⁸ Cf. Moore-Smith, *College Plays Performed in the University of Cambridge*, pp. 38-40.

(1874), before him, the most severely accurate Shakespeare scholar. An edition of *The Tempest* (Scribner, 1929) says: "No satisfactory explanation of this passage has been found." Merriam-Webster (1934) citing only this occurrence of *pioned* and *twilled*, enters: "A word of disputed meaning"; and: "The meaning is in dispute." Conjectural emendations before and since the Variorum, assuming that the text was corrupt, have substituted for *pioned* and *twilled* the names of flowers: "peonied," and "lillied" being preferred.

Morton Luce, laborious and persistent editor of *The Tempest* (Arden Series, London, 1901; "revised and enlarged," 1918; a "fifth edition" 1938) has won a following for the flowers emendation. He says in his note on *pioned* and *twilled*: "These words are probably the most celebrated of all the verbal difficulties in Shakespeare, and their examination must be reserved for an appendix." Careful analysis of the appendix reveals that the premises are (1) the extent and variety of Ceres' realm, and (2) certain parallels between Iris's introduction and Ceres' answers. "The context, therefore, must seem to support any interpretation that makes flowers or plants of *pioned* and *twilled* . . . my choice would be the April 'peony, and lilhes of all sorts' of Bacon's Essay on Gardens." The premises by no means warrant the conclusion. Other interpretations are rather hastily pushed aside; they have been, assumedly, refuted by the flowers argument. But "sedg'd crowns," not "peonied" or "lillied," occurs in line 129. That the "brims" are first "*pioned* and *twilled*," then "betrimmed"—the obvious order in the text—is regarded as offering no difficulty, after the bolder, wholly unnecessary substitutions for words of the text, in their proper meaning, strictly applicable.

New interest in the discussion is stirred by the most recent issue (Ginn, 1939) of *The Tempest*, edited by the late Professor George Lyman Kittredge, who notes:

Pioned and *twilled*: trenched (scored, furrowed) and ridged, ridgy (marked as by ridges between furrows). To *pion* is to dig, to excavate (whence the noun *pioneer* or *pioneer*—a soldier whose duty is to make entrenchments and do other heavy work). To *twill* is to weave (cloth) so as to produce in the fabric the appearance of diagonal raised lines. The whole phrase describes the channeled and indented appearance of the edges of each elevated bank, worn and caved as they have been by the current and by the weather of winter and early spring.

Professor Kittredge apparently missed or disregarded my contribution, "A Note on *The Tempest*," *MLN.*, xxv (1910), 8-9. Although he is the first editor to abandon explicitly the explanation of *pioned* and *twilled* as names of flowers, and practically to adopt my explanation, he makes no mention of the "Note" of 1910. His note requires two emendations—not conjectural. First: To *pion*, used for its poetic value, does mean "to dig, to excavate"; but it also means, more directly here, to *embank*, as in the citation given in *NED.* from *The Faerie Queene*, II. x. 63:

Yet oft annoyed with sondry bordragings
Of neighbor Scots, and forrein scatterlings,
With which the world did in those dayes abound:
Which to outbarre, with painefull pyonings
From sea to sea he heapt a mighty mound.

Second: "To 'pion' is to dig, to excavate (whence the noun *pioner* or *pioneer*—)." The etymology, as Skeat correctly records it, is in the opposite direction. The *pioner* was a foot soldier (*pes*, *pedis*: cf. *peon*; *pawn*, a piece in chess) whose duty was mining, sapping, or raising fortifications. *Pion*, to dig, or to embank, is clearly derived from *pioner*; not *pioner* from *pion*.

"To *twill* is to weave (cloth)," implying that *twilled* is a trope, agrees with the interpretation of thirty-three years ago. On *twilled* cloth, however, not merely "the appearance of diagonal lines," but, in weaving, actual ridges in absolute regularity are produced on the surface of the cloth. "The whole phrase describes the channeled and indented appearance of the edges of each elevated bank worn and caved as they have been by the current and by the weather of winter and early spring." Nothing in "channeled and indented" even remotely suggests the regularity of the *twilled* effect; still less in "worn and caved." Once more: not *twilled* "edges"; imagination must create "*twilled brims*"—top surface of the bank on each side of the stream—"Which spongy April at thy best betrimms."

Another beautiful trope occurs in lines 62-63:

Thy turfey mountains, where live nibbling sheep,
And flat meads *thatch'd* with stover them to heap.

Incidentally, *stover* is not "a kind of grass"; here, it is hay—probably of several kinds of grass—stored to feed the sheep during the winter. "*Fadder*" is correct; *roughage* is the general word.

The crucial question is: how constructed were the "banks with pioned and twilled brims"? The method is suggested by the practice of *pioners* in erecting fortifications. That Shakespeare was well informed on their work is evinced by his use of *pioner* figuratively in *Hamlet*, literally of soldiers in *Henry V*, III, II, 92, and in *Othello*, III, iii, 346. To strengthen their earthen structures, the pioners reinforced them with *fascines*, defined (Merriam-Webster) as "a long bundle of sticks of wood bound together, used in raising batteries, strengthening ramparts . . . revetments for river banks etc." *NED.* in a fuller discussion, says: "Fascine sb. Also fachine," and quotes: "(1723) A large Dike or Peer [*sic*] made of Fachines and Earth." On a larger scale probably, but this last may be quite close to what Shakespeare may have seen or imagined done on the banks of the Avon to prevent inundation. The practice is still general in the country wherever the flow of water on a relatively small scale is to be controlled, whether to prevent inundation or erosion, to reinforce a bank of earth with brush or branches, usually not in fascines, or faggots, as also called, placed between the layers of earth.

Pioned, yes; but how *twilled brims*? The explanation offered here, not a "conjectural emendation," rather an interpretation that fits the conditions and has the support of what appears to be sufficient evidence; that accepts, without alteration in form or obvious meaning, the text as contained in *each of the four folios*. This interpretation may be stated simply. In pioning—heaping up—the banks on each side of the Avon or other stream, between successive layers of earth were placed, as reinforcement, a layer of branches, or, as a possibility, small faggots. The layer of earth on top—the *brim*—would sink between branches or faggots, creating a surface ridged across with sufficient regularity to justify the happy trope, *twilled brims*. Repairs to the banks each spring are minor; the banks in their greater length are intact. There "spongy April" has abundant space ready to "betrim" with sedges and flowers.

In conclusion, the argument for this explanation of *pioned and twilled brims* has its most convincing evidence in *Handbook of Erosion-Control Engineering on the National Forests*, issued (1936) by the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Forest Service. Erosion is not identical with inundation, but they often overlap. Lack of space forbids to say more than that therein described and effectively illustrated are earthen banks reinforced with fascines elaborately

made; with bundles of willow twigs and brush wattles—both fagots, or small fascines. Thus the banks are *pioned*; and the resulting surfaces, as shown in illustrations, are amazingly *twilled*. Let this *Sequel* close as did the Note thirty-three years ago. Is it too much to hope that the prophecy of Doctor Furness has—at long last—been fulfilled? “As agricultural or horticultural terms, ‘pioned’ and ‘twilled’ [brims] will be some day, probably, sufficiently explained to enable us to weave from them the chaste crowns for cold nymphs.” And then the added thought: From this most appropriate and beautiful masque, one gets an idea of “the delight with which Shakespeare saw Warwickshire in his youth.”

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“MEN MAY GROPE ’S IN SUCH A SCARRE”

One of the most unintelligible lines in Shakespeare occurs in the short speech (*All's Well that Ends Well*, iv, ii, 38, 39) in which Diana pretends to accede to Bertram's love-suit. She says:

I see that men make rope's in such a scarre,
That wee'l forsake our selues. Giue me that Ring.

Thus the lines are printed in the Folio, which is the only authority. Charles D. Stewart, in *Some Textual Difficulties in Shakespeare* (1914, pp. 44-51), has written an ingenious and romantic essay in interpretation of the text (virtually) as it stands, and at the close he lists twenty-one attempts by other critics to introduce sense by change of words. Mr. Dover Wilson suggests yet another, “make rapes in such a scour” (“New Cambridge” ed., 1929, p. 168), and is bold enough to say that it “gives good sense.”

The number of attempted emendations might doubtless be indefinitely increased, but they all indicate that the passage is one not likely to be explained by verbal ingenuity alone. I suggest that the clue to it is found in a line of *Measure for Measure* (I, ii, 96), where Pompey, on being asked what is Claudio's offence, replies,

Groping for trouts in a peculiar river.

The figure, of course, is from capturing fish by “groping” (*OED*

s. v. Grope 2. b). It is much the same figure that Maria uses of Malvolio in *Twelfth Night*, II, v, 25:

here comes the trout that must be caught with tickling.

I believe that Diana has the same image in mind and that her speech should read:

I see that men may grope 's (*i. e.*, grope us) in such a scarre
That we 'll forsake ourselves.

"Scarre," which Onions' *Shakespeare Glossary* declines to explain, I take to mean a submerged or partly submerged rock, affording a point of vantage for the "groper." The Oxford Dictionary recognizes the sense of "A low or sunken rock in the sea," and Wright's *Dialect Dictionary* cites the use of *scar* for "A ridge of rocks; a bed of rough gravel or stones; especially a rocky place on which cockles or mussels abound." These seem to be maritime references. I would welcome instances of the word in connection with inland, and especially Warwickshire, waters. What Diana seems to mean to say is, "I see that men may beguile us in such a situation (or with the aid of such a posture of circumstances) that we 'll consent to capture."

The misprint I impute to the printer of *All's Well* is reasonable on the assumption that he was not an angler and could make no sense of Shakespeare's metaphor. The preservation of the apostrophe in *make rope's* indicates that it is not purely an error of sound, as if he were printing from dictation, although this might be so. It is more probably the work of the printer's subconsciousness which, when his conscious mind could find no meaning in the words before him, arbitrarily substituted other words of nearly the same sound.

II

This seems a proper place to call belated attention to a textual change which I have made without exegetical comment (and without knowing that Howard Staunton, in a footnote of his later, 1874, edition, had offered the same conjecture) in an edition of *The Merchant of Venice* (*Shakespeare's Principal Plays*, 3rd. ed., 1935).

The passage is Act IV, scene i, lines 50 ff., of that play. Shylock,

arguing his right to have his "humor" in the full and rigorous fulfillment of the bond, says,

Some men there are love not a gaping pig,

and after mentioning other examples of personal idiosyncrasy, concludes:

for affection.
Masters of passion swayes it to the moode
of what it likes or loathes.

This is the First Quarto form; the Folio and the other Quarto differ in no noticeable detail except that they spell *Masters* instead of *Maisters*. Modern editors agree in ignoring the period at the end of the first line; and almost all follow Thirlby in reading *Mistress of passion*, though Johnson, the Arden editor, and Dover Wilson prefer *Master of passion*.

I think Thirlby emended the wrong word, and that the passage should read: "Masters *our* passion." If Shakespeare wrote "our" in the form "o", as was commonly done in manuscript (the raised "r" standing for "ur"), the word would have been very similar to "of" in many hands. So read, the line is clearer, I think, and stronger; for Shylock is not saying that "affection" (whim or idiosyncrasy) is normally passion's mistress (*i. e.*, darling, queen, complement, or whatever), but rather that it can on occasion overpower and divert it.

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A PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF *THE BATTLE OF ALCAZAR*

The Battle of Alcazar, generally attributed to George Peele, is not a literary masterpiece; but it is an interesting play for a number of reasons, and has been much studied, most elaborately by Mr. W. W. Greg, who worked out the relations between the "plot" and the quarto text of 1594 and submitted both to a careful analysis in *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements: The Battle of Alcazar and Orlando Furioso*, Oxford, 1923. Mr. Greg agreed with earlier writers in stating that Peele took his materials chiefly from Freigius' *Historia de bello Africano*. It has not been pointed out, however, that the playwright almost certainly read this work

in the English translation printed by John Polemon in *The Second Part of the Booke of Battailes, Fought in Our Age: Taken out of the Best Authors and Writers in Sundrie Languages. Published for the Profit of Those That Practise Armes, and for the Pleasure of Such as Loue to be Harmlesse Hearers of Bloudie Broiles*, London, 1587. Here the two longest accounts of famous battles stand together, and describe contests between Christians and Moslems. They are: "The Battaile of Pescherias [i. e., Lepanto], betwene Don Iohn & Ali Bassa, in An. 1572. Out of Peter Contarini," and "The Battaile of Alcazar, fought in Barbarie, betwene Sebastian the king of Portugall, and Abdelmelec, king of Marocco, in An. 1578. Out of Freigius."

Reference to Polemon's translation clears up several points which have perplexed Mr. Greg and others. The insistence upon Mahamet's dark complexion (noticed by Mr. Greg, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103) is found in the *Booke of Battailes* as well as in the play:

Abdelmelec . . . was of a meane stature, of a fine proportion of bodie, with brode shoulders, white face, but intermixed with red, which did gallanthe garnish his cheekes, a blacke beard thicke, and curled, great eies and graie. In summe, he was a verie proper man, and verie comelie in all his actions and iestures, and verie strong. . . . But as touching his nephew Muley [Ma]Hamet,¹ he was younger then Abdelmelec, being about xxix. or xxx yeeres of age. of stature meane, of bodie weake, of coulour so blacke, that he was accompted of many for a Negro or black Moore² (fols. Y2b, Y3a).

¹ Corrected from "Hamet" to "Mahamet" in the list of "Fautes escaped."

² Mahamet is later referred to as "the Negro" (fol T4a). The distinction was often made in Elizabethan times between "black Moors" and "white Moors." Mr. E. S. Sugden has collected, in his *Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists* (Manchester, 1925), p. 351, a long list of quotations which prove that in Shakespeare's time (as Mr. Greg remarks) the Moor was generally thought of as black, and often confused with the Negro. Captain John Smith noted, in his *True Travels*, that "King Mully Hamet was not blacke . . . but molata, or tawnie,"—like the Prince in *The Merchant of Venice*. See Henri de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, Première série, dynastie Saadienne: Archives et bibliothèques d'Angleterre (Paris, 1925), II, 269. In *The Thracian Wonder* the mention of a "white Moor" looks toward the distinction made by Wilkins in his *Three Miseries of Barbary* (in De Castries, *op. cit.*, II, 255-256) between Lelia Isa, the "fairest," and Lilia Ageda, the "Negro," two wives of Mahamet.

Similarly, Peele is following his source, not independently "recasting history" (Greg, p. 103) when he makes Mahamet the murderer not only of his brother but also of his uncle Abdelmunen (fols. S2b, S3a), and is excusably misled into thinking Sultan Amurath to be the son of Solyman (p. 82) by Polemon's statements (fol. S3a). The text in the *Booke of Battailes* also clears up a good many minor matters—e. g., the difficulty in line 1142 of the play (Greg, p. 116) is explained by the translation (fol. X2a).

As for the names of characters, the Lodouico Caesar of the play (Greg, p. 84) appears in Polemon's version as Ludouicke (fol. X2a), and perhaps the puzzling "Argerd" Zareo (Greg, p. 82) may now be read "Argere" Zareo (or at any rate interpreted as "Zareo of Argier"), inasmuch as Polemon relates that Abdallas' brothers fled to "Argier," and that Abdelmelec, when he set out to depose Mahamet and gain the throne "came to Argier with mandates of the Turkish Emperour, in whome it was contained, that the captaines in those parts, should supply vnto him all things needeful for the warres" (fol. S3b). To be sure, not all the names of Peele's characters can yet be traced; but his Hercules, Diego Lopis, Pisano, are probably borrowed from the list of Christian captains engaged at Lepanto (in Polemon's version of Contarini's "Battaille of Pescherias"), where Hercules Lotta, Diego Lopez de Diglia, and George Pisano appear together (fol. M3a). Abdil Rayes (Abdula Rais) (Greg, p. 83) and Celybin (Greg, p. 84) are likewise borrowed from the lists of the names of Turkish captains present at the great naval engagement (fol. P1b), while Calsepius (Calcepius) may have been suggested by "Calcepy Iusuf" (fol. O4b), and Callipolis by such notes as "These gallies were of Callipoli" (fol. O3b). The "County Vinioso" who originally appeared in Act II, Sc. iv (Greg, pp. 110-111) seems to be borrowed from Polemon's account of "The Battaille of Saint Michael, fought by Sea, betweene the Marques of Santa Cruz, and Philippe Lord Strozzi, in An. 1582," where the ("Earle of Vinioso") is mentioned (fols. Bb2a, Bb3a).

The closeness with which Peele, in uninspired moments, follows his source may be judged from the following passages:

In the meane time the king of Portugal beeing issued out of Arzil, and readie to march, mustered his armie, wherein (besides the thousand stipendaries, that he had left to keepe the fleete, and the two thousand that

hee had sent to Massaga) he had foureteene thousand footemen, and two thousand horsmen, a great part armed.

Moreouer, there were three thousand pioners, and aboue a thousand cochmen, and almost an infinite number of drudges, slaues, Negroes, mulletters, horse boies, landresses, and those sweete wenches that the Frenchmen doe merrilie call the daughters of delight, for now the world is come to that, we thinke we cannot keepe wars without these snailes. So that all yt insauorie companie did excede sixe and twentie thousand persons. . . . And the greatest parte of these forces had their wages sparingly and verie ill paide them, and were distressed with want, and many other ills, for now victuals beganne to faile, the which were so sparinglie distributed, that many died for hunger (fol. U2b).

Abdilm. Now tell mee Celybin, what doeth the enemye?

Celybin. The enemye dread lord, hath left the towne
Of Areil, with a thousand souldiers arme,
To gard his fleet of thirteene hundred saile,
And mustering of his men before the wals,
He found he had two thousand armed horse,
And foureteene thousand men that serue on foot,
Three thousand pioners, and a thousand cochmen,
Besides a number almost numberlesse
Of drudges, Negroes, slaues and Muliters,
Horse-boies, landresses and curtizans,
And fifteene hundred waggons full of stuffe
For noble men, brought vp in delicate.

Abdil. Alas good king, thy fore-sight hath bin small
To come with women into Barbarie,
With landresse, with baggage, and with trash,
Numbers vnfit to multiplie thy hoast.

Cely. Their paiement in the campe is passing slow,
And victuals scarce, that many faint and die.

(Lines 1077-95.)

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MICHEL GUY DE TOURS: SOME SOURCES AND LITERARY METHODS

Blanchemain, in his edition of Guy de Tours, notices two or three instances in which the poet has lifted lines bodily from Ronsard, and remarks that Guy is evidently at no pains to conceal these borrowings.¹ Other examples of this practice could be added

¹ *Premières Œuvres et Souspirs amoureux de Guy de Tours* and *Le*

to those observed by Blanchemain,² and in fact so far is Guy from concealing his character of *ronsardisant fidèle* that he founds upon it his chief claim to the attention of posterity ('Au jardin de deffunct Monsieur de Ronsard'):

O beau jardin, s'il te demeure encor
 Quelque tresor d'un si rare tresor,
 Enrichis-en ma muse peu vantée,
 A celle fin que nos plus tards nepveux
 Pussent sçavoir que j'estois un de ceux
 Qui de Ronsard ont leur gloire empruntée.³

No doubt the very fact that writers like Guy were unable to quit the 'jardin de deffunct Monsieur de Ronsard' is a reason why their Muse is 'peu vantée,' but Guy's manner of decorating his poems with flowers from that source is so frank as to amount to a kind of originality. Besides whole verses he has culled a good many phrases and epithets. In the lines just quoted, for example, the phrase 'nos plus tards nepveux' is, as I recall, a Ronsardian expression. Like Ronsard he fell in love at the age of twenty, 'Sur mes vingt ans,'⁴ with a girl of fifteen, 'belle fleur de quinze ans,' like Cassandre.⁵ I have not attempted to collect such parallels, but

Paradis d'Amour, 2 vols. ('Trésor des vieux poètes français'), Paris, 1878, 2 105. Guy published his poems in 1598, and in 1611 a prose-novel, *Les Amours de Paris et de la nymphe Cénone*. Notices by François Colletet (quoted by Blanchemain), Goujet, and La Monnoye contain no information that cannot be deduced from his books. He was born at Tours, probably about 1562, the son of a prosperous lawyer, Michel Guy (†1595), *procureur au siège présidial de Tours*, and himself entered the legal profession. After his father's death he seems to have settled in Paris. He gives a portrait of himself in an *envoi* to his poems (*ed. cit.* 2. 98). There is an article, not accessible to me, by L. Langlois in *Bull. de la Soc. archéol. de Tours*, 1903-4, concerning one Anne Méon as the Anne of Guy's sonnets.

² E. g., 'Belle, ne garde point à Pluton ta beauté' (*ed. cit.* 1. 64) = Ronsard, 'Ne garde point à Pluton ta beauté' (*Œuv.*, ed. by Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1881, 1. 63).

³ *Ed. cit.* 2. 65. Guy has two other sonnets on Ronsard (*ed. cit.* 1. 29 and 2. 87), the first addressed to the 'roi des poètes françois,' as he calls him, as still living, the second an epitaph. A native of Tours, he may have met or at least seen Ronsard there. Since Marcel Raymond's *L'Influence de Ronsard sur la poésie française* (Paris, 1927) concludes with the year 1585, Guy does not come within its scope; he is mentioned casually (2. 218, 349) as a continuator of the 'Catullan' style.

⁴ *Ed. cit.* 1. 28; Ronsard, *ed. cit.* 1. 55 ('Sur mes vingt ans').

⁵ Guy 1. 64; Ronsard 1. 11 ('un beauté de quinze ans').

we shall meet with others as we proceed. More interesting is the founding of entire sonnets upon Ronsard, a practice of which at least two instances occur, one the introductory sonnet to Guy's *Mignardises*, the other the final sonnet of his *Souspirs*. Unless other cases have escaped my notice, as is quite possible, Guy may have thought it somehow appropriate to make more or less open allusions to his master at these points. The first example follows: ⁶

Ronsard

Dessus l'autel d'Amour planté sur vostre table
 Me fistes un serment, je vous le fis aussi,
 Que d'un cœur mutuel à s'aimer endurey
 Nostre amitié promise iroit inviolable.
 Je vous juray ma foy, vous feistes le semblable,
 Mais vostre cruauté, qui des Dieux n'a soucy,
 Me promettoit de bouche et me trompoit ainsi.
 Cependant vostre esprit demeurait immuable.
 O jurement fardé sous l'espece d'un Bien!
 O perjurable autel! ta Deité n'est rien.
 O parole d'amour non jamais asseurée!
 J'ay pratiqué par vous le proverbe des vieux:
 Jamais des amoureux la parole jurée
 N'entra (pour les punir) aux oreilles des Dieux.

Guy de Tours

Dessus l'autel d'Amour je veux ce mois icy
 Ce beau mois consacré à l'alme Cytherée,
 Vous jurer saintement, ô ma belle Nérée,
 Que serez désormais mon amoureux soucy.
 Mais je veux qu'en après vous me juriez aussi
 Que seulement de moy serez enamorée;
 Ainsi nostre amitié l'un à l'autre jurée
 Laira tousjours en nous d'un feu bien éclairci.
 O d'Amour et du Ris, Venus douce nourrice,
 Soit que tu sois en Cypre, en Paphe, ou en Eryce,
 Entens ces juremens et ces mystiques vœux!
 Et fais que ton enfant à jamais soit contraire
 A qui d'elle ou de moy sera si temeraire
 De premier les enfreindre et d'en rompre les nœuds

With his opening phrase Guy has, quite intentionally given the signal that his sonnet is to be compared with Ronsard's. The connection once seen, his more hopeful treatment of the theme gains a certain piquancy from comparison with the melancholy

⁶ Ronsard, *Sonnets pour Hélène*, in *éd. cit.* 1. 286; Guy 2 29.

ending of his model, and such must have been his intention; for no doubt he imagined that his readers would always be verbally familiar with the 'king of French poets.' Guy's sonnet has further interest as illustrating the imperceptible diffusion of classical themes, since, as I shall show elsewhere, its original, Ronsard's sonnet, is little more than an 'inspired translation' of a Greek epigram by Callimachus.

The final sonnet of the *Souspirs* is founded on the penultimate sonnet of the *Sonnets pour Hélène*, but the manner of derivation differs from that in the case just cited.⁷

Ronsard

Je faisais ces Sonnets en l'ancre Piéride,
Quand on vit les François sous les armes suer,
Quand on vit tout le peuple en fureur se ruer,
Quand Bellone sanglante alloit devant pour guide.
Quand en lieu de la Loy le vice, l'homicide . . .
Estoyent tiltres d'honneur. . . .
Pour tromper les soucis d'un temps si vicieux
J'escrivois en ces vers ma complainte inutile. . . .

Guy de Tours

Triste je souspiroy cette plainte amoureuse,
Assis dans le giron de la belle Eraton,
Quand l'horrible Megere et sa sœur Aleton
Rendoient de toutes parts la France malheureuse,
Quand les François mutins, d'une dague outrageuse
S'entrecoupoient le fil que leur tramoit Clothon, . . .
Quand nos princes Bourbons et les princes Lorrains
Avoient pour s'esgorger le coutelas aux mains. . . .
Pour n'ouyr leurs débats ny le bruit des canons
Ny voir les estandars de tant de gonfanons,
J'escrivois en ces vers mon amoureuse plainte.

In this instance Guy does not alter the sentiment of Ronsard, but makes it his artistic aim to vary the expression—'dans le giron de la belle Eraton' for 'en l'ancre Piéride,' 'l'horrible Megere et sa sœur Aleton' for 'Bellone sanglante'—usually with amplification. It is an exercise of the schools, where the sixteenth-century pupil was taught to vary a given Latin sentence in as many ways as possible *stylis exercendi gratia*. Both poets unquestionably felt genuine concern for their country in the Civil Wars, but then

⁷ Guy l. 97; Ronsard l. 292.

they doubtless had other strong feelings which they never expressed in their verses. It seemed proper to express this one in this way at the end of a book, because they had literary precedents; for Ronsard must have been prompted here by the well-known ending of Virgil's *Georgics*. Yet the French poets, one observes, in their situation, unlike Virgil felt no need of excusing their *studia ignobilis oti*; quite the contrary.

The sixteenth-century poets, for ever pillaging the same treasuries of themes, were well-broken to the ruses of style, and it was from invention in treatment more than from invention in subject that they looked to celebrate their triumphs. Hence it is instructive to follow a theme as it passes through different hands, as we have good opportunity to do in our next example of Guy's borrowing. We go therefore the long way round. A poet of the Anthology, Meleager of Gadara, is the author of some verses which may be translated as follows:⁸

O flower-nurtured bee, why do you brush Heliadora's skin, deserting the flowers of spring? Do you mean to show that she has that which is both sweet and false, the sting of love ever bitter to the heart? Yes, I think so—that is it. My friend go back where you came from: your message is no news to me.

Meleager's poem is not certainly, but very probably, the original of the *basium* of Joannes Secundus that we read next. Secundus invites the bees to leave the spring flowers and come to his lady's lips, but warns them of her 'sting.' This degree of transformation in an ancient theme is about what one learns to expect from the rhetorically-trained Latin poets of the Renaissance.⁹

Mellilegae volucres, quid adhuc thyma cana rosasque
 Et rorem vernae nectareum violae
 Lingitis aut florem late spirantis anethi?
 Omnes ad dominae labra venite meae.
Illa rosas spirant omnes thymaque omnia sola
Et succum vernae nectareum violae.
Inde procul dulces aurae funduntur anethi,
Narcissi veris illa madent lacrimis ,
Oebalique madent iuvenis fragrante cruore,
Qualis uterque liquor, cum cecidisset, erat,

⁸ A. P. 5. 163. I follow here the text of the Planudean Anthology as read in the sixteenth century.

⁹ *Basia*, ed by Ellinger, Berlin, 1899, p. 15. I have put vv. 5-12 in italics for reasons that will be apparent below.

*Nectareque aethereo medicatus, et aere puro,
 Impleret fetu versicolore solum.*
 Sed me iure meo libantem mellea labra
 Ingratae socum ne prohibete favis.
 Non etiam totas avidae distendite cellas,
 Arescant dominae ne semel ora meae
 Basiaque impressans siccis sitientia labris,
 Garrulus indicii triste feram pretium.
 Heu non et stimulis compungite molle labellum:
 Ex oculis stimulos vibrat et illa pares.
 Credite, non ullum patietur vulnus inultum:
 Leniter innocuae mella legatis apes.

The poem is neatly arranged. After stating his theme in the first four lines, Secundus slows the motion and gives body to the piece by 'accumulation' in the floral passage of eight lines, and then finally exhibits his wit in three fancies addressed to the bees: (1) Do not exclude me from her lips, (2) Do not extract all the sweetness therefrom, and (3) Do not sting her, for she has stings equal to your own.

This was exactly the thing for the Pléiade. Ronsard turned it into an ode in 1550, Baïf into a long 'anacreontic' published in 1555, and Belleau into two sonnets in his *Bergerie* of 1565.¹⁰ Ronsard expresses the whole substance of Secundus' poem except that he omits point (1); his intention is fulfilled when he has transformed the Latin elegy into a graceful *chanson*, and has shown what he can do by way of invention in the floral passage, for, while crowding the points at the end, he has rehandled and augmented this passage, giving to it two out of his four stanzas. One sees that therein lies the main artistic interest of his poem. Baïf's treatment is characteristic of him: in some sixty lines he follows Secundus straight through, taking the floral passage more lightly (4 lines), but amplifying heavily on the three final points. Belleau's treatment is more interesting, since his opposite problem—compression of the material into sonnet-form—was more difficult:^{10a}

Mouches qui massonez les voustes encirées
 De vos palais dorez, et qui dès le matin
 Volez de mont en mont pour effleurer le thym,

¹⁰ Ronsard, *éd. crit.* by Laumonier, 2. 55; Baïf, *ed.* by Marty-Laveaux, 1. 260; Belleau, *ed.* by Gouverneur, 2. 280, 289.

^{10a} In Belleau's, second sonnet, *Mais las! où volez-vous*, the theme is handled in a similar manner, but with a variation of language.

Et suçotter des fleurs les odeurs savourées:
 Dressez vos ailerons sur les lèvres sucrées
 De ma belle maistresse, et baisant son tetin
 Sur sa bouche pilliez le plus riche butin
 Que vous chargeastes onc sur vos ailes dorées.
 Là trouverez un air embasmé de senteurs,
 Un lac comblé de miel, une moisson d'odeurs:
 Mais gardez-vous aussi des embusches cruelles.
 Car de sa bouche il sort un brasier allumé,
 Et de souspirs ardans un escadron armé,
 Et pour ce gardez-vous de n'y brusler vos ailes.

Slight as it is, this sonnet shows originality and thought. The floral passage is omitted, mainly no doubt as an unnecessary ornament, but possibly also because Belleau recalled that Ronsard had retained it as the chief 'effect' of his ode. Again, of Secundus' three final points, Belleau chooses only the last, that which gives warning of the lady's dangerous power, but he expresses it under the new figure of a brand and fiery sighs, not as in Secundus and Meleager by a 'sting.' Thereby the point: bee . . . sting . . . counter-sting, is lost, no doubt intentionally, because it would seem too clever and would 'steal' the whole sonnet, ruining the tone. In any case, a new point is welcome and shows the writer's wit.¹¹

¹¹ Similarly J. C. Scaliger, who paraphrases Secundus' poem in the form of an anacreontic (*Poemata*, Heidelberg, 1600, p. 457), also scants the floral passage, but makes the final point with *venena*. One may doubt whether this touches the true *decorum* of the theme better than 'sting' or 'brand'! Scaliger's *Anacreontica* appeared in 1574. An English version also comes to hand. At least I think it has not been noted that the verses of a madrigal by John Wilbye (publ. 1609), described by E. H. Fellowes as one of the most widely-known of all English madrigals, is a, probably direct, reduction of Secundus' poem (Fellowes, *English Madrigal School* 7 [1920] 87, and compare *English Madrigal Composers*, Oxford, 1921, p. 212):

Sweet honey-sucking Bees, why do you still
 Surfeit on Roses, Pinks, and Violets,
 As if the choicest Nectar lay in them
 Wherewith you store your curious cabinets?
 Ah make your flight to Melisavivae's lips;
 There may you revel in Ambrosian cheer,
 Where smiling Roses and sweet Lilies sit
 Keeping their spring-tide graces all the year.
 Yet, sweet, take heed, all sweets are hard to get;
 Sting not her soft lips, Oh beware of that!
 For if one flaming dart come from her eye
 Was never dart so sharp, ah then you die!

What remained for Guy to do in rehandling this theme? We have seen him transposing sonnets of Ronsard; on this occasion he revises Belleau, as is clear, for example, from his final point, where 'brandon' is from Belleau's 'brasier':¹²

Fille du ciel, O menagere Avette,
Ne lasse plus tes vollans avirons
Pour effleurer à petits becs larrons
Les belles fleurs qui naissent sur Hymette.
Sans te peiner d'une aussi longue traite,
Sur ceste bouche ou bien aux environs,
Tu peux suggèr un milier de fleurons,
Mainte Hyacinthe et mainte Paquerette
Icy la fleur qui naquît d'Adonis
Croist à foison, ici sont épanis
Les lyz, les tymes et le Girofle encore;
Mais garde toy, déroband leur douceur
Pour t'enrichir, qu' un brandon ravisseur
Ainsi qu' à moy le cœur ne te devore.

He has lightened the sonnet by reducing Belleau's twelve-syllable lines to the more common ten-syllable measure; but his main intention is clear: he thought that Belleau had erred in omitting the floral passage, and hence he restores it, neatly enough, in his version.¹³ There is no reason, however, to suppose that Guy knew the original *basium* of Secundus. Rather, we have here another instance of his loyalty to Ronsard, from whose ode he very likely imagined Belleau's sonnet to have been made; for that Guy had Ronsard in mind is evident, since, true to his habits, he has lifted the address, 'Fille du ciel,' directly from Ronsard's first line.¹⁴

¹² Guy, *ed. cit.* 1. 33: the sixth sonnet, 'La Bouche,' in a series entitled 'Pourtrait de son Ente.' The phrase, 'à petits becs larrons,' is taken from Belleau's second sonnet.

¹³ Yet the *brandon* certainly arises somewhat abruptly out of Guy's bouquet of flowers—another reason, perhaps a principal one, why Belleau had been obliged to suppress the floral passage.

¹⁴ Few sixteenth-century 'floral passages' fail to include the flowers mythologically sprung from men. Secundus gives us Narcissus and Hyacinthus (vv. 8-9), and Ronsard, Hyacinthus and Ajax, replacing Narcissus by Ajax because of his bracket, 'fleurettes ensanglantées.' Secundus had similarly bracketed Narcissus and Hyacinthus, but by an undesirable pun that Ronsard was unwilling to reproduce: 'Qualis uterque liquor, cum cecidisset, erat.' Guy in an effort to vary the language of Ronsard takes virtually the only metamorphosed mortal left under 'fleurettes ensanglantées,' namely Adonis.

From all this we get some idea of Guy's artistic personality. He is no bewildered imitator; whether he appropriates a phrase or a line from another, or re-works an entire sonnet, he proceeds deliberately, with some purpose; but his purposes, it seems, amount to little. We should be unjust, however, in this last instance to measure the superiority of Belleau by comparing the small differential between the two French sonnets with the large differential between Belleau and Secundus. We ought to know what Guy could do in making a sonnet from a comparable Latin poem. Such knowledge fortunately is at hand. Like so many sixteenth-century poets Guy has drawn a handful of his poems from the *Erotopaegnon* of Girolamo Angeriano. I summarize these borrowings:¹⁵

Guy de Tours	Angeriano
Mon Anne et Cupidon (1. 61)	Caelia fatur, Amor (a4)
Le premier qui peignit (1. 69)	In tabula primus (e4)
Mon Anne voyant (1. 70)	Forte videns natum (e3)
Mon Anne trouvant (1. 71)	Quum dormiret Amor (b2)
Pourquoy te myres-tu (1. 74)	Quid speculum spectas (e4)
Lorsqu' un petit papillon (1. 84)	Papilio fulgens (c4)
Mon Anne un jour (1. 85)	Pectine formosos (c4)
Bien-heureuse tu chante (1. 87)	Tu felix cantas (c4)
A cause que ta beauté (1. 88)	Ecce tumet forma (d1)
Lorsqu' une fièvre (1. 93)	Quum mea ferventi (e2)

These ten poems from the Latin of Angeriano are all found in the third book of Guy's *Souspirs*. Only the first and the last are sonnets, the remainder taking the form of anacreontic odes or *chansons*, except *Le premier qui peignit*, which is a poem in six quatrains, and *Pourquoy te myres-tu*, which is a single quatrain. Hence in most instances he has chosen a metrical form that imposes no restraint, but permits him to follow his originals with little modification. The first of the two sonnets, again, is made from an epigram that happens to contain just enough material to fill the sonnet-form. But in making the second sonnet he was faced with a problem of reduction comparable with that faced by Belleau in dealing with Secundus.

De Caelia Convalescente

Quum mea ferventi langueret febre puella,
Purpureo et starent candida membra toro,

¹⁵ References are to Guy, *ed. cit.*, and to Angeriano, *Erotopaegnon*, Naples, 1520.

Induit invisum Mors lurida protinus ensem,
 Et petit infestis aurea tecta rogis.
 Irruit, at postquam vidit sine labe papillas,
 Et quales praefert flava Minerva oculos,
 Obrigit retroque dedit vestigia, et inquit
 Non haec lethaeam digna subire ratem.
 Sic fata infernas pudibunda recessit ad umbras,
 Ausaque sic nigro verba tonare Jovi.
 Quaecumque aetherio sub regno regna morantur
 Sunt nostra, una precor Caelia morte vacet.
 Annuit hoc Pluto, facta est dea, et illico cedunt
 Nubila, et intonsus dat quoque Phoebus opem.
 Sperandum est, postquam Mors importuna pepercit,
 Facta dea ut nostras audiat illa preces

Lorsqu' une fièvre forte agitoit ma Maistresse,
 La Mort vint à son lit, recrespant de sa main
 Le bois souplement fort de son dard inhumain,
 Afin de la tuer au fort de son angoisse.
 Mais si tost qu'elle vist la fleur de sa jeunesse
 Et le mont jumelet de son trop chaste sein,
 Elle ne voulut pas achever son dessein,
 Et sans luy faire mal, incontinent la laisse.
 Et disoit s'en allant. Une telle beauté
 Ne doit jamais sentir ma fiere cruauté,
 Ny morte devaller au manoir Plutonique.
 Les enfers ne sont pas dignes de tel honneur;
 Apres cent ans d'icy, sans mort et sans douleur,
 Le ciel s'enrichira de sa face angelique.

In setting up the situation Guy (vv. 1-8) follows the original closely (vv. 1-7), but thereafter sacrifices the action (withdrawal of Death to Hades, her plea to Pluto, transformation of Caelia into an immortal goddess), and makes the rest of his sonnet merely a laudatory speech by Death, of which vv. 9-12 are no more than varied statements of v. 8 in Angeriano. The final point is thereby lost; Guy's 'After living a hundred years, without death she will become an angel in heaven,' seems much inferior to Angeriano's 'It is to be hoped that now, having become a goddess, she will hear our prayers.' Yet there is something to be said for Guy. Angeriano's poem, though rather long, is properly an epigram, and hence justifies a somewhat complex narrative by a striking point at the end. Though the sixteenth-century sonnet had been sufficiently crossed by the classical and neo-Latin epigram to make it seek something like the epigrammatic final point, it retained its

true lyric nature so far as to keep these points subdued. Belleau seems to respond to this feeling in his transformation of Secundus' final points. The sonnet had to remain 'passionate,' and too smart a conclusion would tend to throw it from the emotional climate of love-poetry completely into the intellectual climate of wit. Perhaps therefore Guy does well enough to sacrifice the point of his original, and, naturally, the complex narrative that leads to it and is in any case too complex for a sonnet; but it is hard to escape the impression that he has impoverished his borrowed theme far more than Belleau, in Guy's estimation, impoverished his by omitting the floral ornament.¹⁶

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LES LETTRES DE VOLTAIRE DES MANUSCRITS TRONCHIN

Georges Bengesco, dans sa *Bibliographie*,¹ s'étonne de trouver des différences assez considérables entre les lettres de Voltaire aux Tronchin publiées par Gaullieur² et le texte de Cayrol et François³ reproduit plus tard par Louis Moland.⁴

Evidemment, il y a eu, d'un côté ou de l'autre, négligence, inattention, manque d'exactitude ou de précision, de scrupule. Est-ce M. Gaullieur qui, en dépouillant la correspondance autographe de Voltaire avec les Tronchin, a fondu en une seule et même lettre plusieurs billets distincts, plusieurs missives séparées? Sont-ce MM. de Cayrol et François qui ont morcelé à l'infini cette correspondance? . . .⁵

¹⁶ The poems here noticed are, of course, only a small portion of Guy's production. I have observed only two other borrowings: an elegy entitled *Songe* (l. 52) from Ovid, *Amores* l. 5, quite literally translated save that it is cast as a dream and sixteen rather empty verses are added at the end; and secondly an epigram, *A Pacollet* (2 77), reproducing Buchanan's well-known *In Zolum* (*Poemata*, Leiden. Elzevir, 1628, p. 329).

¹ G. Bengesco, *Voltaire. Bibliographie de ses œuvres* (Paris, Rouvère et Perrin, 1882-1890, 4 vol.) III, 237.

² Henri-Eusèbe Gaullieur, *Revue suisse*, mai, juin, juillet, août et septembre 1855.

³ Cayrol et François, *Lettres inédites de Voltaire*, Paris, Didier, 1856, 2 volumes.

⁴ *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, Paris, Garnier frères, 1880-1883, 52 volumes.

⁵ G. Bengesco, *op cit.*, 237.

Les manuscrits originaux des lettres de Voltaire aux Tronchin sont maintenant accessibles et permettent de répondre à cette question. Jetons d'abord un coup d'œil sur leur histoire.

En septembre 1778, quatre mois après la mort de Voltaire, Panckoucke préparait déjà une édition de sa correspondance générale et il chargea le marquis de Florian de rassembler les lettres qui se trouvaient aux mains de Genevois. Le marquis s'adressa donc à François Tronchin :

... Je sais que vous vous intéressez comme moi à la gloire de M. de Voltaire, et j'espère que vous ne serez pas fâché de l'augmenter et d'y concourir. Si donc vous aviez de ses lettres, vous obligeriez infiniment M. Panckoucke et moi-même, si vous vouliez les lui communiquer, soit en original, soit par copie. Je crois être sûr que M. Tronchin-Boissier doit en avoir; si j'étais plus en relations avec lui, je prendrais la liberté de les lui demander. Ne l'osant pas, voudriez vous avoir la bonté de le faire? ...⁶

Cette lettre fut annotée ainsi par celui auquel elle était adressée :

Ma réponse à M. de Florian, du même jour, 28 septembre 1778, a été qu'une correspondance particulière ne pouvait passer au public sans l'agrément de l'auteur des lettres qui me sont demandées, et que nous ne sommes malheureusement plus à temps de consulter.⁷

Les Tronchin, comme le remarque Gaullieur,

étaient gens d'affaires aussi bien que gens d'éducation. Ils voyaient dans Voltaire le capitaliste et le speculateur, le gentilhomme de la chambre du roi de France et l'ancien chambellan du roi de Prusse, tout autant, si ce n'est plus, que le poète et le philosophe. Ils ne se souciaient nullement, pour mille motifs de discrétion, de convenance ou de prudence, de voir leur nom imprimé à côté de celui de leur hôte. La publicité n'était pas leur affaire.⁸

L'édition de Kehl, en 1785, ne donne pas une seule lettre de Voltaire aux membres de leur famille. L'édition des *Œuvres Complètes* de 1876⁹ n'a que trois lettres de ce fonds (à Théodore Tronchin, 18 avril 1756; à Tronchin-Calendrin, 13 novembre 1765; à François Tronchin, 1er décembre 1771). Elle n'en contient pas une seule qui soit adressée à Jean-Robert Tronchin, son banquier,

⁶ Florian à François Tronchin, 28 septembre 1778. Lettre publiée par Gaullieur, *Revue suisse*, 1855, 271-272. Il ne s'agit pas de Florian le fabuliste, comme le dit Gaullieur, mais de son oncle, qui avait épousé la nièce de Voltaire.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 272.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 271.

⁹ Voltaire, *Œuvres Complètes*, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1876.

à qui il semble bien pourtant que Voltaire ait écrit plus fréquemment qu'à tout autre de ses correspondants, entre 1755 et 1762, sans excepter d'Argental.

En 1855, Gaullieur publia dans la *Revue suisse*¹⁰ un certain nombre de lettres provenant des archives de la famille Tronchin. Elles parurent en volume la même année.¹¹ Avec quelques modifications dont nous reparlerons, elles furent publiées de nouveau par Cayrol et François en 1856¹² et ont été reproduites depuis dans l'édition Moland des *Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire*.¹³

Mais ces lettres "sont loin de constituer l'ensemble de la correspondance entre le patriarche et ses amis de Genève," avertissait Bengesco,¹⁴ faisant allusion aux inédits de la famille Tronchin. Et Desnoiresterres nous apprend de son côté qu'il s'efforça d'obtenir accès à ces archives et qu'il eut l'occasion d'y jeter un coup d'œil.

Ce dépôt si fermé s'est ouvert un instant; il existe, et nous l'avons palpé, un ensemble de lettres autographes ne formant pas moins de 7 volumes, qu'on se refuse, avec une obstination qu'il faut respecter, à laisser publier.¹⁵

Ces volumes de lettres autographes (qui sont au nombre de dix: Fonds Tronchin, A 86, A 87, A 88, A 89, A 90, A 91, A 92, A 93, A 94, A 95) appartiennent depuis 1937 à la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève. MM. Delarue, bibliothécaire en chef et Fernand Aubert, conservateur des manuscrits, ont bien voulu, au début de 1940, nous autoriser à en prendre copie.

Ils contiennent 597 lettres de Voltaire (dont 572 aux Tronchin), 59 de Mme Depis et une cinquantaine d'autres qui leur sont adressées. Pour ne parler que des lettres de Voltaire aux Tronchin, 267 d'entre elles, soit, en gros, près de la moitié, ont déjà été publiées, soit dans les volumes de Moland, soit dans les volumes d'Henri Tronchin.¹⁶ Moland donne 158 lettres de Voltaire aux Tronchin (96 à Jean-Robert Tronchin, 23 à François Tronchin, 37 à Théo-

¹⁰ *Revue suisse*, 1855.

¹¹ H.-E. Gaullieur, *Mélanges historiques et littéraires sur la Suisse française*, Paris et Genève, Cherbulle, 1855.

¹² Cayrol et François, *op. cit.*

¹³ *Op. cit.*, vol. XXXVIII à L.

¹⁴ G. Bengesco, *op. cit.*, III, 236.

¹⁵ G. Desnoiresterres, *Voltaire et la société française au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, Didier, 1871-1876, 8 volumes) VIII, 450, note 1.

¹⁶ Henri Tronchin, *Le Conseiller François Tronchin et ses amis*, Paris, Plon, 1895. *Un médecin au XVIII^e siècle. Théodore Tronchin*, Paris, Plon, 1906.

dore Tronchin, 2 à Jacob Tronchin). De ce nombre, 46 ne se retrouvent pas dans les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève. Restent 112 lettres qui sont à la fois dans les manuscrits et dans l'édition Moland. Il n'est pas sans intérêt de les comparer.

Douze lettres sont reproduites entièrement dans Moland, ou presque entièrement (Mol. 2897, 3115, 3158, 3434, 3481, 3483, 5340, 5711, 8911, 8926, 8927, 10050), bien que parfois mal datées (Mol. 5340, 19 juillet 1763: il faut 19 juillet 1764; 8927, 9 septembre 1773: il faut 31 août 1773; 10050, 7 septembre 1777: il faut 7 septembre 1776).

Quinze autres sont conformes au texte original pour les deux tiers ou davantage (Mol. 3065, 3281, 3290, 3306, 3408, 3451, 3468, 3475, 3490, 3495, 3504, 3528, 3685, 3964, 8420). La lettre 3290 du 15 janvier 1757 substitue *bigots* à *prêtres* (Mss "mais je crains les prêtres") et les dix lignes qui suivent ne sont pas du 15 janvier 1757; elles font partie, dans les manuscrits, d'une lettre du 27 janvier 1757.

Les quatre-vingt cinq autres lettres sont ou des fragments simples, ou d'étranges conglomerats groupant sous une seule date des phrases provenant de diverses lettres qui, dans les manuscrits originaux, couvrent un espace de plusieurs mois ou même de plusieurs années et ont parfois différents destinataires.

La formation de ces conglomerats reste mystérieuse. Moland s'est borné à reproduire Cayrol et François. Ces derniers paraissent avoir su que le texte de Gaullieur était douteux et se sont efforcés d'y remédier. Bengesco a constaté ^{16*} que telle lettre de l'édition Gaullieur (Voltaire à Jean-Robert Tronchin, 23 décembre 1758) forme, dans le volume de Cayrol et François comme dans l'édition Moland, cinq lettres distinctes (Moland 3716, 3725, 3781, 3837, 3844), dont trois sont adressées à Jean-Robert Tronchin et deux à son frère François. Mais la comparaison avec le texte original montre que ces tentatives pour fragmenter les énormes poudingues légués par Gaullieur procédaient à tâtons; tantôt elles sont allées trop loin et ont mis sous plusieurs dates ce qui provient d'une seule des lettres autographes; tantôt elles ont laissé groupés des passages de plusieurs provenances. Si nous suivons le sort des cinq lettres mentionnées ci-dessus par Bengesco, nous voyons que Moland 3837 est composé à son tour d'extraits de deux lettres des manuscrits,

^{16*} G. Bengesco, *op. cit.*, III, 237.

et Moland 3781, d'extraits de trois lettres. Les huit lettres originales enfin ne sont reproduites qu'en partie: Moland 3716 (13 décembre 1758): 31 lignes sur 65; 3725 (22 décembre 1758): 9 lignes sur 22; 3781 (17 février 1759): a) 17 février 1759, 13 lignes sur 26; b) 26 février 1759, 9 lignes sur 15; c) 26 mars 1759, 2 lignes sur 16; 3837 (2 mai 1759): a) 11 avril 1759, 3 lignes sur 27; b) 2 mai 1759, 9 lignes sur 50; 3844 (7 mai 1759): 9 lignes sur 73.

Dans d'autres cas, ce ne sont pas seulement deux ou trois fragments différents qui entrent dans une seule des lettres de l'édition Moland, mais jusqu'à huit ou dix. Comment expliquer ce procédé? J'ai entendu dire à Genève que Gaullieur ne fut pas autorisé par la famille Tronchin à copier les manuscrits directement; il aurait reçu copie des textes qu'on jugeait dignes d'être publiés. D'ailleurs peu importe. Quel que soit l'auteur de ces découpages, son idée directive paraît avoir été d'émonder du texte les menus détails de la vie domestique de Voltaire pour relever principalement les événements célèbres de son existence et les mentions de faits historiques, —nouvelles de la Guerre de Sept Ans, lutte des Parlements, échos de Versailles. Le découpeur a eu tort, sans doute, tout comme les premiers éditeurs des *Pensées*, de ne pas se conformer d'avance à ce qu'exigeraient les méthodes d'histoire littéraire de notre temps; il a eu surtout le tort inexplicable de copier si bizarrement ce qu'il a copié. Telle lettre, datée du 19 septembre 1761 dans Moland (4684), est une mosaïque d'une douzaine de fragments de sept dates différentes, où pas une phrase sur dix n'est sans quelque inexactitude, petite ou grosse. Nous la transcrivons ci-dessous. C'est un cas bien accusé, mais nullement exceptionnel, qui peut servir comme exemple des lettres de Voltaire aux Tronchin fabriquées par procédé synthétique. Nous avons d'autre part donné plus haut la liste des lettres publiées dans Moland d'une façon à peu près exacte.

Moland 4684

A. M. Tronchin, de Lyon.

19 septembre 1761.

J'ai donc chez moi Mlle Chimène et Rodogune. [L'emploi des coupons et d'une somme d'argent égale sera un bien petit objet, et je n'oserais¹⁷ pas mettre si peu de chose sur la tête de la parente de Corneille. Mais puisque vous croyez la chose convenable, on peut toujours lui faire ce léger avan-

¹⁷ MS: . . . "je n'osais . . ." 19 décembre 1761.

tage.¹⁸ Ainsi les faiseurs joindront le nom de Corneille à celui de Voltaire] (MS Fonds Tronchin, recueil A 94, 19 décembre 1761). Mais j'ai entrepris autre chose. Je veux faire une édition de Pierre Corneille en faveur de sa petite-fille. C'est une [entreprise qui ne laisse pas d'être une affaire de finance un peu délicate]¹⁹ (MS, 14 août 1761) [Il faudra que je fasse les avances de l'édition. Cela ira à 40.000 livres Les vers sont un objet de commerce plus gros qu'on ne pense.]²⁰ (MS, 7 septembre 1761). [J'espère en venir à bout avec le secours des bontés du roi, qui daigne donner 10.000 livres,²¹ (MS, 14 août 1761) soit [la valeur de deux cents exemplaires Tous les princes ont suivi cet exemple. M. de Richelieu en prend vingt; M. le duc de Choiseul, vingt, etc, etc M. Bertin, contrôleur général, est le seul à la cour qui ne s'intéresse pas aux souscriptions que je fais faire. Il ne m'a pas seulement répondu.]²² (MS, 7 août 1761). [Mais il faudra bien que ce contrôleur-là paye les souscriptions royales, et le temps n'est pas des plus favorables]²³ (MS, 14 août 1761) [Si Dieu nous donnait la paix, cette édition de Corneille serait une fortune pour Mlle Corneille; mais elle me paraît bien éloignée]²⁴ (MS, 7 septembre 1761). [Ils ont dit: *La paix! la paix!* et il n'y a²⁵ point de paix. Et ce fou de Diogène Rousseau propose la paix perpétuelle.] (MS, 19 mars 1761). [Nous ne pouvons faire que la paix la plus humiliante ou la guerre la plus ruineuse. Mille familles sont ruinées.] (MS, 7 août 1761). [Il est vrai que je bâtis, que je fais des jardins, que je joue la comédie.²⁶ Mais je suis sage, j'entamerai

¹⁸ MS: . . . "ce léger avantage sans préjudice de ce qu'on doit faire pour elle et madame denis a qui j'en ay parlé approuve beaucoup cette disposition. ainsi les faiseurs joindront le nom de corneille a celui de voltaire, et me feront sans doute trop d'honneur . . ." 19 décembre 1761.

¹⁹ MS: . . . "mon entreprise de l'Edition de Corneille ne laisse pas d'être une affaire de finance un peu délicate. j'espère en venir à bout avec le secours des bontés du Roy qui daigne donner dix mille Livres. mais il faudra que Mr. le controlleur general les paye, et le temps n'est pas des plus favorables . . ." 14 août 1761.

²⁰ MS: . . . "il y a bien autre chose, il faudra que je fasse les avances de l'edition de corneille. cela ira a 40000 livres. les vers sont un objet de commerce plus gros qu'on ne pense. il n'y a rien a perdre a ces avances; et ces 40000 livres se payeront a plusieurs termes

si dieu nous donnait la paix l'edition de Corneille serait une fortune pour m^{lle} corneille. mais cette paix me paraît bien éloignée." 7 septembre 1761.

²¹ MS: . . . "A propos, je ne suis pas extrêmement content de Mr. le controlleur general, il est le seul à la cour qui ne s'intéresse pas aux souscriptions que je fais faire pour une Edition de Pierre Corneille, en faveur de sa petite-fille. Le Roy prend la valeur de deux cent exemplaires; tous les princes ont suivi cet exemple, Mr. de Richelieu en prend vingt, mr. le Duc de Choiseul vingt etc. Mr. Bertin ne m'a pas seulement répondu . . ." 7 août 1761.

²² MS: . . . "il n'y avait . . ." 19 mars 1761.

²³ MS: . . . "la comédie, que j'ay quelque fois cent cinquante bouches à nourrir et toujours cent, mais je suis sage . . ." 13 octobre 1760.

les fonds le moins que je pourrai²⁴ Les châteaux et les comédies sont chers] (MS, 13 octobre 1760) [Mme Denis veut un²⁵ théâtre, et moi, une belle église Nous irons tous à l'hôpital entre Jésus-Christ et Corneille.] (MS, 2 septembre 1761).

ANDRÉ DELATTRE

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JOHANN SALOMON SEMLER'S *GEDANKEN VON
ÜBEREINKOMMUNG DER ROMANE MIT
DEN LEGENDEN*, HALLE 1749

Semler's programme, meant as a Christmas gift for the Saxe-Weimar Councillor Samuel Lenz, appeared in Halle "bey Johann Justinus Gebauer," 24 pp. in-4. The title page has a motto: "Pour faire un livre, qui ait du debit, il faut travailler à des Romans. Lettres de M. Bayle." The second sheet contains the dedication to Lenz, the third a preface directed to the same. Among other remarks, the following is of interest: "Was den Inhalt dieser Blätter betrifft, so habe vermehmet, Gelegenheit zu manchen nicht unnützlichen Betrachtungen zu geben, wenn ich einen Einfal, den ich in einer französischen Zeitung einmal gelesen, weiter verfolgte. Ich werde glauben einigen Nutzen gestiftet zu haben, wenn sich diese Gedanken einigen Unwillen und Verachtung, des blossen Gegenstandes wegen, zuziehen solten." This gives us a source on the one hand and, on the other, an insight into Semler's character such as it revealed itself in later years gradually and most influentially: Semler was the born historian who would apply historical views to anything, be it novels, the middle ages, or even the origin of the biblical collections. If *die Aufklärung* was unhistorical, Semler whom the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* considers one of the leaders of Enlightenment, did not belong to *that Aufklärung*. On p. 7, he begins with a half-humorous revaluation of mediævalism and the catholic monk: "Wenn die Geschlechtsforscher oder Erdbeschreiber ohngefahr in den Klosterreliquien blättern, und das nicht finden, was sie ohnfehlbar vermutet haben: so müssen diese guten Platköpfe bey der Unordnung und dem Unverstand zu Hause gehören." He criticizes even Gronov, Græve, Maffei, Burman,

²⁴ MS. . . . "que je pourrai." Dix lignes plus bas: . . . "les châteaux et les comédies sont chers." 13 octobre 1760.

²⁵ MS: . . . "veut un beau théâtre . . ." 2 septembre 1761.

Facciolati, the cream of critics and philologists, for their unhistorical view of monasticism, and asks himself if it really matters when pure Latin style is neglected. "Die Monche haben durch eigenmächtige Vermerung der *lateinischen* Sprache reichlich ersetzt, was der natürlichen Reinigkeit durch ihre eigne Nachlässigkeit abging." His casualness of style is by no means to be misinterpreted as of solely ironical intent; Semler merely wishes to write in such light vein as would become a Christmas gift to a cavalier; but he is also serious; he himself never wrote elegant Latin; and he refers to his early essay, when thirty years later he has to justify his character in the light of his own development as a scholar and historian, in *Semlers Lebensbeschreibung von ihm selbst abgefasst*.¹ His complicated theoretical character lent itself to misunderstanding; his impartiality and equal justice that never could see the wrong in one side only, his historical attitude that did not even look for good or bad, but was satisfied with understanding, found itself in a difficult impasse when confronted with decisions, such as Dr. Bahrdt's case had required. The frantic attempt to move away from that unhappy man and scholar, who after all had but more courage and character than the great historian Semler, ended with this *Lebensbeschreibung*, which does not excuse its author, though it interprets him adequately.—Here we find as the central figure the learned polyhistor Baumgarten, whose *Nachrichten* were compiled by such men as Semler. Among the sources he mentions Bayle's *Nouvelles de la république des lettres*, *Journal des savans*, LeClerc's *Bibliothèques*, *La nouvelle bibliothèque germanique* and others.² Any of these might have given the first hint to Semler's treatise on the novel. Apart from a Munich Dissertation, 1911,³ we have no adequate discussion of early novel theory, nor is Wolff really adequate. Semler, at any rate, has not been discussed from this angle as yet, although his name is mentioned quite often in some general connection or other.

While the older novel theory attempts to find norms such as Aristotle is supposed to have established for other genres; the fact that prose fiction and prose writing, *history* and *story*, especially the so-called *True Story*, for which antiquity offered amusing

¹ Halle 1781 f. r, 115.

² *Ibid.* r, 114; II, 21.

³ Max L. Wolff, *Geschichte der Romantheorie*, Nürnberg 1915; vgl. *Reall. d. d. Lg.* III, 63.

examples of untruthfulness, could not be readily distinguished on principle was the main impediment in novel theory. While one had novels with various degrees of direct or hidden factualness, from the *Astrée* or *Argenis* to *Arminius*, the degree of fictionalism could not be sufficiently separated from the aspect of symbolic truth—"even if Arminius spoke differently, people *do* speak like *Arminius*." The *Acta Eruditorum*, for example, again and again are concerned with these questions.⁴ From the historical angle, all the stately journals of scholars, such as Breitinger's *Tempe Helveticum* or Mencken's *Miscellanea Lipsiensia (nova)*, of which I have the copy which Gottsched once owned, contribute occasional information; but a theologian was not apt to enter on the scene. Semler, of course, was fundamentally a historian who applied the methods of critical research to the Bible more subtly even than Capelle and Simon, LeClerc and Pfaff; but his autobiography recalls to our mind a story Woodrow Wilson and Stockton Axson used to tell upon a visit to Max Müller's house—there was no retreat, none whatsoever, where there were not books; and Semler tells us what he used to read on certain occasions—mystics, fairy tales, magic, and the like. No wonder that he should see at an early age that those legendary reports that became canonised as Bible would have to be taken together with other miracle stories that did not happen to become part of the Western Canon. In this manner, his essay on novel and legend is, in a manner, part of his later research!

The essay consists of fifteen whimsical paragraphs: In the first, he says: "Die meisten heiligen Geschichten kommen ihrer ganzen Abfassung und Vorstellung nach, von müszigen und gutmeinenden Urhebern her." While this refers specifically to legends of Saints rather than biblical stories, he finds considerable similarity with novelists, *Memoiressteller*, etc. The second paragraph jokes about *Ausschmückung*, both in legends and novels, exclamations, flowery hyperbolæ, the use of imaginary foreign, especially Oriental, languages. 3. Similarity of content: practically all saints are identical; so are the heroes of practically all novels, even if new names are found. As the saints are all very pious, severe, abstaining, martyrs, workers of miracles, etc., all novels deal with the tribulations of lovers. Semler's description of the "gemeine Roman" follows the

⁴ 1683, p. 147 Bucher on history; p. 385 Huet on novels. 1684, p. 433 Mrs. Prasech on novels. 1688, p. 226 A. Ch. Rothe on fiction. 1689, p. 287 *Arminius* by Lohenstein. p. 633 Bartholinus and Huet on the *Edda*.

pattern of the Greek novel that, through Longus, Heliodor, and Chariton, had entered the seventeenth century novel of Europe. Semler jokes about his concept of "Einheit," referring to the *Querelle* between de la Motte and Mme Dacier, who need not have proved the "unity" of the *Iliad*. 4. *Hauptabsicht*: Semler smilingly maintains that edification is the ultimate purpose of both Saintly and Love stories. Virtue is bound to win. 5. As the Saint had nothing to do but to effect miracles, the hero of the novel need do nothing but marry, um "ein Fraulein, eine Prinzessin, eine Nonne, eine Indianerin, eine Morin, eine Schavin in den gluckseligsten Zustand auf der Welt zu setzen." 6. The readers of either type are alike, people of limited intelligence and much leisure. "Dis einige bleibt allen gleich übrig, dasz sich ein jeder zu Hause gar bequem über die greulichen Tucke des Glücks in der Stube erbossen kan." 7. Other books are becoming less important; the novel can replace the bible. 8. The taste for legends of saints and novels derives from "Unwissenheit der wahren Geschichte." "Es sind viele, so die *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Malte*, . . . und andere wirkliche Romanen, für wahre Geschichten halten." 9. The international character of legend and novel, to which he also alluded sub 6, is exemplified by the traffic in translations. 10. On the business aspect, writer, publisher, salesman. 11. On old models and copper-plate nudities. 12. The growing popularity at certain times, such as since Mlle. de Scudéry the novel has experienced, is paralleled to the ups and downs of Saints' legends. 13. Improvements of legends by Bolland, Baillet and others are compared with improvements of the novel by D'Argens, de Scudéry, Prévost d'Exiles, d'Urfé and others, whose works, distinguishable among each other, greatly differ from the common love novel. The *Astrée* is called beautiful, and the *Mémoires d'un homme de qualité* are preferred to *Manon Lescaut*; but when he calls the *Arabian Nights*, *Amadis*, the *Banise* and *Herkules* indispensable for passing the time, his satirical vein gets again the better of him. 14. Scholars can make use of them; There is a somewhat shady story about the history of paper, taken from a legend by St. Petrus Damianus, to prove how legends may be used by scholars. Similarly with the novel: "Daß Rabelais für Gelerte sey, wird wol niemand leugnen; wenigstens haben die gewöhnlichen Romanleser keine Lust daran." Next he mentions *Automathes* by Kirkby and Pococke's *Philosophus autodidactus*. 15. On Defenders: There is an array of strange

defenses ("Mabillon hat sich der Thrane Christi zu Vendome manlich angenommen, wider des satirischen Thiers ungläubige Angriffe."), and with similar success the novels have been defended: "ob gleich der Abt von S. Real, und nach ihm Lenglet der wahren Geschichte vor den Romanen einen grossen Vorzug beilegen wollen: so ist doch leicht zu begreifen, daß der Verfasser der Schrift *de l'usage des Romans* mehr Leser findet, und mehrere überzeugt." The young scholar, in his twenty-eighth year of age, expects however that he will be despised and contradicted for his low opinion of fiction: "Ich mus es leiden, wenn einige dieses fur einen Versuch in der Satire erklären wollen; wenn man mich nur dadurch nicht zu schimpfen meint. Ich würde mich aber auch sehr freuen, wenn ich Personen, die zu was besserm aufgelegt sind, etwas irre machen, und dazu bringen könnte, daß sie die Romane so lange liegen liessen, bis sie in der wahren altern oder neuern Geschichte etwas versucht hätten." The remaining four pages call for historical studies, into which he gives an introduction, while berating some more fiction writers, especially the author of *Gesprache im Reiche der Todten*. If the readers knew "ihren schlechten Verfasser" they would not be proud of owning the entire collection: "Buddei so genantes historisches Lexicon, war die Qvelle, woraus er am meisten schopfte; welche er nicht einmal selbst besas, sondern gemeiniglich die ersten Tage jedes Monats so lange lernte, bis er mit einer neuen *Entrevue* sein nötiges Weingeld verdient hatte." Poor Faßmann! Semler simply is no good when he is serious; or is he: "Arnolds *Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie* setzt einen leicht in den Stand, wider die Geistlichen bey Gelegenheit mit Nachdruck aus der Geschichte loszuziehen. Herrn von Holbergs *Kirchengeschichte* gibt auch erhebliche Betrachtungen an die Hand: zumal wenn er Baylens Namenbuch in gewissen Artikeln von Wort zu Wort, auch mit den eingeschalteten Dichtersprüchen und *bons mots* abgeschrieben hat." He concludes, nevertheless, by stating that usefulness should not be the proof of history, nor should one think that the facts are as yet available. With growing research, history might have so many unknown names and so many precise data that it would resemble our novels.

This half jocular, half serious essay is an interesting contribution to the great historian's biography; the theorist of fiction will place it next to the *Réflexions sur les Romans*, which the wife of burgo-master Prash published in 1684 in answer to bishop Huet's appraisal and approval. As long as novels were seen as imperfect

history—untrue reading when so much real history would be available—no adequate theory could be developed. From the point of view of historiography, however, both Semler's serious work and this rare *programma* deserve more consideration. Though Semler never acquired the gift of presenting a topic in a form intelligible to his average contemporaries, his effect on church and laity was enormous, and for lasting success he should only have followed the precepts of Rapin's *Instructions pour l'histoire*, Paris 1677; for the Jesuit poet Rapin looked at history as literature with an eye for style just as the Lutheran scholar Semler looked at literature as would-be history with an eye for truths and inventions.

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GRETE'S BAD NAME

The name *Grete* has long been in bad odor, longer indeed than anyone seems to have stopped to point out.¹ Professor J. A. Walz's comments on a sixteenth-century Faust play supported this interpretation, and he had no occasion to look farther. Friedrich Zarncke, who incidentally pointed out these implications, declared that they were particularly frequent in Northern Germany and appeared in Upper Germany after the Reformation. As supporting evidence he cites "Als im der todt genommen het / Euridicen sein schöne Gredt" from Sebastian Brant's *Freidank* of 1538. In the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Arthur Hübner collects a good number of examples, and more may be found in Othmar Meisinger's very interesting discussion of the connotations of Christian names in the Upper German dialects.

Zarncke's belief that this use of Grete is characteristically Northern German—a use for which he gives no examples—is erroneous.

¹ I have commented on it in *Problems in German Literary History of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York, 1939), pp. 113-14, n. 98, citing J. A. Walz, "A German Faust Play of the Sixteenth Century," *Germanic Review*, III (1928), 11-12; F. Zarncke (ed.), *Sebastian Brants Narrenschiff* (Leipzig, 1854), p. 300. See further *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, IV, i, 6, cols. 198-200; O. Meisinger, "Die weiblichen Appellativnamen in den hochdeutschen Mundarten," *Zeitschrift für hochdeutsche Mundarten*, VI (1905), 88-89, No. 23. J. C. Dolz, *Die Moden in den Taufnamen* (Leipzig, 1925) offers nothing pertinent.

To be sure, he may have in mind various Northern German uses of Grete for a demon of one sort or another, but such uses do not stand very close to the pejorative connotation of Grete. Oswald von Wolkenstein, who was writing in the Tyrol before the middle of the fifteenth century, knows Gredel as a typical name for a peasant girl.² Furthermore, he makes it plain in another place that "liebe Gret" can scarcely have been all that she should be.³ Oswald had been in Northern Germany, but that fact scarcely proves his adoption of a use foreign to his native speech. One is whimsically tempted to see some significance in the fact that Oswald's wife was named Margarethe, but this clue will not lead us farther. When Beda Weber, the first editor of Oswald's poems, groups together references to Grete and the wife, he is probably doing so for convenience. We can be sure that Grete was in bad odor in South-eastern Germany at this time, for Hans Heselloher, who wrote a few years later, joins Gredel and Matz, another name with unpleasant associations.⁴ Furthermore, his verses

er sey des adels also wol
ein graff von Lorion,
wie wol ers mit Gredlin kan⁵

are unequivocal, whatever the allusion to Lorion—Maschek, the latest editor, offers the admittedly desperate conjecture Luderjan (p. 304)—may imply.

Conjectures about the origin of these associations with the name Grete are naturally more or less uncertain until additional early examples are available. Clearly Grete owes its bad odor to the words that it resembles, and these words need not have the remotest etymological or historical connections with Grete or with each other. It is probably pertinent to any conjecture to point out that the meaning seems to have faded somewhat in the course of time. Oswald von Wolkenstein, Hans Heselloher, and the other early users of Grete seem to couple with it sexual implications, either good or bad. In modern vernacular use Grete suggests according to Meisinger, either stupidity or a peasant background and does not imply doubtful morals.

² H. Maschek, *Lyrik des späten Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1939), pp. 86-87, which may be found in J. Schatz (ed.), *Die Gedichte Oswalds von Wolkenstein* (Göttingen, 1904), pp. 124-25.

³ Maschek, p. 93 = Schatz, p. 173.

⁴ Maschek, p. 97 = A. Hartmann, *Romanische Forschungen*, v (1890), 451.

⁵ Maschek, p. 97 = Hartmann, p. 451.

In looking for possible origins, we should of course start from the earlier meaning. Kaspar Stieler connected *Grete* with *grete* 'desiderata' (from *greten*).⁶ Although his etymology is wrong, he may not have been so far off in indicating the associations of *Grete* for the speaker of German in his day. Inasmuch as these associations reach farther back than Stieler, who wrote in the second half of the seventeenth century, we might examine words and ideas likely to be familiar in the Middle Ages. My friend Professor John G. Kunstmann, who has generously verified some bothersome references, wonders, for example, whether *greten*, MHG *grêten* 'die Beine auseinander spreizen' or St. Margarethe, the patroness of women in childbed, could have helped build up these associations.⁷ As evidence of their close relation to the meaning of *Grete* I add that Margarethe is said to be a name often given to girls of illegitimate origin in Salzburg,—a reference that I owe to Professor Grant Loomis.⁸

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A NOTE ON THE U-DECLENSION IN OLD NORSE

Since the *i* in *kviðr* 'a saying, judgment,' and in *siðr* 'custom, manner' represents an original *e*,¹ we should have expected the forms **kveðr* < **kveður* (cf. *verðr* 'meal' < **werður*) and **sjoðr* < **seður* (cf. *mjoðr* 'mead' < **meður*).

Erik Noreen² derives *kviðr* from **kveðjur*. But the assumption of a *ju*-suffix has no historical support and is therefore really begging the question. Noreen was evidently forced to this hypothesis because he assumed that the *i* in *kviðr* is phonetically correct. It is far more likely that the *i* in both *kviðr* and *siðr* was borrowed by analogy from the *u*-stems with radical vowel PGmc *i*, such as *friðr*, *kvistr*, *liðr*, *limr*, *viðr*, etc.

The primary point of contact between the two types was evidently the *ð* directly following the radical vowel, for where *ð* does

not directly follow the radical vowel the two types are otherwise kept strictly apart (cf. *verðr* with *kviðr*: *viðr*, and **kelur* > *kjölr* with *siðr*: *viðr*). Since *e* did not suffer breaking after *v*, an original **kveðr* (< **kveður*) could all the more easily have been displaced by *kviðr* after the pattern of *kviðr* 'belly' (Goth. *qībus*): *viðr*, where no breaking could occur. On the other hand, if the *ð* directly following the radical vowel represents the only point of contact between *siðr* and the *i*-type, then the discrepancy between *siðr* and *mjoðr* (where *ð* likewise directly follows the radical vowel) is left unexplained. This discrepancy, however, is removed if we assume another point of contact between the *i*-type and the *e*-type, viz., the congruence of the radical vowel *i* (due to the *i*-umlaut of *e*) with original PGmc *i*. This falling together of the radical vowel in both types originally took place in the dat. sing. (cf. *viði*: *siði* < **seði*) and in the nom. plur. form (cf. *viðir*: *siðir* < **seðir*) but in historical times was extended by analogy with the *i*-stems to the acc. plur. form (cf. *við-u*, *-i*: *sið-i* instead of **sjoð-u* < **seð-u*). The phonetically correct radical vowel *i* of the *e*-type in two of the declensional forms and the later analogical radical vowel *i* in the acc. plur. must have furnished a point of contact³ between the two types aside from the *ð* directly following the radical vowel, resulting in the complete displacement of original *e* in favor of *i*. The substantive *mjoðr* escaped this displacement evidently because this *u*-stem had no plural forms, and therefore only the dat. sing. form *miði* contained the radical vowel *i*. The example of *mjoðr* over against *siðr* (instead of **sjoðr*) indicates that the *ð* directly following the radical vowel was not the only factor in connection with the displacement of *e* by *i* in the *e*-type.

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³ Cf. the contact between the *a*-stems and the *u*-stems due to the congruence of the radical vowels *i* and *e*. In the *a*-stems *i*: *e* represent PGmc *i*: *e*; in the *u*-stems *i*: *e* are the result of *i*-umlaut of *e*: *a* (cf. *smiðr*, *smið-ar*, *-ir*, *-i* with *sið-ir*, *-i*; *vegr*, *veg-ar*, *-ir* with *meg-ir*, etc.).

Heusler's remark (*Aisl. Elementarb.*², § 225, Anm.). "Bei Wörtern die den Umlauten und der Brechung unzugänglich sind, wie *vegr* "Weg," *sifr* "Sitte," unterscheiden sich *u*- und *i*-Flexion überhaupt nur im Akk. Pl."—is misleading so far as the phonetic development of *siðr* is concerned. Only after **sjoðr* (< **seður*) had been displaced by *siðr* was either umlaut or breaking impossible. Heusler evidently regards the form *siðr* as phonetically correct.

HEINSCHKE, F. = 'SEED-POD'

Hieronymus Bock's *New Kreutter Buch*, Straßburg, 1539, has three instances of this apparently unrecorded word:

Von Weiderich . . . Dregt lange heinschen oder schotten, wie die gemeynen braunen violen. (I, 47^a); Die anderen grossen garten Erweyssen, sind mit stengeln, blettern, rippen, faden, weissen bluomen, vnd heinschen oder schifen, den obgenanten Schott Erweyssen gleich. (II, 6^b); Zuom dritten, das die bonen, vber andere garten vnd kuchenfrucht geschlacht seien, der massen, das eyn mal hundert Bonen in eynem scapo oder schotten gefunden sind worden &c. Solche oberrente zeychen, fint man gar nit an vnsern Bonen, dann vnser Bonen keymen bald . . . Zuo dem so gewinnen sie kurtzere vnd schlechtere wurtzeln, weder die andere legumina, auch fint man selten vber sechs Bonen in eyner heynschen, ich geschweyg dz man hundert solt finden &c. (II, 11^a).

Neither Grimm's *Deutsches Worterbuch* nor P. Kretschmer's *Wortgeographie der deutschen Umgangssprache* mentions this synonym of 'Hülse,' 'Schote.' The meaning of *Heinsche*, coupled in Bock's text with *Schote* and *Schiff*, is perfectly clear, but its etymology is not so obvious. At first glance, to be sure, one might be tempted to compare it with *Heinschkraut*, *gnaphalium stoechas*, *mottenkraut*, cited *DWb.* IV, 2, 887 from Nemnich,¹ and *heinskraut*, *hünstkraut*, cited from Alberus. But *Heinschkraut* and *Heinskraut* are variants of *Hinschkraut*, which designates any herb that is good for the *Hinsche*, or *hünische Sucht*; cf. *DWb.* IV, 2, 1468; Fischer, *Schwäb. Wb.* III, 1558 f.

¹ Among other German equivalents of *Gnaphalium stoechas*, Nemnich (II, 63) lists *Mottenkraut*, *Mottenblume*, *Schimmelkraut*, *Sonnengoldblume*, and *Feinschkraut*, but not *Heinschkraut*. I take it that *Feinschkraut* is a misprint, despite the fact that it reappears in the German section of Nemnich (III, 146): "Feinschkraut, *Gnaphalium stoechas*," whence it passes over into the *DWb.* III, 240. *Hinschkraut*, *Gnaphalium stoechas*, appears in its alphabetical place in *Nemnich* (III, 240). A similar misprint in Nemnich (I, 458; III, 300) is *Kinschwurzel*, *Aristolochia clematitis*, taken over into the *DWb.* V, 779. In *DWb.* IV, 1470, however, under *Hinschkraut*, the note is added: "das theil 5, 779 aufgeführte *kinschwurzel* osterluzei scheint den ersten theil unseres wortes verderbt zu enthalten." In support of this conjecture compare Bock I, 45^b: "Die namen beder Aristolochie, sind fast droben angezeygt, doch das man merck, das die lang die wir Dactylitin vnd Masculam genent haben, sei die Osterluzey, oder Biberwurtz, die etlich auch Hynschkraut genent. Doch vom Hynschkraut im capitel ye lenger ye lieber."

A survey of the other terms used by Bock for 'seed-pod' or 'seed-container,' may give us a clue to the etymology of *Heinsche*. My list of such expressions, which does not pretend to be complete, contains the following: *Bolle*, *Hafelin*, *Hauslin*, *Hornlin*, *Knopflin*, *Kolblin*, *Kopf*, *Kopflin*, *Munchskopf*, *Sacklin*, *Scheff*, *Schiff*, *Schifflin*, *Scheide*, *Schotte*, *Schötlin*, *Tasche*, and *Täschlin*:

samen, je ij. oder iij. sām̃lin in eynem stachelechten heußlin (I, 2^a); Nach der bluet samet es in heußlin, der ist gleich dem Agley samen (I, 3^a); Nach den bluomen erscheinen fünfeckechte, vnd viereckechte beschloßne schotten, aber vnderscheyden, gleich wie eyn Motz,² mit iij. oder funff stollen geformiert. In eym jeden heußlin, der iij. oder funff an jeder schotten seind, findt man eyn kolschwartzten schonen samen (I, 6^b); Nach der bluete wurt eyn horecht kopfflin darauß, das ist der samen (I, 16^b), darauß werden viereckete vnd auch fünff eckete schötlin eyner Motzen mit den vier schollen gleichförmig (I, 17^a); spitzige schifflin eynem gersten korn gleichförmig, darinn findt man schwartzten samen (I, 18^b); zwen Cressen . . . mit vilen teschelin oder Seckelin vnd fast kleinem gälem samen (I, 20^b); Die tragen bluomen gäl vnd bleich biß oben auß, daraus werden scheyden fingers lang vol samens (I, 24^a), Mit kraut stengel, bluomen, schotten, somen vnnnd geschmack dem Senff gleich, (ib.); Die schotlin mit dem samen (ib.; the terms *scheyde*, *schotte*, and *schötlin* on this page refer to the same plant); Darauß zuo letst lange schötlin oder hörnlin wachssen, darinn galer bleicher kleynere samen zeitig (I, 25^b); Darauß werden köpflin oder häffelin, inwendig wie die flachs bollen, mit sechs fachen vnderschieden (I, 28^a); Im zeittigen köpflin . . . findt man samen (I, 29^a); Do der Magsamen zeittig ward, stunden die köpff offen. Der samen so darinn ist, felt selber auß (I, 30^a); werden kolblin darauß . . . das ist der sam (I, 31^b); mit dem kleynen secklin vnd runden kopflin darin verborgen (I, 32^a); So die bluome abfelt, würt eyn runder Munchs kopff darauß, das ist der samen (I, 37^a); darauß werden lange spitzige schotten, oder scheffen, als eyn Storckenschnabel (I, 46^b); Die scheffen aber rumpffen sich eylens, als die springende keß maden (I, 49^b); den . . . samen . . . in kleynen teschlin verschlossen (I, 55^a); dz groß mit den breytten teschen . . . dragen bede kleynen geelen samen in teschlin (I, 58^b); eyn jedes secklin darin der samen ist, (I, 59^a); werden runde horichte bollen oder knöpflin darauß, die sind vol samens (I, 59^b); samen . . . in breytten teschen, verwaret (I, 70^a); Das ander mit den geelen bluomen, vnd runden teschen (ib.); Nachtschaden mit den rotten schotten, oder scheffen (I, 88^a); werden schifflin darauß, etwan fingers lang, mit breytten gelen rundem samen gefült (I, 166^a); der baum *Euonymus* sei mit seinen bollen oder schotten dem *Sesamo* gleich (II, 23^a); den Pfeffer, nit in schotten oder scheffen sunder bloß klotzicht beeyinander gedrungen (II, 86^b).

We have here the names of a large variety of objects, the par-

² Mütze.

ticular shape of which suggested the designation for seed-pod in a given case. Why then should not *Handschuh* likewise have been used in a similar manner? The *DWb.* (iv. 2, 416) records forms such as *hendschuh*, *hentschue*, *hentzuch*, *hinschug*, *henszag*, *handschich*, *handsche*, *hendsche*, and *hensche*, which latter form, particularly, is noted for Switzerland and the region along the Rhine: "panzer, huben, kessel, hüett, henschen, armzug, und wz harnesch 1st und harnesch heisset. *weisth.* 4, 363 (schweiz. v. j. 1398)"; "spigel, henschen ende gewant / salt du balde van dir duen. Haupt 3, 331 (mittelrhein. 14. jahrh.)." Fischer (*Schwab. Wb.* III, 1129) cites the forms *Häntschen* and *Handschen*; Follmann (*Wb. der Deutsch-lothringischen Mundarten* 228) notes the forms *Handsch*, *Hansch*, *Hintsche*, and, most striking of all, *Heintsche*: "Schon urkundl. . . ein par Heintschen St. R. A. 41." In all these cases cited from the dictionaries the word in its various spellings is used in its literal sense of 'glove.' Finally, in Jos. Müller's *Rheinisches Wörterbuch* (III, 202), we meet with *Händsche* used in the transferred sense: "Erbsen-, Bohnenschote; *die Buhnen ho schonn Händschen esu langk wie mei Fenger.*" Nothing prevents us, therefore, from deriving *Heinsche*, 'seed-pod,' from *Handschuh*, 'glove.'

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MÄUSEKORB = MAUSEFALLE (?)

In the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* of the Grimms (vi, 1825) Moriz Heyne cites the *Zimmerische Chronik* (III, 368 f.) to confirm his definition of *Mausefalle* for *Mäusekorb*. In order to test this meaning, it will be necessary to reproduce the passage at greater length. The situation is as follows: In 1540, Christoph von Landenberg, a lawless baron, had been summoned before the Imperial Court for his wanton attacks on the possessions of the city of Rottweil. Thereupon Landenberg, asserting that Count Gottfrid Werner von Zimmern had instigated the action against him, declared war also on Count Gottfrid Werner. As Landenberg was credited at one time with having as many as 2500 men under his banner, Count Gottfrid Werner (not Landenberg, as the *DWb.* states) was afraid to leave his castle of Wildenstein:

Weiter hat Landenberg wider Zimbern nichts tâtlichs gehandelt. Noch so hat im der graf user obgehörten ursachen hoch entsessen. Er het domals an secretarium, hieß Paulus Stecher . . . der hat allenthalben von ime usgeben, er hab ime zu Wildenstain so übel gefurcht, das er mermals mit dem haupt wider die wandt geloffen sei. Das mag gleichwol sein, ich kans aber nit glauben. Wie er aber in Wildenstain sei verspottet und veracht worden und das er nit herauß dörfen, do wer wol von zu sagen. Der alt herr Wilhelm, truchseß, nampts nur das beschließen im meuskorb, gleichwol derselbig alt herr, wie hievor in dieser historia auch gemeldet, in genere nichts uf den vesten und werlichen heusern het. Iedoch kam im hernach dieser meuskorb wol zu staten im schmalkaldischen und auch im furstenkrieg, do er sein böste haab, die er het von mobilien, dohn flohenet, zu gleich wie andere auch.

It appears that Count Gottfrid Werner had not been captured, his castle of Wildenstein had not even been threatened, but he was in such mortal fear of his powerful adversary, that he chose to make himself a voluntary captive in his stronghold. He could have left it whenever he pleased, he was not caught in a trap. It is more logical, therefore, to identify *Meuskorb* with MHG. *mûzkorp*, "kaficht, in welchen die vogel zur zeit der mausse gesetzt wurden." Beneke (*Mhd. Wb.* II, 1, 281) gives merely this definition, with the statement that the word occurs in the *Schwabenspiegel*. I have found the passage, in Lassberg's edition, 1840, § 239: "Unde stilt ein man dem andern vederspîl ab einer stange. oder v̄z sinem myz korbe." (Some Mss. have simply "korbe" instead of "myz korbe"). Lexer (I, 2262) adds two references, to Mynsinger's *Von den Falken, Pferden und Hunden*, a work written before 1450, the manuscript of which is dated 1473:

ainer hennen Hertz, vnd sol das dem Habich geben newn tag zu essen, Ee man In in den maußkorb gestoßen hat. . . . vnd honig darunder mischen vnd dem habich zway male davon nuchtern geben, darnach sol man In in den Maußkorb stoßen. (*Bibl. Litt. Ver.* LXXI, 40); Hat der Habich für sich mer gemaußt, so sol man In in den Maußkorb nit Ee stoßen dann in dem Monat, den man haisset den Jenner; hat er aber vor kain mauß vnd ist nur von ainem Jar, so sol man In in dem hawmonat einstoßen vnd alsdann sol man In atzen mit lebendigen vogeln, mag man die gehalten. . . . Vnd der maußkorb sol Im recht vnd weitt gnüg sein, vnd wann er die mauß gantz an Im hat, so sol man In wider heruß nemen. (ib. 46).

A still more instructive passage, and one not cited in the dictionaries, occurs in a sermon of Johann Geiler von Kaiserberg:¹

¹ *Predigen Teutsch:vnd vil gütter leeren Des hoch geleerten herrn*

Ain habich wenn sich der maussen sol / vnd die alden fedren lassen fallen · so schleußt man yn/in ainen maußkorb/ da fleuget er hyn vnd her / vnd stoßt die alten fedren ab / vnd erneuweret sich / vnd wirt also zureden ain newer fogel Also welcher mensch begert seinen alten menschen / der bösen gewonhait abzuziehen · vnd sich iungen oder ernewern /

The very fact that Geiler uses the *Mauskorb* to enforce his point in a sermon proves that his hearers were perfectly familiar with the matter. And fifty years later the compiler of the *Zimmerische Chronik* could be sure that his allusion would be understood by his contemporaries. His statement "das er mermals mit dem haupt wider die wandt geloffen seie" completes the parallel with Geiler's description: "da fleuget er hyn vnd her / vnd stoßt die alten fedren ab." There can be little doubt but that *Meuskorb* means *Korb zum Mausern*, and not *Mausefalle*.

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NOTES ON NICOLL'S *HAND-LIST FOR 1800-1850*

In Allardyce Nicoll's *Hand-list of Plays Produced between 1800 and 1850*, Volume II of *A History of Early Nineteenth Century Drama*, four of the entries given to Charles James Mathews do not belong to him.

Country Cousins (Lyceum, Feb. 28, 1820) was the third "At Home" of his father Charles Mathews and was written by James Smith, Esq.,¹ who had written for his second "At Home," *A Trip to Paris* (Lyc. March 8, 1819), the fourth and concluding part "La Diligence."²

Christmas at Brighton (Lyc., Feb. 1820) is the third part of *Country Cousins*,³ "Exhibition of the Multiplication Table during a Christmas at Brighton."

The Hypochondriac (Lyc., Mar. 1, 1821) is the second part of

Johän von Kaisersperg, Augspurg, 1508, fol. 108^a. See Goedeke I, 399, 9; copy in my possession.

¹ *Memoirs of Charles Mathews, Comedian*, by Mrs Mathews, second edition (London, 1839), III, 106.

² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 108; *Times*, February 29, 1820.

the first "At Home," *Mail Coach Adventures*, given at the Lyceum Mar. 2, 1818. This part is described on the program as "An Experimental Lecture of Ventriloquy."⁴ The *Times* for February 27, 1821, carries a notice of the repetition of "the original series of these popular entertainments for two nights only," in which part two is described as "a petite piece called the Hypochondriac." Mrs. Mathews, who is usually careful to attribute pieces to their authors, makes no mention of their son's authorship and says this first "At Home" was "composed of materials which had been presented to the public during the previous ten years."⁵

Pong Wong (Haymarket, Sept. 13, 1826), is here rightly given to Charles J. Mathews,⁶ but it also appears for this same theatre and date in the list of unknown authors.

The Home Circuit; or, Cockney Gleanings (Lyc., Mar. 12, 1827) was the eighth "At Home" and was presented at the Lyceum March 8.⁷ Part two was the famous "Monopolylogue to introduce the Dead alive, entitled Mathew's Dream; or, The Theatrical Gallery" in which he exhibited "whole-length portraits" of the late actors: Suett, Kemble, King, Cooke, and Incledon, each in a famous character. Mrs. Mathews makes no mention of the author.

In the period 1824-1826, while architect in Wales to the Welsh Iron and Coal Mining Company, Charles James Mathews says he devoted his evenings to literary and dramatic pursuits. "In conjunction with Richard Peake, the popular dramatist, I was constantly employed in providing material for my father" and wrote "pieces for the theatre such as 'Pong-wong,' 'Pyramus and Thisbe,' 'Truth,' 'My Wife's Mother,' 'The Wolf and the Lamb,' 'The Court Jester,' &c. &c."⁸ Peake had worked into a dramatic piece called *Jonathan in England* (Lyc., Sept. 3, 1824) the character of Jonathan W. Doubikins in Matthews' sixth "At Home,"

⁴ *Memoirs*, II, 443. The bill of entertainment and notices (pp. 451-2) identify it and describe it as "the most surprising portion of the entertainment."

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 443, 416, letter to Mrs. Mathews from Worthing.

⁶ *The Life of Charles James Mathews, Chiefly Autobiographical*, ed. Charles Dickens (London, 1879), I, 255; II, 327.

⁷ *Memoirs*, III, 583, and the *Times*, March 7 and 8, 1827.

⁸ *The Life of C. J. Mathews*, I, 255.

A Trip to America (Lyc., Mar. 25, 1824),⁹ for which Charles J. had supplied Jonathan's Song. Charles J. was a fluent versifier in the then popular style of Theodore Hook¹⁰ and supplied his father with many songs. Peake helped Mathews work up the material of several of his "At Homes" (Part III of *Adventures in Air, Earth, and Water*, 1821; *The Young Days of Mr. Mathews*, 1822; *Mr. Mathews' Memorandum Book*, 1825; *The Comic Annual for 1830*) and collaborated with Charles James Mathews on *The Comic Annuals* for 1831, 1832, 1833.¹¹ "Mr. Peake contributed . . . the woof on which Mr. Mathews, by the force of his peculiar genius, has placed so comical a warp."¹²

Charles James Mathews was also the author of the following pieces listed in the *Hand-list* under unknown authors.

Mathews and Co. (Princess's, Mar. 9, 1846).¹³

Methinks I see my Father (Lyc., Nov. 7, 1849).¹⁴

Who Killed Cock Robin (Covent Garden, Dec. 14, 1829).¹⁵

The identification of several other pieces from the *Hand-list* under unknown authors may here be made.

On the authority of Dutton Cook¹⁶ the following five pieces may be attributed to Jane M. Scott, daughter of the owner and manager of the Sans Pareil.¹⁷

⁹ *Memoirs*, III, 516. In the controversy that arose over this farce, Mathews (III, 539) in his defense makes clear how he and Peake collaborated

¹⁰ *Life of C. J. Mathews*, I, 207, 217, 223.

¹¹ *Memours*, III, 176, 460. Peake called himself "your Monsieur Scribe." For the way in which Mathews found material for these "At Homes" see the letters to James Smith, from Philadelphia, Feb. 23, 1823 (III, 380-392), and to C. F. Harding, Jan. 27, 1832 (IV, 94), and Mrs. Mathews' comment on these entertainments (III, 449).

¹² *Ibid.*, IV, 178.

¹³ *Life of C. J. Mathews*, II, 327.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 323.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 327. This is probably one of his early pieces. As a two-act farce, he played it at the Haymarket, Nov. 13, 1865.

¹⁶ *On the Stage* (London, 1883), I, 153.

¹⁷ H. Barton Baker, *History of the London Stage* (London, 1904), p. 414: "The company was evidently of the most mediocre description, everything depending upon that tremendously energetic and industrious lady, Miss Scott, who not only performed in all the pieces except the pantomimes, but, according to the playbills, wrote them nearly all."

The Forest Knight; or, The King Bewildered (Sans Pareil, Feb. 4, 1813). *Larpent Plays in the Huntington Library*, no. 1757.

Mary the Maid of the Inn; or, The Bough of Yew (Sans P., Dec. 27, 1809). *Larpent Plays*, no. 1603.

Raykissnah the Outcast (Sans P., Nov. 22, 1813). *Larpent Plays*, no. 1784, called on the MS. *The Outlaw, or, The Hollow Tree*. Cook misspells the title, "*Rakisnah*."

The Red Robber; or, The Statue in the Woods (Sans P., Dec. 3, 1808).

Ulthona the Sorceress (Sans P., Nov., 1807. Cook misspells this title, "*Ultharusa*."

Two more plays can be identified from Mrs. Mathews' *Memoirs of Charles Mathews*.

He's No Conjuror (Adelphi, Jan. 5, 1829). C. T. Harding, *Memoirs*, iv, 35 f. n.

Wanted a Partner; or, "A Bill Due Sept. 29th" (Adel., Sept. 29, 1828). Samuel Beasley, Jr., *Memoirs*, iv, 1. Nicoll attributes this to Buckstone. Buckstone was the author of the second piece on this bill, *My Absent Son*. This was the opening bill of the new partnership of Yates and Mathews at the Adelphi and doubtless Mrs. Mathews knew all the circumstances and details of her husband's new venture. "The introductory piece was the production of Mr. Beasley, the well-known architect," she writes.

The Twelve Months (Strand, Dec. 18, 1834) is an early burlesque of Gilbert Abbott à Beckett. See *The Stage Cyclopaedia*, p. 456.

The Peacock and the Crow (Adel., Feb. 6, 1837) was a "Jim Crow" piece by Thomas Parry. Mrs. Stirling acted in it with "Jim Crow" Rice. See Percy Allen, *The Stage Life of Mrs. Stirling* (London, 1922), p. 42.

Omadhaun; or, Poor Dog Tray (Sadler's Wells, Oct. 13, 1835) is probably an earlier version of the play of the same name by H. P. Grattan produced at the Queen's, Nov. 24, 1877. Grattan was writing melodramas as early as 1835 and continued writing for the theatre till his death in 1899.

The Minerali (English Opera House, Dec. 21, 1835) is also by H. P. Grattan. Nicoll lists this under the name of Henry Grattan Plunkett (Royal Victoria, July 1, 1835), where it is subtitled, as in the MS. submitted to the Examiner of Plays, *The Betrothed*.

The Stage Cyclopaedia, recording a performance at the Victoria Lyceum, Dec. 21, 1835, has it subtitled *The Dying Gift*. The place of performance of *The Stage Cyclopaedia* citation is obviously wrong, for the *Times* announceemnt has the English Opera House. Grattan's full name was Henry Willoughby Grattan Plunkett.

Richmond Hall; or, The Widow and the Bailiff (Lord Chamberlain, Olympic, Nov. 5, 1827) and *Touch and Take; or, Saturday Night and Monday Morning* (Olym., Nov. 12, 1827) are the same piece. A letter to the Examiner of Plays changing the first title to the second is bound in with the MS. of *The Counterfitters*, Nov. 5, 1827, Lord Chamberlain's MSS., British Museum. Hence the note to *Completely Successful; or, The Undutiful Father* (Olym., Oct. 27, 1827) which suggests that it may be *Touch and Take* is wrong because there is no similarity of plots.

In the list of authors James Bruton, author of *Bathing* (Olym., Jan. 31, 1842) and James Burton, author of *Davis and Sally Dear* (Olym., Mar. 7, 1842) are one and the same. On the MS. copy of *Davis and Sally Dear* submitted to the Examiner of Plays, Lord Chamberlain's MSS., British Museum, there is a notation, "by the author of *Bathing*." The correct spelling is Bruton.

The first entry under Henry Thornton Craven is a burletta, *Tom Smart* (City of London, Oct. 12, 1827). After the fourth entry, *Bletchington House* (C. L., Apr. 20, 1846), is an editorial note on a play, acted at St. James's Dec. 26, 1836, called *Bletchington House; or, The Warning Voice*. "If this is Craven's it was produced when he was only 18 years old; but it probably is a different drama." *Tom Smart*, then, would have been produced when Craven was only nine years old, for he was born in 1818. This, too, is probably a different drama. According to Nicoll (I, 225) the City of London opened Mar. 27, 1837.

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REVIEWS

The Intent of the Artist. By SHERWOOD ANDERSON, THORNTON WILDER, ROGER SESSIONS, WILLIAM LESCAZE. Edited, with an introduction, by AUGUSTO CENTENO. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. vi + 162. \$2.50.

The Intent of the Critic. By EDMUND WILSON, NORMAN FOERSTER, JOHN CROWE RANSOM, and W. H. AUDEN. Edited by DONALD A. STAUFFER. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, [1941]. Pp. vi + 147. \$2.50.

Fifteen Poets. Oxford: Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford University Press], 1941. Pp. xiv + 503. \$1.45.

The Novel and Society, A Critical Study of the Modern Novel. By N. ELIZABETH MONROE. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. x + 282. \$3.00.

At a time when criticism of the arts tends more and more either to investigation of origins and "causes" or to the ingenious exhibition of technical complexities within the given work, an attempt to say something about the nature and value of esthetic activity as such is particularly welcome. *The Intent of the Artist*, however, is no more than the merest sketch of an introduction to an esthetic inquiry. Sherwood Anderson discusses with vivacity and honesty, but without conspicuous originality or profundity, the nature of the fiction writer's imagination: good stuff for a freshman class in fiction to read, and sound enough as far as it goes, which is not very far. Thornton Wilder's very brief discussion of playwrighting is concerned with explaining the nature and value of the acted drama with economy, precision, and a hard-hitting, sensible style. Discussing with adroitness if not with depth the nature of the dramatic medium, the conditions of dramatic presentation, the relations between creator, actor and audience, and similar topics, Mr. Wilder gives us not an esthetic inquiry but a useful preliminary to one. Roger Sessions presents some introductory considerations concerning the nature of musical movement in an interesting essay that cries out for further development. His remarks on musical form are pertinent and sound; but one thinks of Donald Tovey's essays and wishes that Mr. Sessions had gone deeper into the matter. William Lescaze concludes with a dialogue on architecture, pointing out that in buildings efficiency automatically produces beauty—convincing enough, but avoiding all the important questions concerning the relation between form and function, and not differen-

tiating between different functions. (A drab and jerry-built row of miners' cottages would efficiently serve the function of depressing the miners' morale so that they avoided militance and became docile workers, which may have been the intention. Is this efficiency beauty?) Augusto Centeno has the difficult job of tying up these essays in an introduction, attempting to get underneath all the other discussions at once he is perhaps more profound but also more ambiguous, and a certain imprecision in diction is forced upon him. He makes some suggestive points, but the whole is too sketchy to be more than a text for comment. "The intent of the artist" needs more elaborate discussion than this.

The Intent of the Critic, a collection of five essays on the nature and function of literary criticism, disappoints somewhat, because none of the essays are long enough to allow the author to develop or to integrate his points. Further, the essays were written in deliberate isolation from each other, so that they never touch, the differences of opinion are never argued about, nobody is challenged to explain what he means or defend his position. If John Crowe Ransom had expanded his suggestive analogy between poetry and a democratic state and had inquired more carefully into the proposition that "a poem is a *logical structure* having a *local texture*"; if W. H. Auden had paused to explain why he would never trust a philosopher who liked Brahms or why the doctrine of original sin is the only religious idea that can be stated as a dogma; if Norman Foerster had discussed more explicitly the relation between reason and the "ethical imagination"; all of these writers would have produced more impressive essays. A round table discussion might have been a better form than separate collections of epigrams and *dicta*; for without argument opinion can never be known for what it really is.

Ransom's essay is the most profound: the points he makes are few but penetrating, and his remarks on the relation of structure to texture in poetry contain the germ of a whole poetic. But the argument is not sustained, the insights are not integrated. And he seems constitutionally unable to conduct a philosophical discourse smoothly. Nevertheless his essay fulfills its function: it is a grand text for more than one sermon on art, and there are some sentences that ought to be read solemnly in University English classes at regular intervals.

Edmund Wilson's practice is better than his theory. His own criticism—explanation of the work in terms of origins, considered both historically and psychologically—is among the best of its kind, but his essay on "the historical interpretation of literature" is a rather lame affair. He gives a brief (so brief as to be of little value) account of the rise of "historical" criticism, and then proceeds to give his view of the nature of art. The aesthetic theory which he gives us is both naive and inadequate. Art, he tells us, is an attempt to give a meaning to our experience, and he compares Euclid. Art "cures us of some ache of disorder" and the resultant relief brings

us the sense of power, accompanied by joy. I wonder how much "joy" Mr. Wilson gets out of reading *Œdipus Rex* or watching a performance of *Othello*.

Mr. Foerster has his familiar story to tell, and he attacks naturalism and pleads for the new humanism in the manner that is by now traditional. "Tintern Abbey," he reminds us, is "a superb expression of unwisdom," to be contrasted with the same poet's sonnet on Milton. We know that Mr. Foerster has thought through his position more carefully than this essay would lead one to think; but here he says either too little or too much. We demand a more precise and a more profound discussion of the relation between art and ethics.

W. H. Auden's world view always seems to be affected by the latest book he has read. His essay on "Criticism in a Mass Society" is bright but brittle, a challenging mixture of the true, the apparently true, and the paradoxical. But his essay has some real substance, and it stimulates rather than allays thought. A little more sobriety in his discourse, and he may yet be able to make a point.

Mr. Stauffer makes a noble attempt to introduce these disparate essays with an inclusive foreword. What he says about criticism is interesting, but one is not sure that he really understands all the essays he is editing.

Fifteen Poets gives us extracts (about a thousand lines from each poet) from the work of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Cowper, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley, Byron, Keats, Browning, Tennyson, and Arnold. Each extract is preceded by a very brief discussion of the poet, each by a different hand. Not possessing (or aiming at) the grandiose comprehensiveness of the typical American anthology, this book of selections is reasonable in size and limited in scope: it should, therefore, be very useful in introducing students to the great English poets. The bewildering variety of most anthologies of poetry hinders rather than helps the student in his attempt to form some clear introductory ideas about the art.

One might quarrel with some of the selections (the Chaucer and the Dryden, perhaps) but on the whole this is a very serviceable introduction to the major English poets. It is a little difficult to justify the presence of Cowper, but since he is here we are glad to have him. The introductory essays are hampered by brevity, and the writer has to choose between a summary of the accepted views regarding the poet (H. S. Bennett on Chaucer), an autobiographical statement by the critic (C. S. Lewis on Spenser, and he does a good job), an attempt to solve a single central problem about the author's works (M. R. Ridley on Coleridge), or the suggestion of a few new ideas (Auden on Byron). The student should be encouraged to read these introductions after, and not before, he has read the poems.

Miss Monroe has neither the acuteness nor the eloquence to persuade those who did not believe in her thesis before they read her book. This is a "ringing indictment" of modern society and the

evil effects of modern scepticism on modern fiction. There is, of course, a convincing case for the position that without a central philosophy holding a civilization together great art is difficult if not impossible to produce. If Miss Monroe had been content to argue this general thesis, and illustrate it with references to modern works of fiction, she might have written a more persuasive book than she has. But she is hasty and angry and narrow, and her argument that only a religious society can produce great literature does not convince.

One has the feeling that Miss Monroe has not properly read the books she is discussing—at least not those she attacks. Her misconceptions of some of them are shocking. Her remarks on Huxley's *Point Counter Point* show a complete lack of awareness of the fact that the book (like all Huxley's early novels) is the anguished record of a frustrated idealist's unsuccessful search for value, and her naive identification of the characters in the novel with the author is preposterous. She ought, as a professed moralist, to know that it takes a moral man to recognize and be horrified by immorality: Huxley's novels are the outraged records of life without value. But Miss Monroe misses this point as she mis-reads so many authors because of a curious simplicity of mind that makes her mis-read any book which is not obviously on her side in the struggle for Christianity. She talks of Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* as "without pattern," whereas the novel is patterned with a care and a subtlety that sets every comma in a careful scheme.

Miss Monroe's favorite critical term is "moving," and she has a general tendency to equate autobiography with criticism. In spite of certain real insights and a few bright remarks, she has not produced a book of literary criticism. She has no clear literary criteria, and no method for distinguishing between works of art and their creators. It is enough to mention that she takes Willa Cather as "the prototype of the future" because (1) her books can be read by bankers and clerks, whereas Virginia Woolf's can't, and (2) two of her novels "show a complete grasp of religious experience." All the critical views in this book are developed and expressed without any mental discipline. Yet Miss Monroe is not stupid. Her trouble is simply that she has not learned to read novels which don't come up to her preconceptions of what fiction ought to be. Her statements about the novels of Joyce, Huxley, Hemingway, and others, are quite fantastic: if the novel contains a vicious character it shows what a bad man the author is, etc. Such a method of approach, if applied to Shakespeare, would make him out a dirty old sinner. Miss Monroe should read, and ponder, *Hamlet*, *Measure for Measure*, and *Troilus and Cressida* and also brush up on *Piers Plowman* and *The Romance of the Rose*. For she means well and is not wholly afraid of literature, but she has yet to learn how to read a book.

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Ben Jonson. Edited by C. H. HERFORD, PERCY and EVELYN SIMPSON. Volume VII. *The Sad Shepherd, The Fall of Mortimer, Masques and Entertainments*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xxviii + 814. \$10.00.

Immediate attractiveness is given to this volume by the pictures, which are highly illustrative and well described. There are also numerous facsimiles from manuscripts and early editions. One may wish the editors had given more of these at the expense of the facsimiles of title-pages.

A critical introduction to the text is to appear in a later volume; final opinions should not be formed without it, though much can be gleaned from the special introductions in this and the preceding volumes. Why, for example, was collation of copies of the folios deemed unnecessary, even though that of copies of the quartos is often mentioned? Yet Mr. Hudson, in his edition of the *Poems* for the Facsimile Text Society, notes variations between different copies of the folio containing the *Underwoods*.

Of necessity, the present review deals only with the text. As apparatus for the work I had the printed editions of *The Sad Shepherd* and the *Masques*, photostats of the play and a few of the masques, and the first volume of the folio of 1640. Samples from these were collated with the new volume. Such collation would have been more rapidly done if the editors had given the pages of the text they followed. What has been done indicates that the work has been done with proper care. *Blacknesse* showed no unnoted deviations from the Folio of 1616.¹ More than a score of misprints in the critical apparatus have been noted, but none are important.

In Vol. 3, printed in 1927, the editors say that "the early texts are generally sound." This is so modified for the masques that both the Folios are called unsatisfactory; "Jonson did not read the proofs of the masques in the 1616 Folio as he had read the proofs of the plays"; some of the printing in the second Folio is "thoroughly bad" (p. xxvi). In spite of this, the Folios are "generally" followed. It seems that such a condition calls for use of the quarto texts as basic, even though slight changes may have been made for the Folio of 1616, and even for the later one.² Adherence to the Folio results in such corrections as [the] (*Blacknesse*, page 171, line 72), a[n] (*Beauty*, p. 186, line 164), make[s]

¹ In *Haddington*, p. 256, line 229, note d: titulus Q; p. 258, line 287 bridegrome F 1; *Queens*, p. 313, line 685; Poets Ms (Chapman's facs.).

² For more on this topic see Mr. W. W. Greg's review of the volume in *MLR.*, xviii (1942), 144-166 and Mrs. Simpson's reply (*ibid.*, pp. 291-300). The present review, except for one clause, was written before reading either of them.

(*Haddington*, p. 258, line 298), all from the Quarto. The instances are normally as slight as this. This failure to base the text on Quartos sometimes called authoritative encourages a tendency toward a composite or eclectic text. The slightly puzzled feeling of the reader is not diminished by the editors' failure to tell for each masque what the basic text is, though sometimes, as for *Welbeck*, there is a statement: "Our text is based upon the Folio" (p. 790). Without consulting the notes one is not sure what text one is reading. In *Highgate*, p. 140, line 146 a word is corrected from Whalley to give who[se]; yet, (p. 143), line 240 is allowed to stand incorrect (as I infer) with the correction only in the textual note. Jonson's *Cipselli* is corrected to *Cipseli* (p. 181, line 16, note a), without textual authority, with indication only in the note; it should be *Cipsel*[i] if corrected at all. In this instance Ben perhaps wrote the word with two ll's, as he could have found it in some editions of Cartari's *Le Imagini dei Dei degli Antichi*. The ligature made difficult the use of brackets to indicate that the form *Cesare* (p. 234, line 718, note b) has no support in the texts, though it does occur elsewhere and is correct. Indeed, some type of bracket is needed to indicate editorial changes in words without the omission or addition of letters, as *Icosaedron* (p. 178, line 277); this is correct, though it appeared in all the texts as *Iso-caedron*; Jonson may have written it thus, since I have seen it in the *Imprese* of Lucarini, 1623. Such changes require a warning sign. The same is true of editorial punctuation, if brackets are to be used at all.

The reader of the masques taken from manuscripts has even more difficulty in getting at the basic text. By giving the ms. exactly, even to errors, indicated in the notes, *Queens* departs from the custom of the volume. Should the ms. have been made basic when there are "clear signs of correction in the Quarto text" (p. 270)? Similarly, though "the Folio text is a slight revision," the ms. of *Pleasure Reconciled* is followed; the editors have "corrected it as little as possible" (p. 477). Two passages from it are said in the introduction to give "an important correction" (p. 476), yet in the editor's text the internal punctuation is that of the Folio, comma for semicolon. *Gypsies* is also printed from the ms. but the text printed is a "compromise": the stops have been supplied, "usually from the Duodecimo or Folio" (p. 563), but without indication whether from one or other or neither. Perhaps there is no good solution. The choice of text for this masque is difficult.

The editors hold the view that Jonson normally wrote the metrical apostrophe, as *to'enjoy* (p. 157, line 86), instead of substituting an apostrophe for one vowel, as *t'enjoy*. Hence there are a large number of corrections inserting the vowel without textual authority. This was also done for the plays, though not always, as

Cynthia (Vol. iv, p. 159, line 29), and *Magnetic Lady* (Vol. vi, p. 593, line 60). The textual evidence is for the abbreviated form. *Eremore* (p. 174, line 172) was a possible form in Ben's day, but it appears as *e'remore* on editorial authority. *Cause* (p. 174, line 174) also was then written without the apostrophe and so appears in the early texts. Though apparently the Folio is followed for *Hymenaei*, the Quarto is called "authoritative"; from it comes *musique* instead of *masque* (p. 239, line 876); the meaning seems to favor *masque*, and author's corrections may appear in otherwise inaccurate editions. In *Time Vindicated* "the Folio text has a few touches of revision" (p. 651), yet the Quarto is followed in reading *Time* instead of *Fame* (p. 655, line 5). The editors allow *Fame* as possible, but think it a "printer's alteration" (p. 651) and otherwise give reasons against it. On the other side it may be said that a character on appearing naturally announces who he is, and that (p. 656) line 19, "Whence come you?" loses its point if the speaker has already said he comes from Time. The form *Britaine* does occur (e. g., p. 334, line 376) but more frequent is *Brittaine*, emended to *Brit[t]aine* (e. g., p. 742, line 214) against the evidence of the early texts. Similar are *Ham[m]ilton* (p. 743, line 226) and Ben's own name, *Jo[h]nson* (e. g., p. 749). *Vegetals* (p. 414, line 165) is a seventeenth century form, found in the Folios, but altered to *vegetals* by the editors. In p. 465, line 73 the reading *it were* is rejected for Gifford's characteristic emendation *'twere*; the original seems better. In p. 470, line 229 *to* is inserted, as Whalley suggested; is it necessary? At p. 581, line 486, the line reads *A young one is but his shade*, according to all texts. This is emended by making *one* into *one[s]*. A simpler emendation is to drop *is*. For *Augures* the Folio text is "revised and enlarged," "touched up too in minor points" (p. 626); hence the editors have followed it, yet still "correcting it from the Quarto" (p. 627). An instance is the insertion of *very* in (p. 630) line 28. Correction is sometimes demanded, but might have been more sparing.

Changes are sometimes made in the punctuation, often by adding commas. Sometimes these are demanded by present custom, though they are not indispensable even now, as well as not required in Jonson's day. In some instances they are inserted in the texts in passages where the usage of the texts suggests that Ben did not employ them. An instance is in such a form as *Peace, my wantons* (p. 345, line 89); I have noted the following passages involving similar direct address in which commas have been inserted without textual authority: p. 191, line 300; p. 251, line 72; p. 261, line 381; p. 326, line 111; p. 350, line 256; p. 366, line 228; p. 377, line 2; p. 381, line 144; p. 423, line 77; p. 423, line 79; p. 464, line 44; p. 480, line 29; p. 515, line 79; p. 630, line 15; p. 631, line 43; p. 631, line 50; p. 631, line 53; p. 632, line 81;

p. 632, line 95; p. 633, line 116; p. 759, line 283. Other marks of punctuation, such as the hyphen, are supplied with some freedom.

Yet it should not be thought that an editor must never emend. Probably to be welcomed are p. 522, line 303; p. 713, line 174; p. 722, line 437 (*Anticyra*); p. 742, line 200. Possibly emendations should also have been made in p. 466, line 93, by changing the first *the* to *that*, and in p. 479, line 16, by changing the first *y^e* to *y^t*; the facsimile of the ms. of *Pleasure Reconciled* reproduced in the volume shows the error of transcribing *y^e* instead of *y^t* in (p. 489), line 285.

In addition to showing the editors' departures from the basic texts, the textual notes give a selection of readings from other texts. Probably the reasons governing their choice will appear in the essay on the text in a later volume. They serve by sample to give some notion of what the other texts are, possibly they so justify themselves. By collating the Haddington masque I find that the spellings of the Quarto and its use of capitals are not recorded; punctuation in the Quarto unlike that of the Folio generally is noted, though in two hundred lines six instances are unrecorded. Much the same thing is true of the *Golden Age*. Apparently the reader should draw from the textual notes no inferences about the procedure of the editors except that each note seemed to them individually worth giving. Peculiarities in the Quartos are not always recorded; for example, the first *is* of p. 259, line 249, note a, is *it* in the Quarto. Letters rather than asterisks indicate the notes in the early part of *Haddington*.

The departures from the early texts tend in the direction of making Jonson seem normal to persons little used to seventeenth-century texts. But how many readers of these volumes will be unwilling to cope with the punctuation of that century? Such unwilling ones will find difficult the volumes as they are. It would have been possible to take the best text and reproduce it exactly, except for the correction of flagrant and misleading blunders by printer or copyist; all departures from the version selected, even to punctuation, could appear in textual notes; brackets or the like in the text would be allowable, though not indispensable. This would have assured the reader that he had before him, except as indicated, what he could have had in the seventeenth century, and would have reduced the number of textual notes. In fact, since important textual problems are few, the editors might even have considered expanding the textual material given in the introductions to the individual masques (e. g., pp. 79, 476-8, 626), and repeated in the footnotes; they could then have dispensed with footnotes. It was necessary to carry through complete collation, but was it necessary to print so much of its results?

But when one considers all the accurate work in the volume, objections seem slight and almost carping. The task has been so

well done that lovers of Jonson's masques can feel that they are closer than ever before to what the poet actually wrote, probably as close as they can hope to be.

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Marlowe's "Tamburlaine." A Study in Renaissance Moral Philosophy. By ROY W. BATTENHOUSE. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1941. Pp. xiv + 266. \$2.50.

Raleigh and Marlowe. A Study in Elizabethan Fustian. By ELEANOR GRACE CLARK. New York: Fordham University Press, 1941. Pp. x + 488. \$4.00.

The Poems of George Chapman. Edited by PHYLLIS BROOKS BARTLETT. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1941. Pp. xii + 488. \$5.00.

These three books reflect the varied kinds of interest shown in recent years in the writings of Marlowe and members of the Marlowe circle. Dr. Battenhouse describes, for the illumination of *Tamburlaine*, the intellectual background of the play; Dr. Clark investigates Elizabethan drama, especially Marlowe's plays, as the record of public events and private quarrels; Dr. Bartlett has prepared a useful, scholarly edition of the poems of George Chapman, sometimes credited with occupying the role of philosophical spokesman of the Marlowe group.

Dr. Battenhouse applies to the interpretation of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* a close study of Elizabethan religion and morality and of the purposes of Elizabethan literature. For the romantic interpretation which sees in *Tamburlaine* a Renaissance hero whose tragedy is that he falls short of his aspirations, Dr. Battenhouse would substitute the "typical Renaissance notion of tragedy," that it "deals with the fall (not the falling short) of men, and that the tragic fall is both a consequence and a punishment of sin" (p. 17). Biographical problems are touched upon lightly, but with the expressed hope that the study of such problems may benefit by the results of the present investigation. The book, presented in two parts of about equal length, opens with a statement of the problem of interpretation and proceeds in Part I, the "Background of *Tamburlaine*," to a survey of the religious and ethical thought of the time, with special chapters on the religion of Raleigh and of Chapman. Part II, the "Anatomy of *Tamburlaine*," applies to the interpretation of the play the conclusions of Part I, and draws upon the additional aid of a study of the sources and of Elizabethan means of character portrayal.

The result of Dr. Battenhouse's study is to give *Tamburlaine* a

place among the "mirror" works which edified the Elizabethan public, a place indicated for it in the brief prologue to the play. Consequently, the importance of the Second Part of *Tamburlaine*, generally condemned as an unhistorical, patchwork sequel in which the author was rapidly losing interest, is enhanced. In the Second Part, Tamburlaine suffers, in retribution for his crimes, psychological torments which, no less than material disasters, are God's punishment of the wicked, even though the wicked be called the "Scourge of God." Both parts of Dr. Battenhouse's study combine to illuminate not only his general thesis but also many incidental passages bearing upon the interpretation of character or of action.

In the "Background of *Tamburlaine*," Dr. Battenhouse exaggerates the degree to which Elizabethan moral philosophy gained the ascendancy over dogmatic theology. Briefly, there are three points on which some shift in emphasis in reading the evidence may be desirable. (1) The "rational" approach to many questions of religion is conditioned by the circumstances of writing and does not preclude the primacy of faith. The religious writers cited by Dr. Battenhouse tell us that they use the rational approach because it is the "common ground" (p. 31) of believers and non-believers, and includes "principles common to both sides" (p. 32). The general thesis of many attacks on "atheists" is that an appeal to faith is useless; we must beat these fellows with weapons from their own armory: reason, the writings of the great philosophers, and the common experience of mankind. (2) The use of classical authorities, as Dr. Battenhouse says, is of ancient standing; Raleigh and Milton, for example, cite the authority of St. Paul and the church fathers for the use of pagan sources. Although the use of classical authorities increased greatly in extent and prestige, I believe that Dr. Battenhouse overstates the case when he writes (p. 49): "In theory the hierarchical subordination of classical culture to Christian revelation still holds; but in practice the importance of the classical is magnified, and fundamental Christian concepts tend to be defined from the standpoint of Seneca and Plato." (3) The emphasis upon Raleigh's appeal to reason in matters of religion may be misleading if we neglect Raleigh's constant appeal to scripture, always his chief authority. Where the scripture is silent, he turns to reason; where reason and scripture conflict, reason must yield to the word of God. Another possibly misleading statement is that Raleigh "makes no mention of the role of Christ in revealing God" (p. 59), because nature and philosophy suffice to establish the truth of God's existence. This comparative neglect ("no mention" is a bit strong) is offset by the fact that Raleigh takes for granted Christ's role in the revelation of God and in the scheme of salvation,—witness Raleigh's statements of faith in the *History of the World*, and his chapter on law and the laws. Although differences of opinion on the points cited resolve themselves largely into questions of degree, without material effect upon

the main thesis of the book, they are worth noting because the "Background of *Tamburlaine*" stands independently as a study of Elizabethan religious and ethical thought.

Dr. Battenhouse makes intelligent use of his source materials in interpreting *Tamburlaine*. His method inevitably tends to take the play out of the hustle and bustle of the playhouse into the quiet of the study, and in a few details (e.g., Tamburlaine's speech to his sons, p. 256) one may feel that enthusiasm for moral interpretation is complicating simple dramatic statement. The book is highly successful in its purpose of presenting *Tamburlaine* in the moral perspective of its own time and, incidentally, in giving a check to too facile autobiographical interpretation.

Dr. Clark's book consists of a revised reprint of her *Elizabethan Fustian* (1937) and of new material on Raleigh and Marlowe which comprises more than half the volume. Part I attempts a synthesis of studies of topical and allegorical uses of Elizabethan drama; and Part II extends the study to Marlowe's plays as vehicles for expressing the views of the so-called "School of Night." Dr. Clark's professed method is sound: she would restrict her synthesis to the considered opinions of reputable scholars, and she would present new finds as "possibilities," not as proved conclusions. The "possibilities" of Part II include readings of *Doctor Faustus* as a reminder to the audience of the career of Bruno (though not as a dramatization of his career); of *Tamburlaine* as suggestive of Raleigh's designs for New World conquests; and of the *Jew of Malta* as conveying something of the anti-Spanish and anti-papal feeling of the age.

The disarming professions of conservatism in method are, however, too often forgotten in the enthusiasm of the chase. The spirit of Dr. Clark's book is indicated by a small sketch on the flyleaf, showing human figures (three stories tall) standing atop an Elizabethan building and eagerly scanning the heavens. Below this sketch is a legend (misquoted): "Black is the Badge of Hell and the School of Night." Dr. Clark writes (p. 62) that the task of finding topical clues and giving them adequate literary and esthetic interpretation involves "not only the careful excavation of political and social data, but a kind of literary instinct as well." Many a reader will be inclined to echo Prince Hal's ". . . i' faith; I lack some of thy instinct."

Of specific difficulties in the way of following Dr. Clark in her explanation of topicalities, only a few can be mentioned here. First is the use of "fustian" as a term to include topical allusions, allegory, and even undisguised stage presentations of current problems. An extension of the definitions of the term, "fustian" to include meanings described by Dr. Clark here and in an article in the *Shakespeare Association Bulletin* (January, 1939) may be in order; but only semantic confusion, leading to chaos in interpretation, can result from the indiscriminate application of *one*

term to diverse methods of bringing current events on the stage. Evidence of one kind of stage presentation or of one kind of allegory is not directly transferable to another kind; but Dr. Clark's book covers everything from *Mother Goose* to Shakespeare. A second difficulty is the careless reading of evidence. A writer's disclaimer of allegorical intent is for Dr. Clark proof positive of the contrary. Are there no instances of disclaimers made in good faith? Some errors in the use of evidence are traceable to simple misreading. "Buffoon" is taken to be the *proper* name of the Falstaff character in later versions of the play (pp. 253, 255). Line 187 of *Colin Clouts* is read as if Raleigh, not Cynthia, were the antecedent of "whose," with the result (p. 317) that it "sounds as if Raleigh had commissioned Spenser to write something." Several kinds of error occur in the use of one passage (p. 263): Lord Hunsdon "upon Thursday, 6 May, feasted him [Vereiken] and made him very great, and a delicate dinner, and there in the After Noone his Players acted, before Veriken, Sir John Old Castell, to his great Contentment." The date should be 6 March. "His contentment" means, for Dr. Clark, Hunsdon's contentment, not the guest's! "His players" means the Lord Admiral's Men, not the players of Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain. Indeed, according to Dr. Clark, Hunsdon patronized for six years a company of players hostile to himself and his friends; and also in the contrary camp is Thomas Nashe (p. 359), who devoted several pages, especially in *The Terrors of the Night*, to the praises of Sir George Carey (later Lord Hunsdon) and of his family, with whom he had lived in the Isle of Wight. A third difficulty involves bibliographical and typographical errors; the late Professor H. S. V. Jones appears as Miss Harriet (pp. 259, 320 *et passim*); matters referred to as "already" discussed appear after such references (pp. 59 and 73; 105 and 124); and misprints are frequent. On pages 115 and 219 we read that fustian or topicality in the drama was the rule rather than the exception; on page 223, "There are many more steps to be taken, however, . . . before it can be asserted that topicality was the rule rather than the exception." Among works which are highly pertinent to diverse subjects discussed but which do not appear in Dr. Clark's notes are F. R. Johnson's *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England*, Mark Eccles's *Christopher Marlowe in London*, and E. C. Wilson's *England's Eliza*.

The value of Dr. Clark's study lies in the evidence amassed, rather than in the interpretation. Her book is the product of enthusiasm and industry and will furnish the reader with interesting out-of-the-way information. It is not, however, a book for the unwary or the uninitiated.

Dr. Bartlett's edition of Chapman, the first of the minor poems

since 1875, includes all his occasional verses, a few pieces of prose related to the poetry, the introductory verses to the translations of Homer, and eight poems omitted from Shepherd's edition. The reprinting of Marlowe's portion of *Hero and Leander* gives the reader the convenience of the complete text of the poem.

The introduction, only sixteen pages in length, contains a shrewd estimate of Chapman as a poet, both in his historical setting and from the point of view of modern criticism. Chapman's theory of inspiration, his desire for readers gifted with the inner light necessary to perceive poetic truth, his deliberate resort to difficult statement, his use of irrelevant conceits "to delay the moment of making a decisive statement," his efforts (in Eliot's phrase) to recreate his thought into feeling, and his disparagement of his own verse under the overpowering inspiration of Homer are briefly and effectively described. In summary (p. 15), Dr. Bartlett calls Chapman "a humanist, primarily interested in man and right conduct, who believes the good life to be the great prerequisite for art and who relies on classic, or neo-classic, doctrines for moral aid; in wit, he is a poet of the seventeenth-century metaphysical school, who naturally delights in expressing his convictions through devious figures of speech."

In those parts which I have checked with the original editions, the text proves to be clearly and accurately printed. Sixty-eight pages of textual notes and commentary, profiting by the studies of Professor Schoell and others, offer valuable help for the study of Chapman's difficult poems. The notes are compact and to the point. On controversial questions of interpretation, Dr. Bartlett usually limits her editorial practice to a noncommittal recognition of opinion; but she does not hesitate to reject (p. 437) such speculations as that Marlowe had asked Chapman to finish *Hero and Leander*. The few misprints which I have noted are not serious: p. 428, line 6, should read "then they"; and there is some confusion in the textual notes for p. 357, lines 166, 167. The book is a valuable addition to a Renaissance library and a particular aid to students of the diversified poetry of the period of transition from Elizabeth to James.

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Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hardin Craig. Edited by BALDWIN MAXWELL, W. D. BRIGGS, FRANCIS R. JOHNSON, and E. N. S. THOMPSON. Stanford University Press, 1941. Pp. viii + 339. \$3.50.

This is an excellent *festschrift*. It does great honor to the scholar for whom it was assembled. Besides a bibliography of Craig's

writings and a short introductory biography, the volume contains thirty-one essays. Their range is so wide that a reader will derive a surprisingly complete perspective of the English renaissance. I discuss each essay in the sequence in which it appears. In "The York Play of *Christ Led Up to Calvary*," Mendal G. Frampton, with remarkably subtle methods but with conspicuously just treatment of available evidence, makes out a good case for extensive revision of xxxiv of the York Cycle. George R. Coffman's "The Miracle Play: Notes and Queries" is a valuable corrective to those who simplify the origin of genres; the complexities of the age, their interactions, individual genius which in sudden artistic achievement seems to belie the assumption of evolution—all these are pertinent. A rambling but interesting little paper is B. L. Ullman's "Some Aspects of Italian Humanism." Its primary importance is its insistence that the early Renaissance employment of the classics was different in kind from that of the Middle Ages. Ullman breaks ground in stressing the influence of fourteenth century French humanism on the Italian burgeoning. Allan H. Gilbert's "Fortune in the Tragedies of Giraldi Cintio" is required reading for all students of Renaissance tragedy. Crossing the view of Fortune as an irrational, malevolent force was the Christian idea of justice. The dramatist's dilemma was further complicated by the influence of Seneca, Aristotle, and "l'uso dei nostri tempi" (tragicomedy). In "Fracastoro and the Imagination," Murray W. Bundy shows that this many-sided humanist differed from all Renaissance theorists in his conception of the imagination and anticipated the romantic critics. There is an interesting sidelight on Shakespeare's use of the term in *M. N. D.*, v, i, 2-8. Hoyt H. Hudson's "Current English Translations of *The Praise of Folly*" is a prolegomenon to his own recently published translation. In showing the deficiencies of Wilson and Kennett's versions, Hudson does justice to the subtlety, grace, and wit of the great Dutchman.

Because of the work of Professor M. P. Tilley and his scholarly colleagues, we are now aware of the ease and fecundity with which proverb lore flowed from the pens of Shakespeare's age. Archer Taylor's "The Proverb *The Black Ox Has Not Trod On His Foot* in Renaissance Literature" traces the permutations of the proverb in English literature and offers continental parallels. Taylor seems to agree that as yet a wholly satisfactory theory of origin can not be presented. "Aspects of Spenser's Vocabulary" by the late Professor Padelford indicates that Spenser was a master in coining new words; to him we owe such necessary terms as *blatant*, *daedal*, *equipage*, *lucid*, *pallid*, and *penurious*. Edwin Casady's "The Neo-Platonic Ladder in Spenser's *Amoretti*" contains an admirable summary of the steps which the lover must go through in his

progress toward ideal love—as revealed by Pico della Mirandola and Bembo; but the specific application to the *Amoretti* is not convincing. In his entertaining “Greene’s Panther,” John Leo Lievsay follows Don Cameron Allen in illustrating how lazy and trite Greene was in citations from “unnatural history.” Although he employed the beast many times for didactic purposes, he merely repeated a few scraps from the traditional repertory. He could have utilized for his moralizing accessible material in Aristotle and Pliny—as did Nashe. Paul H. Kocher in “Backgrounds for Marlowe’s Atheist Lecture” has amply illustrated that Baine’s memorandum contains a designed attack on Christianity and that its points imply a wide knowledge not only of scripture but also of contemporary, patristic, and pagan writings on the subject. But Kocher has not proved his main thesis that Marlowe was serious—that he was being more than a sophisticated *enfant terrible*.

“*The Taming of A Shrew*” by Henry David Gray sets forth the hypotheses that *A Shrew* is a bad quarto derived from *The Shrew* before the latter was revised, that the thief was the actor of the Tailor and one of Petruchio’s servants, and that he was neither Birde nor Rowley. It seems to me that Gray (like Sykes and Wilson) reaches the top of dizzy heights before he has climbed the necessary individual steps. Baldwin Maxwell’s “*The Two Angry Women of Abington and Wily Beguiled*” is a shining example of how the Sykes-Oliphant method of author determination can be played fairly. After going thoroughly into the striking similarities between Porter’s drama and *Wily*, Maxwell comes out with the verdict *not proved*. And one applauds the care and integrity that led to this conclusion. By analyzing the prologue to Dekker’s *If It Be Not Good, the Devil Is in It*, in “Aims of a Popular Elizabethan Dramatist,” George F. Reynolds shows that just as the pseudo-classical Jonson had his conscious program, so too did such a successful romantic dramatist as Dekker. Lush poetry, rapid audience responses, scenes in which the actor could tear a passion to tatters, the variety and contrast of tragicomedy—these are what Dekker and his fellows strove to give the ticket-purchasers. J. W. Ashton’s “The Fall of Icarus” indicates that the spirit of scientific inquiry in the sixteenth century was met by deep-seated fears that such pursuit was outside the proper limits set by God. E. P. Kuhl’s “Shakespeare’s *Rape of Lucrece*” endeavours to show that *Lucrece* was purposefully of political significance to Elizabethan readers. His case is weak.

In “Perseus Purloins Pegasus,” T. W. Baldwin writes that by the Middle Ages Perseus had taken over Bellerophon’s steed; Shakespeare and his contemporaries followed the tradition, probably because of illustrated editions of the *Metamorphoses*. George Coffin Taylor has “Two Notes on Shakespeare.” The first shows

that Shakespeare in *King Lear* (I, ii, 111-145) was aware of contemporary controversy as to the worth of astrological prognostication. (Taylor might have pointed out that Don John in *Much Ado*, I, iii, 11 ff. espouses Gloucester's side and that Cassius in *J. C.* I, ii, 139-41 takes Edmund's.) In his second note, Taylor proves that a passage in *A Shrew* is borrowed from DuBartas—and thus adds to the list of known pilferings in this mysterious compost. Virgil K. Whitaker's "Shakespeare's Use of his Sources" is a superb essay. It rises above its immediate subject into a profound grasp of Shakespeare's art. It is the prize of the volume—and as important criticism on the bard as has ever been written. In "Shakespeare as a Critic" H. T. Price attempts to show how by subject matter and by parody—sometimes broad, sometimes subtle—Shakespeare attacked various conventions of his day. Carroll Camden's "The Mind's Construction in the Face" deals with Elizabethan interest in two pseudo-sciences: physiognomy, determination of character from the face; metoposcopy, determination of character and fortune from the lines in the forehead. The dramatists were aware of these methodologies.

Madeleine Doran's "*That Undiscovered Country, A Problem Concerning the Use of the Supernatural in Hamlet and Macbeth*" is a highly abstruse, carefully thought out, and exceedingly literate paper. She suggests that Elizabethans' awe in the face of the supernatural on the stage was different in kind from ours: they believed in the marvelous or regarded it as possible; we temporarily suspend disbelief for the sake of imaginative enjoyment. "Comedy in the Court Masque: A Study of Ben Jonson's Contribution," by T. M. Parrott, gives more than the title promises. It is a miniature but thorough history of the masque, indicating in particular how it developed under Jonson's genius. In "John Ford and Elizabethan Tragedy," G. F. Sensabaugh shows that Ford's tragedy was different in kind from Shakespeare's. In the latter is free will; in the former, a mechanistic psychology plus an insistence that the demands of love were superior to convention created a conflict in which society was the villain. Elbert N. S. Thompson's "Richard Hooker among the Controversialists," by comparison with earlier and later writers, illustrates Hooker's handling of important controversial issues: the nature of divine law, episcopacy, royal authority, multiple livings, etc. In a rather clumsily written paper, "The Myth of John Donne the Rake," A. R. Benham attacks the Gosse theory that Donne's poems were autobiographical; rather, they were inventions deliberately written in a spirit that protested against the prevalent saccharine modes. George Reuben Potter in "A Protest against the Term *Concert*," traces the history of the word in England, marks how contemporary praise of the metaphysical school has led to muddled denotation,

and requests an exact terminology that can be applied to all varieties of poetic imagery. In "The Theme of Pre-Existence and Infancy in *The Retreate*," Merritt Y. Hughes rescues Vaughan from the Cabbalists (for this much thanks!) and relates the poem to Christian theology by an examination of what the classic, medieval, and contemporary writers had to say on the given themes. In "A Note on Two Words in Milton's *History of Muscovia*," Harris Fletcher writes a paper mainly of interest to lexicographers—since Milton (as his margins tell us) got the first from Hakluyt and the second from Purchas and since it seems quite clear that the poet knew no more of each word than his source informed him. In Kemp Malone's "Grundtvig on *Paradise Lost*," we learn that the Danish critic conceived of an epic as presenting a great historical event in which good conquered evil and that he considered Milton had failed because he had chosen the fall of man as his theme. Of interest is Grundtvig's notion that Milton was at fault in making his symbolism give rise to particular personages and acts instead of making his symbolism grow out of the particulars. "The English Religious Restoration, 1660-1665," by Harry G. Plum, suggests that the Puritan movement was far more vital than is realized in the period named. Repressive legislation only tended to strengthen it

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Shakespeare's Audience. By ALFRED HARBAGE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. ix + 201. \$2.25.

This is a series of familiar essays on the general theme of *Shakespeare's Audience*. The first essay, *The Evidence*, exhibits some of the more spectacular pronouncements of Shakspeare's contemporaries to the conclusion that "So long as we remember that the points of view of our witnesses are not necessarily our own and that the social and satirical and even moral overtones in their voices no longer concern us, we should listen attentively to every word. Many voices will be heard in the following pages. Some passages are a reticulation of contemporary utterances. Others bristle with ugly statistics. I beg pardon for all and submit a warning: it will baffle us still—that stream of men and women which melted long ago into the lengthening shadows of Southwark." As one who has contributed no little to "ugly statistics," the reviewer asks no pardon for himself, and feels certain that he speaks for most of the other modern culprits. He is equally certain that those of Shakspeare's day would hold the same opinions still toward what they conceived to be the same facts, for the same "social and satirical and even moral overtones in their voices" are

still with us, and must "concern us" now in these stern days more than ever. All would and will reserve the right to hold their own opinions on the facts, it is a clearer knowledge of the facts which is really needed, not an exhibition of some amusing paradoxes of opinion, which may not in truth be so amusing as the author seems to think.

In the second essay, *How Many People?*, we are told that "What follows is a series of computations culminating in a guess. My only claim is that it is the most thoughtful guess thus far made." The computations were made by "An electrical calculating machine and patience," but we are usually given only the results and have no effective means of checking the author's adventures in "a realm made dismal by arithmetic." Those who have come to grips with Henslowe's lack of habit in bookkeeping will know that a great deal of analytical and interpretive work yet needs to be done before statistical methods can safely be applied, even if only "culminating in a guess." As a sample of the pitfalls, it might be pertinent to ask Professor Harbage how any one knows that it was 1 *Henry VI* which appears in Henslowe's Diary and only the first part, since he interprets total receipts from *Henry VI* to bolster one of Nashe's enthusiastic statements and to play an important rôle elsewhere. This is merely symptomatic of the fundamental difficulties involved but apparently unseen by the author. Professor Harbage is content to pile eclectically one secondary authority on another—Ossa on Pelion. This may be satisfactory for a familiar essay, but the scholar will wish something more.

The "guess" at which the "electrical calculating machine and patience" arrive is "About 2,500 a day or 15,000 a week in 1595, about 3,000 a day or 18,000 a week in 1601, about 3,500 a day or 21,000 a week in 1605—this is my conjecture of average theatrical attendance in Shakespeare's day." This is apparently upward of twice what the reviewer was and is prepared to admit as an average in his less "thoughtful guess thus far made." Indeed, the author himself says, "I suspect that my estimate of theatrical attendance will seem too high and my estimate of the population of London too low." He manages to send about 13% of London's population to the theater in 1605, though he admits that even that is "apathetic" in comparison with the 65% estimated attendance nowadays at the movies. Incidentally, one supposes it must have been the "electrical calculating machine" and certainly not the "patience" which managed to get the lines attributed to Leonard Digges in the *Poems* of 1640 inserted in the First Folio, leading to the most interesting conclusion that "When Leonard Digges contributed these lines to the First Folio, he was writing commendatory verse, and such verse is often justly suspect. But Ben Jonson also contributed verses to the volume, and it was

Jonson's audience that Digges used for comparison: it was tactless enough for Digges to make and the publishers to print such a comparison, not to mention what it would have been unless undeniably true." Even in 1623 it probably would not have been physically safe to be so tactless with Ben, however "undeniably true" the comparison may have been; at any rate, no one was so tactless. However "undeniably true" the conclusion itself is, it rests on false facts, through a confusion of secondary sources. One would feel safer if Professor Harbage showed more first-hand knowledge of the field he is here working.

Succeeding essays on (3) *What Kind of People?*, (4) *Behavior*, (5) *Quality. Elizabethan Appraisals*, (6) *Quality: Modern Appraisals*, (7) *Our Shakespeares and Our Audiences* further exploit the supposedly amusing paradoxes of opinions, the final essay being the author's own confessed "personal indulgence," as in fact the others have also unintentionally to a considerable extent been. The reader may find some rather amusing specimens, but *de gustibus!*

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The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare. The New Cambridge Edition. Edited with introduction and notes by WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON and CHARLES JARVIS HILL. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942. Pp. xxviii + 1420. \$5.00.

The revised edition of the Cambridge edition of Shakespeare will probably not be received with the high acclaim that was accorded the original edition. Unlike its predecessor, it does not hold the field alone, for at least one other good one-volume edition of Shakespeare is in existence, and still others are known to be in preparation. And unlike its predecessor it fails to provide consistently adequate and authoritative introductions and summaries of scholarship for the plays and poems. The editors tell us, for example, that their text of 2 *Henry IV* is based on the first and only quarto (of 1600), with interpolations from the text of the First Folio; but they fail to observe that sheet E of the 1600 quarto was partly reset to permit the inclusion of Act III, Scene 1 (108 lines), which had at first been omitted, with the result that in its later state this gathering consists of six leaves instead of the normal number, four (the first state may be designated Qa; the second, Qb). Nor do they mention that, according to M. A. Bayfield and to Professor Shaaber (see the latter's *Variorum* ed., p. 476), "the compositor who set up E₃-E₆ in Qb 'probably set up [the end of

II, iv and the beginning of III, ii] from a print of his own faulty pages [in Qa] rather than from the manuscript," with the result that Qa is "the only authoritative text for so much of the play as was printed on these leaves." These editorial omissions are due either to negligence or to oversimplification. To cite another illustration, the treatment of *1 Henry IV* is equally unsatisfactory. No mention whatever is made of the fragmentary first quarto of this play, which Hemingway has denominated Q₀, and Q 1603 (New Cambridge Shakespeare, p. 632, column 1) is a bibliographical ghost of the editors' own creating. Students of Shakespeare are likely to be misled by the statement (p. 632) that "Shakespeare is careful to keep the Prince's wildness within limits, however disreputable his associates," which completely ignores the implications of I, ii, 54 ff. The comments on Prince Hal's soliloquy at the end of I, ii lack historical perspective, and the discussion of Falstaff's courage is much too subtle for elementary students, ignoring, as it does, the fact that Falstaff's disquisition on Honour is simply one of the variations—a sophisticated one—on the central theme of the play.

"The manuscript," we are told (p. 179), "from which the Quarto [of *Much Ado*] was set up was the theatrical prompt-copy," as is proved by the presence in the text of the names of Kempe and Cowley. This statement takes no account of the arguments of McKerrow and others that these names are strong contributory evidence that the printer's copy was Shakespeare's own manuscript, not a theatrical text prepared with normalized speech-tags for prompt use. In the enumeration of the sources of the play there is no mention of the analogues in Peter Beverly and George Whetstone recently pointed out by C. T. Prouty.

One other instance must suffice to show the failure of the introductory sections to include the latest findings of Shakespearean investigators. *The Passionate Pilgrim* is said to be "a small piratical octavo printed for William Jaggard in 1599. Of the second edition no copy is known for certain to have survived, although a unique fragment of what may be the second edition is bound up with a copy of the first now in the Folger Library" (p. 1402). The second sentence could hardly have been penned had the writer examined with care the facsimile of the Folger *Passionate Pilgrim* or Dr. J. Q. Adams's introduction to the volume, in which he describes the peculiarities of the original and conclusively demonstrates the priority of the Folger fragment.

Sections of the text which I have collated are generally accurate; to certain others exception must be taken. Thus the text of *Titus Andronicus* is based on the First Quarto; but the editors depart from this basic text without justification in the wording of the text or of the stage directions at IV, ii; V, iii, 25; and V, iii, 60.

At i, i, 35 they similarly omit some lines present in Q 1 which were lost in Q 2, Q 3, and F 1; and at v, iii, 200 they add four lines from Q 2 which possess absolutely no authority.

The book is clearly printed. Every user will be grateful for the inclusion of Ben Jonson's magnificent tribute "To the Memory of my Beloved, the Author, Mr. William Shakespeare."

JAMES G. McMANAWAY

Folger Shakespeare Library

The Eighteenth Century Background. Studies on the Idea of Nature in the Thought of the Period. By BASIL WILLEY.
New York: Columbia University Press, London: Chatto and Windus, 1941. Pp. viii + 302. \$3.25.

In spite of its main title, this volume is not, its author is careful to explain, intended as "a history of eighteenth century thought." It may most accurately be described as an inquiry into the modes of thought, feeling, and taste connected, in that period, with the word "nature." One cannot, indeed, properly speak of "the idea of Nature," since, as Mr. Willey is well aware, the term more or less confusedly expressed dozens of quite different ideas; and as there were few subjects of possible discourse which were not, in that century, connected with, or subsumable under, that term, in one or another of its senses, the nominally narrower theme indicated by the subtitle is, or might be, almost coextensive with the larger one which the author disclaims. His book is, however, chiefly concerned with the normative conceptions connoted by "nature" in British ethics and literary theory and practice, in political doctrines and in religion, and with the influence upon these of ideas about the general attributes of "nature" in the sense of the physical world or the cosmical order. These topics are for the most part presented in the form of connected expositions of the thought of particular major authors: Shaftesbury, Butler, Mandeville, Swift, Hume, Hartley, Priestley, Godwin, and Burke. There is a chapter on Holbach, the only French writer dealt with at all fully; and the book concludes with an especially noteworthy chapter on "'Nature' in Wordsworth."

As separate expository and critical essays these chapters have a value of their own, apart from their relation to the author's central theme; for though the subjects are well-worn, Mr. Willey usually has fresh and penetrating observations to make upon them. But what gives the book a more than chronological unity and a distinctive place among works on its period is the attempt to analyze, through all these special topics and phases of eighteenth-century

reflection, the ideas for which "nature" was the common verbal vehicle. The "protean ambiguity" of the word is presumably by this time generally recognized. But no previous study has, I believe, illustrated so extensively its manifestations in that century, and none, perhaps, has come nearer to adequacy in discriminating the meanings of the word, in showing how notions initially attaching to it in one context or province of thought passed over into others, and in tracing the significant changes in its predominant import, in one or another province, between the beginning and end of the century.

These, however, are large and difficult undertakings, and it would be too much to say that Mr. Willey has accomplished them completely. There are several highly characteristic eighteenth-century ideas expressed by "nature" or "natural" which, though not in all cases wholly unmentioned, are insufficiently explicated, or given considerably less prominence than their relative vogue and influence would require. Primitivism, for example, and the interaction between it and the idea of progress, and the effect upon both of the new temper connected with the Industrial Revolution, receive surprisingly little attention. The same is true of Methodism and the Evangelical Movement—which are dismissed with the singularly mistaken remark that they "really belong to the reaction against all that the eighteenth century stood for" (p. 182). They are in fact closely related to tendencies which the author elsewhere recognizes as conspicuous in the later eighteenth century, such as the increasing emphasis on feeling and personal inner experience, and a more favorable view of the possibilities of human nature; and in any case, the new religious movement was an actual part of the "eighteenth century background." The reader, again, will hardly gather that the most current and important *single* connotation of "natural," through most of the century, was "universal," that is, known to, or recognized as valid by, all mankind at all times; that the uniformitarianism implicit in this sense was in constant conflict with a species of individualism or "diversitarianism" which also took "nature" as its catchword; and that the latter in the end tended to become dominant. Except in the first two chapters, dealing with the beginning of the century, and that on Wordsworth, the aspects of the subject pertinent to aesthetics and the theory of poetry are all but completely ignored—e. g., the relation of the idea of the "imitation of nature" to those peculiarly English phenomena of the mid-century, the Gothic revival and the *goût anglo-chinois*.

In spite of these and other omissions, the book is indispensable for students of the period; for, not the "idea of nature," but the ideas conveyed, or concealed, by "nature," were the most pervasive and potent in eighteenth-century thought, and Mr. Willey has

notably contributed to a better understanding of many of them, of their filiation, transformations, conjunctions or oppositions, and of the total complex movement in which they played their very diverse parts.

ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY

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The Aesthetic Theory of Thomas Hobbes, with special reference to his contribution to the psychological approach in English literary criticism. By CLARENCE DE WITT THORPE. Ann Arbor, Michigan. University of Michigan Press, 1940. Pp. x + 339. \$4.00. (U. of Michigan Publications, Language and Literature, XVIII.)

"Hobbes certainly made further progress toward an analysis of the mental processes related to poetry than had anyone before him, or than anyone was to do after him up to Addison and Hutcheson." Such in brief is Mr. Thorpe's conclusion, after the most careful and exhaustive analysis yet made of Hobbes as an aesthetic thinker. In view of the vast amount of evidence which Mr. Thorpe presents for the importance of Hobbes as an aesthetic thinker, it seems strange that so little has been done previously by literary historians on this subject. Only within comparatively recent times have any of the phases of Hobbes' aesthetics been treated. "Leviathan . . . of all his works created hugest" has concerned the philosophers, who perhaps felt it beneath the dignity of their sea-beast that he should have concerned himself with the "minor" problems of the creative art.

Mr. Thorpe indicates that Hobbes' interest in aesthetics was not a minor matter, nor a mere side-issue, but was part and parcel of his complete philosophical theory, which is largely founded in psychology. It is, indeed, the "psychological approach" in which Thorpe finds the importance of Hobbes' aesthetics. In his first and last chapters, the author shows the relationship between Hobbes, the political and ethical philosopher, and Hobbes, the psychological aesthetician, and reminds us of the fact, too frequently forgotten by philosophers, that Hobbes was a "man of letters" in his own right, and was so considered by many of his contemporaries. In his second chapter, Mr. Thorpe surveys many of Hobbes' predecessors, from Plato and Aristotle down to the seventeenth century, showing here the same judicious attitude which characterizes his work as a whole, for he is well aware that the "psychological approach" did not spring full-grown from the brain of his modern Zeus. Building upon his predecessors, Hobbes went farther than any of the others, in considering two fundamental matters: the

nature of the "creative imagination," and the "aesthetic" effect of that imagination.

Mr. Thorpe is not content with mere synthesis, and certainly not with mere generalizations. He enters carefully into close and well-wrought discussions of many of the important terms of the period: "wit," "fancy," "judgment"—as well as "imagination." He considers these terms in connection not only with Hobbes and his predecessors but his immediate successors. His chapter on Dennis, indeed, is one of the most illuminating in the book. That on Dryden, on the other hand, seems somewhat over-simplified in contrast with this. Yet in his various treatments of the possible effect of Hobbes here and elsewhere, Mr. Thorpe is always judicious. He does not pretend that Hobbes was the only possible "influence," though he does insist, with reason, that to some extent later writers such as Dennis, Addison, and Burke "worked in a psychological tradition . . . which in English criticism can be traced back for its most important impulse to Thomas Hobbes."

Because Mr. Thorpe has done so much for the assistance of other students in the field, it seems churlish to ask why he has not done more. It is probable that his own preface was intended to answer one immediate and obvious question: why is there not fuller discussion of Addison? He says that this volume was intended as a chapter in a book on Addison, yet it is disappointing to find so little reference to Addison. Mr. Thorpe has discussed in detail Bacon's ideas on specifically "aesthetic" matters; yet there is no discussion of the "idols" in connection with the "psychological approach" which developed in the seventeenth century. It is hardly enough to say that in those classic passages Bacon was not talking specifically about literature and the arts; he was discussing the psychological approach to all phases of human thinking. And should there not be a fuller discussion of Descartes, other than that implied in sporadic references?

Finally, there remains one fundamental problem: was Hobbes as much of an "aesthete" as Mr. Thorpe suggests? The author himself calls attention to the "defects and gaps in his theory"; to a certain lack of "consistency and completeness"; to Hobbes' inheritance of some of the "confusions" of ancient and mediaeval psychologists; to his failure to define fully later "conceptions of the creative imagination as the active principle in perception and artistic composition." He says that Hobbes' use of terms is often tantalizing, and that the phraseology often obscures the inner consistency of meaning. (A striking example of this is to be found in the passage from the "Answer to Davenant" quoted pp. 107-8. Does Hobbes' "phraseology" here mean as much as Mr. Thorpe reads into it, in connection with Shelley and Coleridge?) Was Hobbes as conscious of his "aesthetic" as Mr. Thorpe makes him seem to be? Did Hobbes really believe that poetry, like science and

philosophy, was ultimately a means of attaining truth, or did he not believe that science and philosophy must ever take precedence over poetry? Yet even if these criticisms are valid, they indicate only defects of Mr. Thorpe's undoubted qualities. In his enthusiasm for his subject he has perhaps read more into Hobbes' aesthetics than was really there. Which of us has not erred in the same way—if error it is? After all, the real criticism goes back beyond Mr. Thorpe to Hobbes himself. That behemoth, like his master Bacon, pretended to take all knowledge to be his province. Why should not a modern disciple feel that Hobbes was as fully master of aesthetics as of ethics and political philosophy? One question alone remains: "Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook?" Mr. Thorpe has proved himself our most able fisherman; and perhaps if the "little fishes" could talk, Hobbes' "little fishes" would really "talk like whales."!

MARJORIE NICOLSON

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The Pennsylvania Germans. By ARTHUR D. GRAEFF, WALTER M. KOLLMORGEN, CLYDE S. STINE, RALPH WOOD, RICHARD H. SHRYOCK, ALBERT FRANKLIN BUFFINGTON, G. PAUL MUSSELMAN, HARRY HESS REICHARD. Edited by RALPH WOOD. The Princeton University Press, 1942. \$3.00.

If the Pennsylvania Germans were identical with the "Dutch," known for two centuries as the "dumb Dutch," who inhabited the fertile valleys of eastern Pennsylvania, then the general public might believe it had adequate information about them. Were they not those "plain people," the Amish and Mennonites, who had furnished various novelists with fresh and unexploited material; an isolated and clannish people, religiously superstitious, who continued to paint strange signs upon their spacious barns to keep the witches away; a curious people withal who continued to ride to meetings and markets in little carriages without dashboards and who refused to be vaccinated; who were opposed to higher education and the taking up of arms; who refused to submit to the New Deal, who would not plow their God-granted crops under nor be subsidized, in fact would not be Americanized?

For this general public *The Pennsylvania Germans* will furnish an amazing disillusionment. Under the editorship of Ralph Wood a series of chapters was prepared by specialists in their separate fields. Although each chapter is built upon extensive preliminary groundwork, the reader is spared the mustiness of academic research. The vague and phantastic notions so long held are here brushed aside and the Pennsylvania Germans emerge in their true light as the most remarkable minority group among the peoples of our great Commonwealth.

The editor warns the reader that this book is not an encyclopedia of Pennsylvania Germans. Choice of material was constantly motivated by the questions, Who are the Pennsylvania Germans, Why are they what they are, and What is their place in America? One common denominator appeared to develop spontaneously throughout the series of chapters: the Pennsylvania German character was moulded by the fact that the Pennsylvania Germans were farmers practically and spiritually. Very fittingly the editor points out that this staunch old American stock has less connection with modern Germany than New England has with England. "If America should ever go Fascist or Communist, the stubborn Pennsylvania German would be the last to fall in line."

In the initial chapter *Pennsylvania, the Colonial Melting Pot*, as well as in a later chapter *The Pennsylvania Germans as Soldiers*, Arthur D. Graeff has traced the origins of these people, their migrations to Penn's Woods, the part they played in our colonial history, their ardent participation in all the wars from the early Colonial period down to our own day and their contributions in the political, economic and cultural development of our country. He has demonstrated that they were pioneers in that synthesizing of ethnology and culture which the world today knows as Americanism.

A most original contribution is Walter M. Kollmorgen's *The Pennsylvania German Farmer*, in which he has convincingly indicated the preeminent place the Pennsylvania Germans occupy in the history and economics of our national agriculture, by a careful study of their folkways and of the ideals, motives and objectives directing their activities in the New World. The German farmer settled on his lands with the firm intention of remaining there. He and his family became a patriarchal and economic unit whose pattern rested upon the ancestral speech and upon religious and agrarian ways. Anything that encroached upon that pattern was looked upon with disfavor. His English, Scotch and Irish neighbors had aspired to higher education. It had not made them better farmers. In fact he had gradually displaced them and acquired their neglected farms. He had a different sense of values. He looked askance upon Yankee cleverness. He had perfected a way of life. It did not include the manufacture of wooden nutmegs! God had blessed his integrity, his thrift and the labor of his hands. Through his persistent adherence to an ideal all America had become his debtor.

The Sects, Apostles of Peace, written in an easy, chatty magazine style, is perhaps the most readable and the least informative of all the chapters. G. Paul Musselman, ardent protagonist of the sects, conveys to his readers their spiritual significance without giving to the uninitiated an objective presentation of their various kinds, origins and doctrinal differences.

For those who think of the Pennsylvania Germans mainly as sectarians, Ralph Wood's chapter *Lutheran and Reformed, Pennsylvania German Style*, conveys the fact that the majority of Pennsylvania Germans are members of these two churches. However, this chapter together with the previous one can hardly be said to present adequately the total religious activities of the Pennsylvania Germans. Unfortunately the second half of Wood's chapter consists largely of stories and anecdotes that have but a slight relation to the preceding material and whose spirit of satire and humor is largely obscured when lifted out of the dialect garb.

Most enlightening is Clyde S. Stine's chapter *The Pennsylvania Germans and the School*. Nowhere else will the reader find so excellent an exposition of the much misunderstood relation of these people to education. It becomes clear that at no time did the Pennsylvania Germans oppose education as such, that the history of education among them has been mainly one of a struggle between the state and the Pennsylvania German agrarian spirit. The state met opposition only when they believed their freedom of living their way of life was jeopardized. Like the Quakers they were at first opposed to public schools, not because they were opposed to education, but rather because the secularization of schools was to them a desecration. The elimination of their language, so precious to them, was a sacrilege. It was not clear to them why the English language should be the exclusive organ for the expression of the principles of American democracy.

Ralph Wood's chapter *Journalism Among the Pennsylvania Germans* is an excellent treatment of the relation of the German newspaper to the education of the Pennsylvania Germans and their agrarian philosophy of life. He emphasizes the genuine Americanism that pervades their journalism, but hardly clarifies the relation of the later New German press to the native press.

The general reader may well be astonished upon reading Harry Hess Reichard's *Pennsylvania German Literature* to find how extensive and diversified literary expression in the dialect has really been. This chapter is in the main a condensation of the writer's authoritative *Pennsylvania German Dialect Writings and Their Writers* (1918), but for additional material treating such writers who have appeared since the date of that publication.

Supplementing Reichard's chapter is A. F. Buffington's *The Pennsylvania German Dialect*, an abstract from his compendious unpublished work on the dialect. But for the introductory paragraphs, which contain much to enlighten the general reader, this chapter will appeal mainly to those who know the dialect. All will be grateful for the map indicating the distribution of the Pennsylvania Germans.

In the closing chapter *The Pennsylvania Germans as Seen by the Historian* Richard H. Shryock cleverly contradicts its title

and demonstrates that the Pennsylvania German was not seen by the historian. This chapter is an indictment of the intolerance, prejudice and lack of scholarship that has characterized most of the work of Anglo-Saxon writers of American history down to our own day with respect to the place of the Pennsylvania Germans in our national history.

The appended Bibliographical Guide, arbitrary and with many notable omissions, might well have been omitted.

This book goes a long way in correcting very erroneous concepts about the Pennsylvania Germans. Certainly it is the most comprehensive single volume yet offered to the public upon this subject.

PRESTON A. BARBA

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BRIEF MENTION

Germany's Military Heroes of the Napoleonic Era in Her Post-War Historical Drama. By HAROLD EVERETT STEARNS, JR. (Michigan Dissertation. Pittsburgh Printing Co.) 174 pp. "Roughly one-fourth of the total dramatic production in Germany since 1918 has been on historical themes, the major portion of which were naturally taken from German history." From this production are selected only those plays which are woven around the heroes of the Napoleonic era, arranged in groups according to themes, and subjected to the scrutiny of literary analysis in order to obtain a scale of value. The investigator's principal interest is, however, not the esthetic merit of the plays but their use of the historical parallelism of the two periods (that in which they were written and that which they use as material) for their specific purposes, ranging from a propaganda of war and hatred to the kindling of a lofty national consciousness. Curiously or naturally enough, these two aims characterize the hack writer as the one pole and the true dramatist as the other. It is at times a little confusing to keep the two points of view constantly in mind: traits which are rated as artistically poor and inorganic find their explanation in propagandistic effectiveness (see, for instance, the coarse sallies of Prince Louis Ferdinand on p. 63), but this antinomy is inherent in the double viewpoint of the investigation and its interest in the interrelation between dramatist and audience. Mr. Stearns, well-informed in regard to both, currents of political psychology in post-war Germany and dramatic literature and its sources, has rendered a valuable service to our knowledge of modern German drama as well as to the much neglected field of "Sociologie der literarischen Geschmacksbildung" (Schucking).

E. F.

Modern Language Notes

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A CHAPPELLE IN THE *MIRACLES DE NOSTRE DAME*

Much has been written concerning the rich fourteenth-century collection, the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*.¹ The sixteenth play of the Cangé manuscript, the *Miracle de la mère du pape*, contains one of the most unusual stage effects in the entire series. I refer to the miraculous "chappelle" which the Blessed Virgin orders to be brought down from Heaven to honor Marie, the pope's mother, who has frozen to death in a field. Notre Dame appears with the angels, Michael and Gabriel, to claim the soul of the dead woman and to superintend a memorial service. The staging of this scene in the play has caused such perplexity that I quote the complete instructions from the text:²

Nostre Dame

My ange, je vueil c'on li face
Cy telle honneur et si grant gloire
Qu'il en soit a touzjours memoire
C'est que je vueil qu'une chappelle
Fondez dessus li bonne et belle,
Et que mettez son corps en terre.
Or vous en delivrez bonne erre:
Si en irons.

Second Ange

Dame, vostre vouloir ferons:
En l'eure y voulons pourveoir.
Il ne la fault mais qu'asseoir.
Vez la ci ou des cieulx descent,
Si con Dieu vostre fils consent,
Ne plus ne moins.

¹ Edited by Gaston Paris and Ulysse Robert for the Société des Anciens Textes Français, Vols I-VIII (Paris, 1876-1893).

² *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, II, No 16, ll. 1549 ff

Premier Ange

Tandons y, vous et moy, les mains,
 Tant comme elle descent du ciel
 Pour la miex asseoir, Michiel,
 Droit en sa place.

Second Ange

Or prenons ici bonne espace:
 De ça iray.

.
 Fondée est feime comme tour
 Ici endroit ceste chappelle
 Glorieuse vierge pucelle,
 En irons nous ?

Nostre Dame

Nanl, je vueil avant que vous
 Un luminaire li mettez
 Entour elle et que vous chantez
 Cy doucement

Second Ange

.
 Gabriel, de ce luminaire
 Prenez, s'en mettez par dela
 Aussi que feyay par deça.
 Or du haster.

Premier Ange

Il ne nous fault fors que chanter
 Le luminaire est tout assis
 Et alumé

Accepting the common meaning of "chappelle," Donald C. Stuart has stated that the property referred to was "a chapel constructed during the play."³ Dorothy Penn agrees that "Play No. 16 requires during the action the setting up upon the stage of one of the small houses [mansions] near Heaven."⁴ There is an alternative interpretation for this scene, overlooked by both Mr. Stuart and Miss Penn, and not, so far as I can ascertain, hitherto advanced by any other writer. That is, that the property in question was not a chapel at all, but an ingenious device employed for its strategic as well as its spectacular effect in the play.

³ *Stage Decoration in France in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1910), 81.

⁴ *The Staging of the "Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages" of MS. Cangé* (New York, 1933), 18 and 71.

That the Puy Notre Dame which staged these performances made frequent use of a coffin and a pall, and occasionally of a luminary, is definitely suggested in several of the *Miracles de Notre Dame*. For example, in the *Miracle de saint Jehan Crisothemes*, the body of Anthure is placed in a casket and is carried off stage as the play ends.⁵ In the *Miracle de saint Alexis*, the protagonist's body is laid out in state on "un hault lit," "attourné/ Richement et bien aourné," and is covered with a pall of cloth-of-gold.⁶ In three of the plays in which a character dies during the action, his body must remain on stage for some time before burial. In two of these instances, we have positive evidence that a coffin was used. In the first, the *Miracle de l'evesque que l'arcediacre murtrit*, a bishop who has been murdered by an envious arch-deacon is given a state burial. In preparation for the obsequies before he is to be placed "a terre" . . . "en ce coffre," his ecclesiastic robes are removed, his body is covered with a rich funeral pall embroidered in gold, "son luminaire,/ Un paille, un chalit, un suaire" are brought, and the casket is then placed on trestles and covered with a cloth-of-gold pall for the church services.⁷ In the *Miracle de une femme que Notre Dame garda d'estre arse*, the body of Aubin, who has been murdered at the order of his mother-in-law, Guibour, is placed in a coffin with a lid which can be raised for the inquest.⁸ The remaining example occurs in the *Miracle de la mère du pape*, with the lowering of the *chappelle*.⁹ The lines of the play clearly indicate that the object came from above; that the body of Marie was to be placed "en terre" and the property placed over it; and, finally, that the angels had only to guide the device on its descent, not, as Stuart suggests,

⁵ *Miracles de Notre Dame*, I, No. 6, "ce coffre," l. 1551.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, No. 40, 2439 ff.

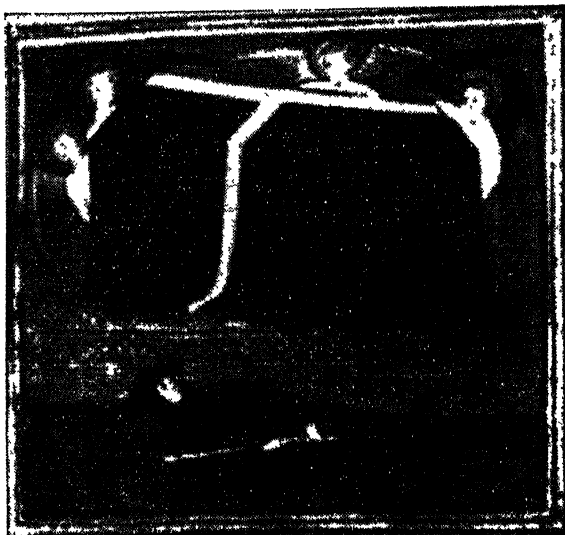
⁷ *Ibid.*, I, No. 3, "un coffre," l. 329.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, No. 26, 483 ff., 578 ff. *Premier Vowsin* brings "un coffre bel et net. . . Pour ce corps en terre porter" (483-85).

⁹ In the three last-mentioned plays, some time elapses between the death of the character and the end of the play. In No. 3, the bishop dies at line 241; he is buried at line 470. In No. 26, Aubin is murdered at line 293; the lid of his coffin is raised at line 578, and the casket is taken to the "cemetery" (off stage) at line 675. In No. 16, Marie's death occurs at line 1546. The play ends at line 1824; during all this time the body of Marie lies beneath the "chappelle."

construct it. In my opinion, the *chappelle* was not a chapel at all, but a catafalque¹⁰ or funeral canopy.¹¹

One further point is significant. That is the iconographical evi-



Miracles de Nostre Dame, II, No. 16,
from the Cangé MS.
"Miracle de la mère du pape"

Courtesy of the Yale-Rockefeller Theatre Collection

lence supplied by the manuscript itself. Each of the forty plays is illustrated by a miniature executed by an unknown artist who was

¹⁰ Cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, II, 13, *cadafalus*: "ab Italico catafalco, . . . unde etiam nostrum *Catafalque*, Tumulus honorarius"; and *capella*, 8: "pegma funebre, tumulus honorarius" Cf. also P. Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire Universel*, III, 956, "*chappelles funéraires*." W. von Warburg, *Französches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, II, 285, defines *cappella*, *chappelle ardente* as a luminary which burns around a coffin or cenotaph, although he traces this meaning only from the sixteenth century. Under "*chappelle*," Edmond Huguet, *Dictionnaire*, states: "Ce mot est souvent employé pour désigner . . . un monument funèbre" (II, 194), though his material also dates only from the sixteenth century.

¹¹ Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc has a design showing a reconstruction of such a canopy and the disposition of candles about the temporary tomb. Cf. *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1863-1875), IX, 64, Figure 29.

contemporary with the anonymous authors. In nearly every instance, he has selected the most dramatic moment in the action, the climax of interest. Each miniature is inherently theatrical, and is so close to the indications of stage technique in the text, that the artist may conceivably have seen some of the performances of the puy. Although the miniatures cannot be taken as conclusive evidence as to methods of staging, nevertheless the fact must not be ignored that in all the plays where chapel mansions figure prominently in the plot, the artist has shown them in his illustrations.¹² In the *Miracle de la mère du pape*, however, where the action reaches its climax in the miracle performed by Notre Dame to honor Marie, the artist has depicted not a chapel nor a small house, but a pall-draped coffin descending from above.¹³

From the iconography, from the description of the object by the angels as they lift up their hands to guide it on its descent, from the convention of the Puy Notre Dame of covering a dead body as quickly as possible when it could not be immediately removed from the stage, and from Notre Dame's emphasis on funeral pomp, a luminary, and the requiem, comes the suggestion that here was no memorial chapel built on the scene, but rather a funeral canopy lowered from above,¹⁴ to conceal as well as to honor the dead. As such, it is a novel and interesting contribution to the staging of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame*.

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¹² The miniatures for the following plays show a small house or chapel mansion: Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 21, 28, 40.

¹³ It must be admitted that the use of *chappelle* in this sense is unique in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, and that in all other instances where a coffin is mentioned in the plays, it is referred to as "coffre" or "hault lit."

¹⁴ Gustave Cohen cites several examples of the lowering of objects from above, including the dove used in the *Miracle de Clovis* (*Miracles de Nostre Dame*, VII, No. 39). Cf. *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du moyen âge* (Paris, 1926), 153.

A TRACE OF DURER IN RABELAIS

The name of Albrecht Durer would be sought for in vain from the first to the last page of Rabelais's works. Yet it is hidden, hitherto unidentified, behind a passage in the Fifth Book. In the thirtieth chapter, which describes the *Pars de Satin*, the land of the animals 'made of tapestry,' Rabelais says.

Je y veiz un rénocéros du tout semblable à celluy que Hans Cleberg m'avoit autresfoys monstté, peu différent d'un verrat que autrefois j'avois veu à Legugé, excepté qu'il avoit une corne au mufle, longue d'une coudée et poinctue, de laquelle il osoit entreprendre ung éléphant en combat et, d'icelle le pongnant soubz le ventre (qui est la plus tendre et débille partie de l'éléphant), le rendroit mort par terre.¹

The commentaries have little to say about the passage. The description of the duel between elephant and rhinoceros was, of course, easily recognized as a borrowing from a familiar passage in Pliny's 'Natural History.'² The identification of "Hans Cleberg" was not difficult: Cleberg—or better Kleberger—(b. 1485, d. 1546) was a spectacular person in Rabelais's time, a merchant from Nuremberg who lived at Lyons from about 1526 on, a wealthy and charitable man, a friend of the arts and a benefactor of the poor, who achieved something like local immortality under the sobriquet of *le bon Allemand*.³ It stands to reason that Rabelais, a physician at the *Hôtel-Dieu*, could easily have established con-

¹ I quote the text from Boulenger's edition (*Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*, 1938), p. 861.

² Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, VIII, ch. 29. The description is not Pliny's own; it can be traced back to earlier Greek works such as Agatharchides, *On the Red Sea* (in Photios' *Bibliotheca*, cod. 250; p. 455 Bekker), Strabo XVI, ch. 4, sec. 15, and Diodorus Siculus III, ch. 35; but Pliny was instrumental in transmitting it to later ages.

³ The literature on Kleberger is considerable. Incomplete bibliographical notes are in K. Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur Deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung*, I (Leipzig, 1933), 408, and Aimé Vingtrinier, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Lyonnaise de M. Coste* (1853), nos. 15430 ff., cf. nos. 13617-13622. The most extensive study is by M. Eugène Vial, a series of nine essays in *Revue d'histoire de Lyon* XI-XIII (1912-1914). Relations to artists are in evidence in Kleberger's testament as quoted by Vial, *loc. cit.*, XII, 371, bequeathing 25 écus d'or to "Sebastien de Laye, peintre à Lyon, pour l'amitié qu'il lui porte." It will be seen below that de Laye was not the only artist with whom Kleberger was in personal touch.

tact with the great benefactor of the charitable institutions of Lyons.⁴

But, curiously enough, the puzzling question how this man Kleberger could demonstrate a rhinoceros to Rabelais has escaped most of the editors and commentators. Only the late L. Sainéan paid any attention to it, and his answer is undoubtedly wrong.⁵ Sainéan introduces Kleberger in the new capacity of a "collector of zoological rarities" and owner of a private zoological garden, whose acquaintance was sought by Rabelais in his continual search for scientific, especially zoological, information. According to Sainéan, Rabelais saw a live rhinoceros in Kleberger's collection. This statement has no basis save the passage which it is intended to explain. Nowhere in the vast material concerning Kleberger is there any indication of an interest in rare animals. Kleberger's zoological collection is nothing but the product of a strained attempt at interpretation.

It is safe to assume that the presence of a living rhinoceros at Lyons in the first half of the sixteenth century would have left traces in local as well as general literature. The arrival of a specimen of this animal, which had been unknown to the Middle Ages, in Lisbon in 1515 created what may well be called a European sensation.⁶ The history of a fight staged between this rhi-

⁴ From 1532 on Rabelais stayed intermittently in Lyons. He first came to the city in June, 1532, was appointed physician at the *Hôtel-Dieu* on November 1, 1532, and remained in this position until the end of 1534, though his stay was interrupted by journeys to Chinon and Rome. We find him at Lyons again in 1536, 1537, and 1538.

⁵ L. Sainéan, *La langue de Rabelais*, I (Paris, 1922), 41. See also Sainéan's more recent book *Problèmes littéraires du seizième siècle* (Paris, 1927), 36, 81. Sainéan's article "L'histoire naturelle dans l'œuvre de Rabelais" in *RSS*, III (1915), 218-219, does not contribute anything to the solution of the problem.

⁶ The story has recently been retold in full, with the addition of interesting material from various printed sources and public records, by Senhor Abel Fontoura da Costa, *Desambulações da ganda de Modafar rei de Cambaia, de 1514 a 1516* (Lisbon, Divisão de publicações e biblioteca, Agência geral das colónias, 1937, 49 pp.). A copy is in the Library of Congress. On this book in Portuguese Mr Campbell Dodgson bases his article, "The Story of Dürer's Ganda," in *The Romance of Fine Prints*, ed. by Alfred Fowler (The Print Society, Kansas City, 1938). Besides this famous rhinoceros of 1515, Sainéan, in *RSS*, III (1915), 218, and *La langue de Rabelais*, I (1922), 20, believes he has discovered a second specimen brought to Europe during the sixteenth century and shown at the *joyeuse*

noceros and an elephant was reported as far as Nuremberg,⁷ and it was in connection with this report that Albrecht Dürer came into possession of a sketch on which he based his famous drawing⁸ and his even more famous woodcut⁹ of the rhinoceros.

There is, then, a special relation between Nuremberg and the rhinoceros. But there also is a special relation between Nuremberg and Kleberger. And in both cases Dürer is the common denominator. In 1526 the wealthy businessman had his portrait painted by the great master from his own native town. The portrait,¹⁰ a unique item in the long series of portraits painted by Dürer because of its peculiar classicistic style, is now in the

entrée of Henri II in Paris in 1549. But this turns out to have been merely a sculpture bearing an obelisk; see Pierre Champion, *Paris au temps de la Renaissance. Paganisme et Réforme* (Paris, 1936), p. 115. Since 1515, thanks to Dürer's woodcut (see below), the rhinoceros became something of a popular artistic theme, as shown by a number of existing replicas and derivations of Dürer's rhinoceros.

⁷ The author of such a report, a German writer and printer who lived at Lisbon, is known only under the disguise of a Portuguese name, Valentim Fernandes, see K. Haebler, *Die deutschen Buchdrucker des 15. Jahrhunderts im Auslande* (Munich, 1924), p. 272 f. The letter, transmitted only in an Italian translation, was printed by Angelo de Gubernatis, *Storia dei viaggiatori italiani nelle Indie orientali* (Leghorn, 1875), p. 389.

⁸ The best reproductions are in F. Lippmann, *Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers in Nachbildungen*, III (1894), no. 257, and in *Publications of the Dürer Society*, IV (London, 1901), no. XII; the most recent ones in Fontoura, *op. cit.*, pl. 2; Tietze, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke Albrecht Dürers* (Basel and Leipzig, 1937), p. 274, no. 639; *The Romance of Fine Prints*, *loc. cit.*, p. 44. The inscription, in Dürer's own hand, repeating the story from Pliny, is probably copied from a letter of Valentim Fernandes (see above); since it mentions "our king of Portugal" it must have been written by a Portuguese subject, and Fernandes was an *escudeiro* of the queen of Portugal.

⁹ Eight different editions are in existence, listed most recently by Joseph Meder, *Dürer-Katalog* (Vienna, 1932), p. 254, no. 273. Only the first can be assigned with certainty to Dürer's lifetime (1515). Copies of this first state are, e.g., in the British Museum (reproduced in *Dürer Society Publications*, IV, no. XXVI, Fontoura, plate 2, reversed; *The Romance of Fine Prints*, *loc. cit.*, plate 1) and in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (cf. *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*, xv, 1920, p. 34). Reproductions of one or the other state can easily be found in any collection of Dürer works.

¹⁰ Tietze, *op. cit.*, no. 958; Max I. Friedlander, *Albrecht Dürer* (Leipzig, 1921), p. 190. A beautiful reproduction is in W. Waetzold, *Dürer und seine Zeit* (Vienna, 1935), no. 71.

Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. An inscription by Durer's hand, running around the head, excludes all doubt:

E (ffigies) IOANI · KLEBERGERS · NORICI ·
AETA · SVAE XXXX ·

With these facts in hand the final conclusion is easy. Kleberger did indeed show a rhinoceros to Rabelais, but not a live one. He showed him the famous woodcut¹¹ by his late artist friend. The comparison of the rhinoceros with a boar in Rabelais's description is understandable only under the assumption that Rabelais never saw a living specimen. The picture by itself could not give him an idea of the real size of the animal. From the caption in Dürer's woodcut he could have learned that the rhinoceros is about the same size as an elephant except that its legs are shorter. He evidently paid no attention to the caption, and Kleberger failed to translate it for him. The fact that Durer's caption gives the tale from Pliny as Rabelais does, should not be over-estimated in the philological search for affiliation. Rabelais knew his Pliny well enough to be able to find the data for himself, without benefit of Dürer's quotation.

Here, then, we have reconstructed a genuine, if remote, link between two of the great minds of the age. If someone should ever publish a new illustrated edition of "Pantagruel," applying more modern principles of illustration than Robida's, he might do well to include the two Dürer works, the Kleberger portrait and the woodcut of the rhinoceros.

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PROUST AND RIBOT

La chasse à la mémoire involontaire continue. In a recent article¹ René de Messières adds to the accumulation of documents already published by Jean-Albert Bédé² and Justin O'Brien³ to

¹¹ If Meder is right in his assumption that the second edition of the woodcut came out as late as 1540 or thereabouts, it is certain that the copy seen by Rabelais was one of the first edition.

¹ René de Messières, "Un document probable sur le premier état de la pensée de Proust," *RR*, April, 1942.

² Jean-Albert Bédé, "Chateaubriand et Marcel Proust," *MLN*, June, 1934.

³ Justin O'Brien, "La mémoire involontaire avant Marcel Proust,"

show that Proust's favorite theory of "la mémoire involontaire" occurred previously in literature. Along with their literary evidence both M. de Messières and Mr. O'Brien give a passing salute to Théodule Ribot, the prolific psychologist who devoted several chapters and articles to the subject of "affective memory" during the same decades that Proust's work was in gestation. Since both commentators slight this additional and exceedingly significant parallel in professional psychology, it seems advisable to review this problem more in detail.

Mr. O'Brien's reference to the professional psychologists is the more complete:

[Proust] a vraisemblablement ignoré lui-même que cette distinction [mémoire volontaire et mémoire involontaire], de première importance à ses yeux, se trouvait déjà établie dans la *Psychologie des sentiments* de Th. Ribot, qui est de 1896, dans *La Fonction de la Mémoire et le souvenir affectif* de Frédéric Paulhan, qui est de 1904, ainsi que chez Taine et dans plusieurs articles de la *Revue Philosophique* et du *Journal de Psychologie*.⁴

As Mr. O'Brien indicates, there is no proof that Proust knew Ribot's work in time to be influenced by his theory or that, even later, he acquired any particular knowledge of it. An inconclusive reference to Ribot figures in a letter from Proust to Robert Dreyfus in 1909:

Je disais socialiste pour plaisanter sur les questions que je te posais quand je te disais. 'Méline, est-ce bien? Ribot, est-ce bien?' étant pour ma part incapable de juger de ces choses.⁵

First, the date is not early enough to count; then one is at a loss to know whether to take this profession of ignorance in good faith. Ten years later,⁶ in writing to Walter Berry,⁷ Proust expressed surprise that his correspondent should read such an author as Ribot—"philosophe de 25^e ordre," he added parenthetically. We are at liberty to detect here a note of professional jealousy or a second-hand opinion founded on hearsay; at least there is still no proof, even as late as 1919, that Proust really knew Ribot's work.

RLC., January, 1939, and "Henry Harland, an American forerunner of Proust," *MLN.*, June, 1939.

⁴ O'Brien in *RLC.*

⁵ *Correspondance Générale de Marcel Proust*, IV, p. 242.

⁶ Redated by Dr. Philip Kolb, *Études Critiques sur la Correspondance de Proust* (Harv. diss.).

⁷ *Correspondance Générale de Marcel Proust*, V, p. 31.

On the other hand, a rapprochement yields some interesting similarities. Ribot's work on affective memory first appeared in the *Revue Philosophique*⁸ in 1894 with the title "Recherches sur la mémoire affective." This article became the chapter "La mémoire affective," published in his *Psychologie des Sentiments* in 1896. It was a readable book that probably found its way into the hands of many a layman. Emile Faguet, who admired Ribot as a moralist, reviewed it in the *Revue Politique et Littéraire*.⁹ The reviewer seems to consider the discussion of affective memory to be particularly interesting, which is an indication of how the contemporaries in general received the book. Ribot claimed to be the first to investigate this subject thoroughly although he stated that the point had been mentioned by Spencer, Bain, James, Fouillée, Höffding and Lehmann. We may consider him the father of affective memory in France.

Mr. O'Brien maintains that Ribot distinguished between voluntary and involuntary memory, that may be true, although it seems to me that the distinction is more implicit in Bergson, for example, than in Ribot. Ribot's subject is not the memory of the intelligence ("abstract memory," he calls it) but rather the revival of past emotion—"affective memory." His material is particularly interesting to the layman because it is anecdotal, being based on sixty replies to a questionnaire and some data from other sources. The most "Proustian" quotation is one taken from an article by Littré in 1877 in which the philosopher relates that at the age of ten he lost a sister but that, naturally at that age, he soon forgot his grief; many years later this happened:

Tout à coup, sans le vouloir ni le chercher, par un phénomène d'automnésie affective, ce même événement s'est reproduit avec une peine non moindre, certes, que celle que j'éprouvai au moment même et qui alla jusqu'à mouiller mes yeux de larmes.¹⁰

This case is comparable to any one of the numerous instances of involuntary memory in Proust. At first glance Proust's involuntary

⁸ Th. Ribot, "Recherches sur la mémoire affective," *Revue Philosophique*, October, 1894

⁹ Emile Faguet, "Psychologie des Sentiments," *Revue Politique et Littéraire*, Sept. 12, 1896. Reprinted in his *Propos Littéraires*, iv, pp. 25-37.

¹⁰ Ribot, *Psychologie des Sentiments*, p. 153. Originally printed in *Revue Positive*, 1877, p. 660.

memory seems synonymous with Ribot's affective memory. But in the category of affective memory Ribot makes further distinctions when he speaks of *true* and *false* affective memory, the false affective memory being a new emotion arising from an "abstract" recollection of a previous emotion. True affective memory is of two types; the more common of the two is the "reviviscence provoquée": "Elle consiste en ce qu'un événement *actuel* suscite les images d'événements antérieurs."¹¹ Proust's cup of tea and madeleine episode would fall into this category. This type Ribot seems to consider almost banal; what he is seeking is "la possibilité d'une reviviscence non provoquée par un événement actuel."¹² So the kind of reply to his questionnaire he prefers is one like that of Sully Prudhomme who claims that, by dint of concentrating on the memory of a disastrous but puerile student love affair, he is able to revive at will the original emotion even though, intellectually, he realizes now in his maturity that his feeling is absurd. Proust's terminology does not allow for a case of this sort; his involuntary memory is only the more common of Ribot's two types of affective memory. Hence any influence of Ribot on Proust must have been ephemeral indeed. M. de Messières believes that, in spite of the contemporary interest in involuntary memory for which he cites examples, Fernand Gregh's short story *Mystères*, which is supposed to portray Proust, is proof of the spontaneous generation of the idea of involuntary memory in either Proust or Gregh and more probably in Proust. The only answer to this is that there remains still a remote possibility of an indirect influence from Ribot since the short story dates from 1896 whereas Ribot's work first appeared in 1894. We shall see later examples of how this influence might have been disseminated, although we possess no such examples for this early period.

Subsequently Ribot's theories aroused much comment among professional and amateur psychologists. What Mr. O'Brien fails to emphasize is the magnitude of the discussion of affective memory which overflowed from the philosophical journals into literature itself. Before the erudite discussion itself was well launched we find developing the very kind of tangent which might have bridged the gap between Ribot and Proust. In 1897 Dr. Paul

¹¹ *Idem*, p. 140.

¹² *Idem*, p. 155.

Chabaneix drew on Ribot's book, Hartmann, Janet, Binet and other sources for his *Essai sur le Subconscient dans les Œuvres de l'Esprit et chez leurs Auteurs*, a book from which Ribot borrowed liberally in turn for his *Essai sur l'Imagination Créatrice*, 1900. Commenting on Chabaneix's work in the *Mercure de France*,¹³ Remy de Gourmont noted the phenomenon of affective memory and added:

Il est bien évident que la sensation entrée en nous sans que nous en ayons eu conscience ne peut, à aucun moment, être volontairement évoquée; mais la sensation consciente peut, au contraire, nous revenir à l'improviste, sans nul concours de la volonté.

Like Proust, Gourmont was here discussing an esthetic of the sub-conscious utilizing involuntary memory.

In 1901 the controversy over affective memory began in the professional periodicals with an article by M. Mauxion in the *Revue Philosophique*; ¹⁴ agreeing that affective memory existed, this psychologist denied that the Sully Prudhomme example cited by Ribot was *true* affective memory:

. . . l'émotion ne revit point; c'est un phénomène entièrement nouveau qui apparaît et qui, semblable ou dissemblable d'ailleurs au sentiment primitif, n'a pas plus sa condition d'existence dans ce sentiment que la tempête d'aujourd'hui dans la tempête du mois passé.

This objection might explain how, if Proust was cognizant of the discussion of affective memory among specialists, he came to reject this type of affective memory. In the same number of the same review ¹⁵ F. Pillon discussed Spencer's and Hoffding's original remarks on the subject. The following year Henri Piéron ¹⁶ again summarized the discussion in the same review.

In 1903 Charles Méré contributed to the *Mercure de France* ¹⁷ an article on "La Sensation du déjà-vu" which again brought up the same problems in popularized form; he mentioned Ribot as one

¹³Remy de Gourmont, "Notes sur le subconscient," *Mercure de France*, April, 1898.

¹⁴M. Mauxion, "La vraie mémoire affective," *Revue Philosophique*, February, 1901.

¹⁵F. Pillon, "La mémoire affective: Son importance théorique et pratique," *Revue Philosophique*, February, 1901.

¹⁶Henri Piéron, "La question de la mémoire affective," *Revue Philosophique*, December, 1902.

¹⁷Charles Méré, "La sensation du déjà-vu," *Mercure de France*, July, 1903

of his sources along with Sander, Bourdon and Dr. Thibault. Paraphrasing an unnamed work by Fernand Gregh, which does not seem to be the short story mentioned by M. de Messières, Méré relates:

Vous vivez, dit M. Fernand Gregh, vous allez et vous venez, vous dites des mots et soudain vous *sentez* que vous avez déjà fait ces gestes, dit ces mots dans le même ordre, de la même façon, sans qu'il vous soit possible de dire ni où ni quand. Vous *sentez* que vous *vivez* identiquement une minute que vous avez déjà vécue.

Méré's article again demonstrates one of the channels by which, through popularization, the notions of professional psychology were diverted towards literature.

Meanwhile the erudite discussion also continued when, in 1904, L. Dugas upheld Mauxion's point of view in the *Revue Philosophique*.¹⁸ In the same year Fr. Paulhan issued *La Fonction de la Mémoire et le Souvenir affectif*, to which Mr. O'Brien also refers; aside from some interesting examples of affective memory from literary sources, this writer contributes little more to the problem than the notion that "un fait ne reste jamais dans l'esprit tel qu'il s'est produit"¹⁹ and that it is impossible to distinguish categorically between true and false affective memory. In the *Année Philosophique*²⁰ in 1906, F. Pillon again defended Ribot's belief in the possibility of willfully reviving affective memories and digressed on the latter's English predecessors. He also developed the same remarks further in the *Revue Philosophique*²¹ the following year. In 1907, in the same review,²² Ribot came to his own defense with the contention (which Proust would have seconded) that actually the revival of the emotion precedes all intellectualization of the memory even in these cases of willful revival. This article he reprinted in his *Problèmes de la Psychologie Affective*, 1910. In the meanwhile, in 1909, J. M. Baldwin of the Johns Hopkins had published in the *Revue Philosophique*²³ his "La mémoire affective

¹⁸ L. Dugas, "La mémoire affective," *Revue Philosophique*, December, 1904.

¹⁹ Paulhan, *La Fonction de la Mémoire* . . . , p. 174.

²⁰ F. Pillon, "Sur la mémoire et l'imagination affectives," *L'Année Philosophique*, 1906, pp. 45-123.

²¹ F. Pillon, "Sur l'imagination affective," *Revue Philosophique*, March, 1907.

²² Ribot, "La mémoire affective. Nouvelles remarques," *Revue Philosophique*, December, 1907.

²³ J. M. Baldwin, "La mémoire affective et l'art," *Revue Philosophique*, May, 1909.

et l'art," which expresses more abstractly many of Proust's reflections on the music of Vinteuil, and Ribot had discussed "La mémoire affective et l'expérimentation" in the *Journal de Psychologie*,²⁴ describing a method of choosing and questioning subjects in an investigation of affective memory. Apparently 1910 marks the terminus of the discussion. However, it is a curious fact that in 1930 L. Dugas again wrote in the *Journal de Psychologie*²⁵ on "La mémoire des sentiments," taking this time all of his examples from Proust.

Recorded above are only a few of the ramifications of this intricate problem of affective memory which seems to have fascinated laymen and specialists in Proust's day. Ribot relates that he had numerous correspondents, both professional and amateur, who communicated their experiences to him. One of them, Michel Corday, wrote in 1907 a novel entitled *La Mémoire du Cœur* inspired by these theories.²⁶ Perhaps a link will one day be discovered between Proust and this well populated group of affective memory enthusiasts. It is, in fact, unlikely that Proust should not have sooner or later come in contact with them even if he failed to at first. Perhaps this confirmation of his own theory led him to lay greater stress on this problem when he came to write *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu*. In the use of involuntary memory we shall not accuse Proust of lack of originality, as did Jean Hytier,²⁷ nor shall we agree with Jean Pérès²⁸ and Dr. Charles Blondel²⁹ that he had made a truly original discovery. Rather it is clear that, at best, Proust only confirmed and reiterated a theory which greatly preoccupied his contemporaries.

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²⁴ Ribot, "La mémoire affective et l'expérimentation," *Journal de Psychologie*, August, 1909.

²⁵ L. Dugas, "La mémoire des sentiments," *Journal de Psychologie*, March 15-April 15, 1930.

²⁶ Ribot, *Problèmes de la Psychologie Affective*, p. 77.

²⁷ Jean Hytier, "Marcel Proust," *Larousse Mensuel Illustré*, September, 1923.

²⁸ J. Pérès, "Le rêve de la veille dans le roman proustien," *Journal de Psychologie*, January 15-February 15, 1932.

²⁹ Dr. Charles Blondel, *La Psychographie de Marcel Proust*, 1932, Chap.

PROVERBS IN MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

The vast bibliography connected with the study of proverbs has emphasized many of the reasons that make them of importance to historians of literature, but it may be worth while to indicate here why this subject seems to have special interest for students of the writings of the Middle Ages. Huizinga and others have shown how heavily the medieval man leaned upon tradition and traditional learning, how exaggerated was his respect for general concepts expressed as maxims, and how frequently arguments of all kinds—political, social and moral, as well as religious—were settled by citation of texts.

But the universal acceptability of proverbs in literary works of the Middle Ages may perhaps deserve some additional stress and for reasons which seem not to have been stressed at all. We tend today to associate the use of homely aphorisms with intellectual poverty of expression, with writers of limited vocabulary and little imagination. Literature designed for popular audiences may consciously make use of them, to be sure, or they may be adopted to characterize some platitudinous old person, but, unless they be in some foreign tongue, when their standing is considerably enhanced, adages and maxims are usually avoided by modern writers with any pretensions to artistic distinction.¹ However, it is clear that this was not the attitude of medieval or even Renaissance authors. From the twelfth century on authors of books on rhetoric recommend the use of proverbs as a stylistic device of merit, and in the sixteenth century Henri Estienne can still say, "les beaux proverbes, bien appliquez, ornent le langage de ceux qui d'ailleurs sont bien emparlez."

In these circumstances it becomes important for medievalists to recognize proverbial expressions for what they are. It is not valid, for example, to posit "borrowings," as is frequently done, when

¹ See Archer Taylor, *The Proverb*, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1931, pp. 171-183. "Writings which make a conspicuous effort at literary style generally avoid them except as details characterizing the folk" (172). For various aspects of proverbs in French literature and a selected bibliography, see Frank and Miner, *Proverbes en rime*, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1937, Introduction and pp. 85-86. Cf. also David Heft, *Proverbs and Sentences in Fifteenth Century French Poetry* (an abridgement), New York University, 1942.

two authors make use of such common coin. Even less valid is the assumption of originality when a proverb goes undetected. In the fifteenth century we find dozens of writers—Villon, Charles d'Orléans and his friends, the group around the Duc de Bourbon, the writers of Lyons, the authors of *Pathelin* and other farces—all interlarding their verses with expressions like "chose qui plaît est à demi vendue," "l'escorpion lèche quand il veut poindre," "à qui vendez-vous vos coquilles," "prendre des vessies pour des lanternes," and the like. Many of these commonplaces are of course so well known that they are readily discovered and correctly interpreted. But others sometimes remain unperceived, and certain authors have accordingly been credited with creative and original expressions for which they themselves would make no such claim.

More than one critic, for instance, has remarked upon the characteristic Villonesque touch in the opening lines of his *Testament*:

En l'an de mon trentiesme aage
Que toutes mes hontes j'eus bues . . .

Boire ses hontes—how adequately both verb and noun suggest the poet! Yet Huon de Méry had employed the expression in the thirteenth century and with a metaphorical meaning, showing it to be well-established before his day.² It reappears, with a slight variation, in a fourteenth century *Miracle de Sainte Geneviève*, where Jesus, speaking of the iniquities of the French, says to Notre Dame:

Lessiez leur boire leur folies . . .³

Charles d'Orléans also uses it as part of a refrain in a *Rondeau*:

Qui a toutes ses hontes bues
Il ne lui chault que l'en lui die.⁴

Indeed, according to Schwob and Thuasne, this *Rondeau* may have

² In his *Tournoiement de l'Antichrist*, ed. Tarbé, 1851, p. 13. The author is describing the feast served to Antichrist. There was a marvellous dish of fried sins, "friture de péchés," which had to be washed down with great draughts of "honte":

Car ceus en convenist crever,
Qui orent la friture eue,
S'il n'eüssent honte beue.

³ Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, I, 197 = ed. Clotilde Sennewaldt (*Frankfurter Quellen u. Forsch.*, vol. 17, 1937), line 672.

⁴ Ed. CFMA II, 405.

been intended as a portrait of Villon, who in turn echoed its refrain—a suggestion that in the circumstances seems wholly fanciful.⁵ After Villon's day we find the expression cited as current in Oudin's *Curiositez françaises* (1656): "elle a toutes ses hontes beues," is glossed by "elle est hardie ou effrontée."

Villon and Charles d'Orléans may perhaps have given the expression some vogue—there is no denying the effective setting in which they place it—but they did not invent it. Here it is incumbent upon the literary historian, after having recognized the phrase for what it is, to discover how each poet employs it, what gives it special meaning for him, whether he has heightened or depressed its significance. In the present instance one has only to compare the expression as it appears in the various texts cited to realize that Huon de Méry uses it metaphorically, punning upon it, that the *Miracle* adopts it as a cliché, that Charles d'Orléans gives it Oudin's meaning and proceeds to paint a striking portrait of a man who is "hardi ou effronté," whereas Villon, by turning the figure of speech against himself, fills it with literal, realistic and individual content.

Another example may further serve to illustrate my point. In the *Folie Tristan* of the Oxford manuscript, Tristan, despite the fact that he has purposely disguised himself, reproaches Isolt for not recognizing him. He says (ed. Bédier, 701-702):

Ohi' Isolt, oh! amie,
Hom ke ben aime tart oublie.

The simplicity and sincerity of that phrase—qui bien aime, tard oublie—has been justly admired. Yet it is a proverb (see Morawski, *Proverbes français*, no. 1835) and occurs in a British Museum manuscript (B) of the collection called *Proverbes en rimes*.⁶ In this collection a man is represented as taking leave of his wife. He bids her remain faithful to him:

Soyés vers moy franche et realle,
Car qui bien aime, tart oublie.

⁵ Thuasne, ed. *François Villon*, II, 80 "Cette locution [de Villon] paraît être une réminiscence d'un rondeau de Charles d'Orléans où, selon Schwob, le duc aurait eu en vue Villon. Le portrait encore que "grave et triste" semble ressemblant"

⁶ Published in *RR*, xxxi, 1940, 209 ff. See p. 215, stanza 76, l. 304.

Obviously, the setting in the two cases makes a vast difference. In the *Folie Tristan* there is first the lover's cry to Isolt, then the proverb, and after it the comparison of disloyal love to a spring of clear water that no longer flows. This is poetry, whereas the other text offers merely a pedestrian presentation of the commonplace.

Other instances might be added. An old proverb about beating a dog before a lion which appears in Chaucer has been ascribed to that poet's knowledge of the actual practices of animal trainers in his day.⁷ Not recognizing the proverb, "De fol juge, brefve sentence," a recent work draws the conclusion that the words "fol juge" in a certain farce are an "indication that this farce was played by *sots* of the Basoche."⁸ The same work qualifies Deschamps's line, "Dieux ne veult du pecheur la mort," as "a line worthy of Tartuffe" (p. 77, n. 17), although paraphrases of Ezekiel 33, 11 are commonplaces in the Middle Ages and many poets, including Rutebeuf, Jean de Meun, Charles d'Orléans, Christine de Pisan and Villon, echo this same thought in strikingly similar words.⁹ Again the effectiveness of Villon is evident. Rutebeuf says:

Mes Diex . . .
Ne veut pas que pechierres muire . . .

Jean de Meun puts it:

Diex qui ne vuelt que muire pechierres . . .

Villon, by applying the words to himself and by embedding them in the matrix of his own sins and penitence, gives them special poignancy:

Je suis pecheur, je le sçay bien;
Pourtant ne veult pas Dieu ma mort . . .

Enough has been said, perhaps, to fortify a plea that before "influences" and "originality" be posited, the wide-spread use of proverbs and sentences in medieval writings be remembered.

II

It may not be amiss to add another and complementary plea at this point, namely, that the medieval poet's recourse to adages and

⁷ See *MLN.*, LV, 1940, 481.

⁸ See *The Theatre of the Basoche*, by Howard Graham Harvey, p. 136, n. 46. For the proverb, see Le Roux de Lincy, *Le Livre des proverbes français*, Paris, 1859, II, 132.

⁹ Cf. Thuasne's ed. of Villon, II, 104.

the like be not judged by modern notions of stylistic distinction. Chaucer's typically abundant citation of proverbs has been ascribed more to his acquaintance with Deschamps and the writers of *fabliaux* than to his knowledge of the tenets of the rhetoricians, but, as Whiting says, "the mediaeval fondness for sententiousness is no more dependent on textbooks than the equally common predilection for citing authorities."¹⁰ It is part of the reverence for tradition. And this respect for codified wisdom remained of course throughout the Renaissance. The tendency then, as to some extent in our own day, was to cite, not the popular maxims of the folk, but Latin and other foreign tags. Erasmus's beliefs in the usefulness of Greek and Latin proverbs is apparent from the titles to some of the introductory sections of his *Adagia*: commendatio proverbiorum a dignitate; ad quot res utilis paroemiarum cognitio; ad persuadendum conducere proverbia.

However, the modern contempt for clichés and homely sayings of common currency also had its roots in the Renaissance, and flourished in the seventeenth century. Although John Lyly was addicted to the scholastic tradition of citing examples to prove his points, he made far more use of his learned knowledge of the ancients than of popular maxims.¹¹ Shakespeare's use of proverbs to characterize persons of Pistol's class needs no comment here. Ben Jonson's Captain Bobadill in *Every Man in His Humour* (1598) says of the plain Squire Downright (I, 5): "By his discourse, he should eate nothing but hay . . . He ha's not so much as a good phrase in his belly, but all old iron, and rustie prouerbes: a good commoditie for some smith, to make hob-nailes of." Similarly, Sir Thomas Overbury in his *Characters* (published 1614, but written earlier), describing a Dunce, writes: "His jests are either old fied proverbs, or lean-starved hackney apophthegms, or poor verbal quips, outworn by serving-men, tapsters and milkmaids, even laid aside by balladers." John Earle in his *Microcosmography* (1628) characterizes A Plain Country Fellow as follows: "He thinks nothing to be vices, but pride and ill-husbandry, . . . and has some thrifty hob-nail proverbs to clout his discourse," whereas Sir Thomas Browne in his *Pseudodoxia* (1646) remarks (I, 3)

¹⁰ B. J. Whiting, *Chaucer's Use of Proverbs*, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1934, p. 19.

¹¹ Cf. Feullerat, *John Lyly*, Cambridge, 1910, 413-16.

that to the people, "being unable to wield the intellectuall arms of reason," "proverbs [are] more powerful than demonstrations."¹²

In France a similar attitude obtains. It is asserted, for example, in *Les Lous de la galanterie* (1658 or 1660): "Vous vous garderez surtout d'user de proverbes et de quolibets, si ce n'est aux endroits où il y a moyen d'en faire quelque raillerie à propos. Si vous vous en serviez autrement, ce seroit parler en bourgeois et en langages des halles,"¹³ and when Philaminte is complaining to her husband of the speech of the servant, Martine, in *Les Femmes savantes* (first played 1672, *privilege* of 1670), she accuses her of using (Act II, scene 7):

un barbare amas de vices d'oraison,
De mots estropiés, cousus par intervalles,
De proverbes traînés dans les ruisseaux des Halles.

In these instances there is of course an attack upon preciosity, and the authors imply their disapproval of its pretentiousness. Nevertheless the association of proverbs with the lower classes is clear, and we are well on the way to Lord Chesterfield's advice to his son (1741): "A man of fashion never has recourse to proverbs and vulgar aphorisms."¹⁴

Something more than class distinctions and class consciousness was involved here, however, and I suspect something more than medieval love of tradition was involved in the earlier fondness for the sententious phrases of the folk. One may perhaps hazard the conjecture that whenever and for whatever cause the emphasis in literature is primarily upon novelty and originality of expression—whether we call this trend euphuism, preciosity, gongorism, imagism or something else (and different as these movements may be in themselves)—then proverbs and like homely commonplaces will be pilloried. In the vernacular literature of the Middle Ages, *per contra*, with a few exceptions of which the troubadours are the

¹² For the quotation from Jonson see the ed. of Herford and Simpson, Oxford, 1927, III, 320. The citations from Overbury and Earle appear in Henry Morley's *Character Writings of the Seventeenth Century*, 1891, pp. 44 and 183 respectively, whereas that from Browne is in G. Keynes's ed. (1928), II, 26. For these references I am indebted to the kindness and learning of Dr. Walter E. Houghton, Jr.

¹³ Cited in the *Grands Ecrivains* ed. of Molière, IX, p. 101, n. 4.

¹⁴ Cited in *The Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs*, Oxford, 1935, p. xviii.

most notable—their *trobar clus* is of course a forerunner of later types of preciousness¹⁵—matter was more important than manner; instruction or diversion of the folk was the end; means to that end, especially so long as literature was heard rather than read, had necessarily to be simple, forthright and readily intelligible. Proverbs at such a time admirably and obviously served many purposes.

With the development of printing, however, literature no longer was largely oral and its enjoyment in written form was not limited to a relatively few persons; now the minutiae of stylistic distinction would not be lost, but could be savoured and re-savoured in written form.¹⁶ When authors consciously endeavored to give the vernacular equal standing with Latin as a recognized literary language or when they appealed deliberately to a restricted group or social class, then new incentives were given to the cultivation of subtleties of form. In such circumstances proverbial expressions would be scornfully rejected.

But it is evident that in the earlier Middle Ages these conditions did not obtain. The *chanson de geste*, the *roman courtois*, the *dit*, the religious drama and the farce could unblushingly cultivate ready-made axioms, and did. In the sophisticated lyrics of the fifteenth century, where a more critical attitude toward clichés might be expected, proverbs nevertheless continued to enjoy a great vogue. poems *à forme fixe* delighted in their use as refrains since they served to give the poet's thought and expression a pithy filip. But it is obvious that the attitude toward them (as in the

¹⁵ Elisha K. Kane (*Gongorism and the Golden Age*, Chapel Hill, 1928, p. 136) saw the connection between *trobar clus* and gongorism, but did not consider proverbs in relation to either. His attempts (128 ff.) to explain the genesis of artificial and bizarre effects in various literatures can not be discussed here, nor can Feuillerat's suggestion in his *John Lyly* (p. 460, n. 2) that "le langage des Précieuses, le Marinisme, le Gongorisme" are the results of an "effort pour améliorer l'idiome national." Interest in novelty for its own sake need not lead to excesses—though it often does—but the reasons for this interest vary at different times and no one formula can adequately account for it.

¹⁶ Contrast the conditions obtaining in the aristocratic lyric and the more plebeian farce. It is obvious that the many elaborate manuscripts of the words and music of the troubadours and trouvères enabled wealthy amateurs to enjoy the felicities of their verbal and musical dexterity. The farces, on the other hand, which are often mosaics of maxims, were almost entirely dependent before the days of printing on oral presentation.

still later *Proverbes dramatiques*) no longer reflects the old, artless reliance upon their uncontested wisdom. Frequently they serve merely as a device to be juggled with, a plaything for deft manipulation, and the poet obviously is little concerned with their truth.

From this point of view it would seem that the "history of the use and disuse of proverbs" involves something other than "a progression from the concrete to the abstract."¹⁷ It involves, besides, a shift from respect for tradition, a shift from willingness to make use of current expressions in order to facilitate the tasks of preaching, teaching and entertaining the commonalty—a shift from these to emphasis for various reasons, upon creative originality of thought and novelty of form. In any case recognition of the sanction given the prevalence of proverbs throughout the Middle Ages will be helpful in the interpretation of medieval literature. If we realize that certain classical and modern taboos did not obtain then, that literary conventions have changed, and that the sins of today may indeed have been the virtues of yesterday, then our interpretations will be tempered accordingly and our understanding correspondingly enriched.

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A PERSIAN THEME IN THE ROMAN DE RENARD

Branch XXIV of the *Roman de Renard*, composed probably toward the middle of the thirteenth century,¹ is known chiefly for the following picturesque episode:²

After Adam and Eve have been driven from Paradise, God takes pity on them. To render their hard life a little easier, he gives them a rod: by striking the sea with it, they will be able to obtain whatever they may require. Adam follows the directions given him, and on striking the sea, he obtains the sheep, which he turns over to his wife. Then, wishing to imitate her husband, Eve takes the rod and strikes the sea a violent blow. Immediately a wolf leaps forth and seizes the sheep to Eve's horror and dismay. Adam, by striking the sea again, creates the dog, which promptly

¹⁷ J. E. Haseltine in *The Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs*, p. xii

¹ Lucien Foulet, *Le Roman de Renard*, Paris, 1914, p. 96.

² Ed. Martin, II (Strasbourg, 1885), pp. 336-38; cf. Foulet, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 f.; 482 f.

runs after the wolf and rescues the sheep. In this way our first parents continue using their rod, Adam creating the domestic and useful animals, Eve the wild and harmful ones, among them the clever fox,—which explains the insertion of this story in the epic of Reynard the Fox.

Commenting on this story, Gaston Paris³ expressed himself as follows:

Cette histoire, que le poète dit empruntée à un livre appelé *Aucupre*, est fort singulière et bien probablement d'origine manichéenne; la femme y est considérée comme l'être malfaisant par excellence et la cause de tout mal dans le monde. . . .

He then drew attention to the existence of our tale, in several variants, in Modern Provence, and he raised the question whether it may not be a heritage from the times of the Albigensians. As a matter of fact, a literary Provençal story, though resting no doubt upon a popular basis, stands rather close to the mediaeval episode which was the starting point of our inquiry:⁴

God gives Adam a hazel-rod with the instruction to strike with it whenever he will be in need of something useful; but Eve is strictly forbidden to handle the rod. As she insists on seizing it, Adam gives her a good blow on the back, and immediately a fine sheep appears. Adam then hides the rod; but Eve is not long in finding it; she strikes the ground, and an enormous wolf appears, which runs after the sheep. Eve cries for help; Adam picks up the rod which she had dropped and gives her another blow. Thereupon a dog is seen running after the wolf and rescuing the sheep from his clutches.

A variant of the tale, less misogynic in tendency, is told to this day in Brittany:⁵

Jesus Christ, wandering once through Brittany with S. Peter, rewarded a poor peasant woman with a cow which He had created by striking her staff on the cottage hearth and mumbling some Latin words. No sooner have the strangers departed than the old woman, eager to have a second cow, strikes the hearth in her turn, but violently, and uttering some words which she perhaps believed were Latin. Immediately an enormous wolf appears, who strangles the cow on the spot. The poor woman then runs after the strangers, reporting her misfortune but forgetting to tell the

³ *Journal des Savants*, 1894, p. 606, n. 3.

⁴ J. Roumanille, *Li conte provençau*, Avignon, 1889, pp. 1 ff.; cf. Paul Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France*, Paris, 1904-1907, III, 4.

⁵ F.-M. Luzel, *Contes bretons*, Quimperlé, 1870, pp. 59 ff.; *Légendes chrétiennes de la Basse-Bretagne*, Paris, 1881, I, 4 ff.; Paul Sébillot, *Contes des provinces de France*, Paris, 1920, pp. 209 ff.

manner in which the wolf had appeared in the first place. Jesus has pity on her and restores her cow, admonishing her, however, to be henceforth content with what God has given her.

To the same group of stories belongs a Santal variant reading as follows: ⁶

Chanda once went into the hills to fashion a plough out of a log of wood. As he tarried long, his wife at home grew impatient; she made some mosquitos, which she sent after him to worry him and drive him home. But Chanda made some dragon flies who ate up the mosquitos. Thereupon his wife continued to create other noxious animals for the same purpose; but her husband countered by creating others which promptly destroyed them. At last she made a tiger and sent it to frighten him home; but Chanda created dogs out of chips from the log he was cutting, and they drove the tiger away.

The strange misogynism which runs through these stories has not escaped the critics, ⁷ but whether this is an original feature may well be doubted. At the basis of the theme lies a dualistic conception of the creation of animals which is bound to have other analogues.

According to a Finnish story, Jumala created man and, with a certain amount of pride, showed his master-piece to the Devil. Thereupon the latter conceived a desire to create something still more curious, and he produced the mouse. Then Jumala created the cat which destroys mice. ⁸

Similarly, in a Czech tradition the Devil created the mouse so that it might destroy man's wheat; but God made the cat to destroy the creature of the Devil. ⁹

To return to France, oral Breton tradition has preserved entire lists of animals created by God and of such as owe their origin to the Devil. Thus the horse, the cow, the sheep, the dog, the hen, the pigeon, the swallow and the bee are God's creatures, while the

⁶ C. H. Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, London, 1909, p. 404.

⁷ Paris, *loc. cit.*; J. Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, Paris, 1895, p. 362; Martin, *Observations sur le Roman de Renart*, Strasbourg et Paris, 1887, p. 96.

⁸ K. Krohn, *Suomalaisia kansansatuja*, I (Helsinki, 1886), No. 280; Russian translation in *Živaja Starina*, V (St. Petersburg, 1895), p. 446; cf. Dähnhardt, *op. cit.*, I, 166.

⁹ J. V. Grohmann, *Aberglauben und Gebrauche aus Böhmen und Mähren*, I (Prag u. Leipzig, 1864), No. 1683; B. O. Tufnell, *Folk-Lore*, xxxv (1924), p. 30; Dähnhardt, I, 166.

donkey, the goat, the wolf, the fox, the raven, the magpie, the jay, the bat and the wasp are creatures of the Evil One.¹⁰

It is clear that the episode of the mediaeval French beast epic which has been the starting point of this study is based on the same idea, except that Adam has taken the place of the good Creator, Eve that of the Devil. We are thus led to enquire into the origin of the basic theme, which is assuredly not biblical.

The division of the animal kingdom into 'good' and 'evil' creatures is a peculiar tenet of the religion founded in Persia by Zarathustra. There, too, Ormuzd, the good god, creates the dog; his evil counter-part, Ahriman, the wolf. In the same way Ormuzd makes all useful animals: the rooster, the starling, the boar, the gazelle, the hedgehog, the beaver, etc., Ahriman all noxious animals such as snakes, scorpions, lizards, toads, ants, mosquitoes, etc.¹¹ Ormuzd creates the hunting hawk, Ahriman the peacock (which is widely believed to have the 'evil eye'). Accordingly, in the belief of the Parsees, killing the Ahrimanic creatures, the *Khrashtas*, is killing Ahriman himself, and sin may be atoned for by this means, whereas killing an Ormuzdean animal is an abomination; it is killing God himself.¹² Thus the Iranian origin of the basic dualistic scheme cannot be doubted. But are we to suppose that the substitution of the woman for the Devil took place independently in Western Europe and among the Santals of India? Misogyny being well-nigh universal—it is found even among the pre-Columbian Indians—,¹³ the possibility of such a development must be frankly admitted; but it is hardly more than a possibility. On the whole it is far more likely that the substitution took place long before the story set out on its migration east and west.

How is this migration itself to be explained? That the tale should have reached the Santals of India is little surprising in view of the Parsee migration to India after the Mohammedan con-

¹⁰ G. Le Calvez, *Revue des Traditions populaires*, I (1886), pp. 202 f.; Dähnhardt, I, 164 f.

¹¹ Fr. Spiegel, *Eränsche Alterthumskunde*, II (Leipzig, 1873), pp. 124, 144 f.; J. Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, Paris, 1877, pp. 278 ff.

¹² *The Zend-Avesta*, part I: *The Vendidad*, translated by J. Darmesteter, Oxford, 1880 (*The Sacred Books of the East* IV), p. lxxiii; *Ormazd et Ahriman*, pp. 283 ff.

¹³ The matter has received some discussion in my book *La Genèse des Mythes*, Paris, 1938, pp. 295 ff.

quest of Iran in the seventh century. But how did it reach Europe and the West? Here it must be remembered that the Persian national religion has left a deep impress upon certain Christian sects, generally known as Manichæan: the Paulicians in Armenia, their offshoot, the Bogumils, in the Balkans and, above all, the Albigensians in Southern France. In the dogma of these sects the Devil took the place of the Persian Ahriman and, like Ahriman, assumed the rôle of a creator god, the creator of all noxious animals, poisonous plants, etc. To this must be added the significant fact that a number of these sects held profoundly misogynic views which went so far as to declare woman herself as a creature of the Devil and to prohibit altogether the union of the sexes, whether in marriage or out of it.¹⁴ It would then seem likely, as Gaston Paris pointed out, that our story was diffused in the West with other items of Manichæan religious propaganda, certainly prior to the thirteenth century.¹⁵

This may explain still another rather striking feature. Misogyny, as is well known, was rampant in the Middle Ages, and merry tales driving home the lesson abound everywhere. Yet the number of variants of our story is surprisingly small, and one cannot help suspecting that the orthodox clergy, knowing its provenance, discouraged its diffusion.

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Dans son édition de *L'Histoire de Gille de Chyn* (Northwestern Studies in the Humanities, n° 7, 1941) M. E. B. Place commente

¹⁴ Dahnhardt, I, 92; A. Strauss, *Die Bulgaren*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 45 ff; S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire*, London, 1930, p. 194; J. A. MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable*, Boston [1932], pp. 213, 224.

¹⁵ Gaston Paris (*loc. cit.*) was reminded of 'plus d'un récit bulgare,' and he added "l'on sait que les Bulgares ont propagé l'hérésie manichéenne." It is quite true that Bulgarian folk-lore abounds in dualistic creation legends (cf., for example, Lydia Schischmanoff, *Légendes religieuses bulgares*, Paris, 1896, *passim*). No exact replica of our theme is found, however, in such Bulgarian collections as give the originals in French, English, or German translation.

ainsi le mot *esmarve* du vers 3496 (. . . *tote en fu esmarve* [:cave]
La roine de la nouvele) :

Probably a metathesized form of *esmaivre* (*esmaivre*), 'cold like marble, frozen with fear' (Godefroy)? For the probability that *-r-* was silent, see Pope 396 (Effacement of preconsonantal *r*)

Reiffenberg avait expliqué le mot dans son édition de *L'Histoire*: "pour *esmarie*, *esmaie*, *esmervillée*, étonné, frappé de surprise" et Godefroy explique ce hapax par les mots: "comme *esmari*." M. Place semble avoir combiné le *esmarve* isolé avec les articles de Godefroy *esma(r)bre* 'froid comme le marbre, glacé de terreur,' attestant plusieurs fois des phrases du type *de paour a le cuer esmaivre* (*De l'Unicorne*), et *esmarbré* (hapax de sens identique), peut-être aussi avec l'article *marbrer* 'devenir de marbre, se glacer' (hapax attesté dans le texte *De l'Unicorne* que nous venons de citer: *tes paour ai, li cuers li mabre*).

J'adopterais l'identification de *esmarve* avec *esmarbre* implicite dans le commentaire de M. Place, sans me rallier à son étymologie, qui, en somme, doit avoir aussi inspiré la traduction de Godefroy 'froid comme le marbre.' Si je peux bien m'imaginer un *marbrer* 'laisser sur la peau les marques de contusions' et, d'après Mosemiller (*Rev. d. dial. rom.* I, 423), un berrichon *mabrir* 'meurtrir' (*cette pêche est mabrie*), qui correspondent à l'image des veinures du marbre, je ne puis accepter un *(*es*)*marbrer* 'pétrifier' —puisque'un a. fr. *(*es*)*pierrer* 'pétrifier' n'existe pas au sens de l'all. *versteinert*—bien qu'on ait dit en a. fr. *si quers li amortid cume pierre* (God. s. v. *amortir*): un **espierrer*, s'il avait existé, aurait été le contraire d'un *empierrer* 'couvrir de pierres' (esp. *empedrar*). De plus, je ne vois pas de possibilité phonétique pour expliquer le *-v-* de la forme *esmarve*: *marbre* ne connaît que le *-b-* comme 'consonne de transition.'

La traduction de Godefroy nous a menés sur une mauvaise piste étymologique; il faut rebrousser chemin et écarter le 'marbre,' sans écarter le glacement par la terreur—or, il y a un autre froid qui glace et épouvante, c'est celui de la mort. Et c'est précisément un radical **marv-* 'mort' (avec *-v-*, qui peut aisément évoluer vers *-b-* après *r*, cf. *corvus* > *corbeau*) qui est à la base de ce gaulois **marvos* (= cymr. *marv* etc.) que M. Jud a reconstruit (*Rom.*, XLVI, 465) pour l'engadin. *marv* 'transi de froid' et le prov. *márfi -e* 'id.' Le REW, n° 5387a accepte cette étymologie, tout en

demandant comment s'expliquerait le -f- des formes provençales : un **marvos*, s'il a existé aussi en a. fr., devrait évidemment donner un masc. a. fr. **marf*, fém. **marve*, formes que M. Jud ne doit pas avoir trouvées dans ses matériaux. Or un féminin *marve* a été reconnu par M. von Wartburg *ZRPh* LVI, 670 en France septentrionale dans le nom de rivières intermittentes comme *La Marve*, *Les Marvottes*, qui auront signifié à l'origine 'rivière morte' (cf. en outre du parallèle *eau-morte* donné par v. Wartburg, le nom de la ville méridionale *Aigues-Mortes* et ce *gutta mortua* opposé à *gutta viva* attesté dans le Cartulaire de Cluny, avec *gutta* au sens de 'torrent, ravine,' v. Jud, *Vox roman.* II, 21). Le masc. **marf*, inattesté jusqu'ici, a peut-être laissé une trace dans les formes provençales (qui ont inquiété Meyer-Lübke) — si nous les considérons comme des emprunts au français.

Je n'hésite pas à joindre notre *esmarve* à la même famille de mots : le sens aura été 'mort' 'glacé' > 'terrifié' > 'surpris' (cf. la phrase a. fr. *quers . . . amurtid cume pierre*¹), développement parallèle à 'mort de froid' = 'glacé, transi de froid'; il s'agit d'un adjectif postverbal (cf. a. fr. *delivre*, *ferme*) tiré d'un verbe **esmarver* ou **esmarvir*. Quant à la forme *esmarbre* (*marbrer*, *esmarbré*), elle est la variante à -rb-, possible d'après ce que j'ai dit plus haut, avec insertion d'un -r- comme dans a. fr. *tristre*, *celestre* etc. Le berrichon *mabvr*, expliqué par M. Mosemiller comme représentant de *marbre*, peut aussi être notre **márvos* (sans l'insertion du -r- après le -b-) — puisque le verbe prov. *marfi* signifie aussi 'flétrir, mortifier, macérer, chiffonner' (pour la disparition du -r- cf. notre *esmarve* en rime avec *cave*).

Les découvertes scientifiques mettent du temps à mûrir leurs fruits : en 1920 M. Jud lança son étymon **marvos*, en ne se basant que sur le rétoroman et le prov. ; en 1936, M. v. Wartburg l'attesta dans la toponomastique de France ; voilà maintenant un authentique représentant ancien français !

LEO SPITZER

¹ Cf. le passage de Paré cité par Littré s. v. *amortir* qui réunit la surprise et le 'glacement' :

Quelques fois on trouve les vipères si surprises de froid qu'elles demeurent toutes *amorties* et immobiles, comme si elles estoient gelées.

GERMAIN COLIN BUCHER AND THE STROZZI

In an earlier communication the present writer has pointed out that fifty of the poems of Colin Bucher published by Joseph Denais are hardly more than pleasing translations from the *Erotopaegnion* of Girolamo Angeriano.¹ To these borrowings may here be added a much smaller number taken by Colin from another well-known neo-Latin book, the poems of Tito Vespasiano Strozzi (†1505) and his son Ercole (†1508). The *Strozzi Poetae Pater et Filius* was first published by Aldus at Venice in 1513, and was several times reprinted in the course of the sixteenth century.² The kind of material that Colin was looking for—short poems of amatory content—plays no very great part in the verses of either Strozzi, and hence his draught upon them could not in any case be so large as his draught upon Angeriano whose whole book has precisely this character. Of the eight pieces that he owes to them, seven are from the poems of the son.

The resulting French poems are mostly non-stanzaic and in a regular ten-syllable metre. Once, however, Colin turns his Latin source into a rondeau, and since the experiment is not uninteresting we may make this our justificatory example of his debt to the Strozzi. If I am not mistaken, rondeaux upon classical or neo-Latin subjects are something of a rarity, since the rondeau was on its way out just as the humanist themes were coming in. Ercole Strozzi's epigram is addressed to Lucrezia Borgia:

Any one who tries to look too long at the rays of the sun will be blinded; and he who gazed on the face of petrifying Medusa was transformed into rigid marble: but whoever admires thy face, Lady Borgia, becomes with the first look blind and then a stone, and presently like the tearful crag of Syphilus he weeps and (who would think it?) even in the rock still lives his mortal woe

Si quis Apollineos perferre diutius igneus
Lumine tentarit, lumine captus erit.
Et qui saxificae conspexerat ora Medusae,
Mutato rigidum corpore marmor erat:
At quicumque tuos miratur, Borgia, vultus,
Fit primo intuitu caecus et inde lapis,

¹ *MLN.* LVII (1942), 260 Denais, *Un Emule de Clément Marot: Les Poésies de Germain Colin Bucher*, Paris, 1890.

² My references are to the Paris edition of 1530.

Moxque velut Syphil cautes lachrymosa madescit,
Vivit et in saxo (quis putet?) usque dolor.

Colin reverses the first two distichs of the Latin, taking Medusa before the Sun:

A Gylon

Sus tous vivantz d'humaine geniture,
Meduse avoit une estrange nature
Et ung regard de terrible efficace,
Car en voyant sa reluysante face
Elle muoit les gens en pierre dure.

Le cler soleil aussy de sa figure
Faict esblour a tous la regardure;
Mais ta splendeur est encore l'outrepasse
Sus tous vivantz

Car qui bien voit ta vifve pourtraicture,
Il s'aveuglist de premiere attraicture,
Puis devient pierre en bien petit d'espace
Où douleur vit Dont viendrait tant de grace?
Fois que tu es parfaacte creature
Sus tous vivantz.

In the following index of Colin's borrowings from the Strozzi the first item is from an epigram by Tito Vespasiano, the rest from the epigrams of Ercole.

Amours alloit, armé (p. 95).
Combien qu'Amours (p. 99).
Cupido veit ung jour (p. 105).
Habites avecques toy (p. 116).
Quand Cupido cest (p. 129).
Si tu voulois (p. 130).
Tu me requers (p. 132).
Sus tous vivantz (p. 232).

Ibat Amor facibus (f. 253^r).
Parcite sopiti (f. 88^r).
Vidit Amor Lauram (f. 84^r).
Tecum habita (f. 88^v).
Dum Veneris puer (f. 92^r).
Si modo saviolum (f. 90^r).
Parva rogas, nostrae (f. 92^v).
Si quis Apollineos (f. 86^r).

JAMES HUTTON

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ENCORE LA "CABALE DE PHÈDRE": LEIBNIZ DU MAUVAIS CÔTÉ?

On sait combien ce grand philosophe, durant les années qu'il passa à Paris (de mars 1672 à octobre 1676, avec un voyage à Londres au cours de ce séjour), se familiarisa avec les mérites d'une civilisation qu'il s'agissait de faire apprécier à son propre pays.

Aussi, de retour en Allemagne, bibliothécaire du duc de Hanovre, Leibniz avait-il tenu à conserver à Paris des relations utiles: non seulement les personnages importants dont il se hâte de faire état dans sa lettre-programme au duc, mais des informateurs intellectuels (parmi lesquels Henri Justel, sur qui, ces dernières années, ont porté diverses recherches). L'entourage immédiat de Colbert, la jeune Académie des Sciences tiennent évidemment le premier rang parmi ces relations, cultivées en partie au bénéfice des mathématiques supérieures et des sciences appliquées au négoce et à la vie pratique.

Que valait, parmi ces intellectuels de fondation ou de rencontre, Frédéric Adolphe Hansen? C'était un Danois qui, chargé du préceptorat et sans doute de la conduite de trois jeunes nobles de son pays,¹ installé avec eux à l'hôtel de la Ville de Saint-Quentin rue Garancière, profitait de l'occasion pour augmenter, en plein quartier latin, ses propres connaissances en même temps qu'il se frottait au bon ton de Paris. Ce Reynaldo au service de quelques Polonius inconnus est pénétré de reconnaissance et de ravissement, à l'idée de renseigner "une des lumières de l'Europe" sur les éphémérides mémorables de la capitale française; plus tard, à la suite d'un voyage fait à Londres, lui aussi, il publiera quelques notes scientifiques dans une Gazette de Hollande. Peut-être qu'entre des curiosités savantes et quelque snobisme, si l'on peut dire, Hansen n'a pas perfectionné son goût littéraire à l'avenant. De l'orthographe, il serait bien peu élégant de lui demander compte. Sa première lettre à Leibniz, datée du 2/12 février 1617, débute par des nouvelles variées, puis, vers la fin, aborde l'actualité littéraire la plus brûlante, en se mettant, on va le voir, du côté des "cabalistes" de l'hôtel de Bouillon, comme si cela allait de soi.

Pour la Galanterie c'est toujours comme à l'ordinaire, il s'y fait plus de meschant livres que de bons: néanmoins deux Poètes, dont l'un est Racine, qui vous est bien connu, et l'autre Pradon, qui avoit ci-devant fait jouer Pyrame et Thisbe à l'hôtel de Bourgogne, et qui eut beaucoup d'approbation pour une première ces deux poètes, dis-je, ont travaillé sur le même sujet, qui est Phœdre et Hyppolite, mais le dernière l'emporte sur Racine, quoique celui-ci fasse représenter sa pièce à l'hôtel où sont les meilleurs acteurs, et celle de Pradon se joue à l'hôtel de Guenegaud, et même les meilleurs acteurs de la troupe ne paroissent point sur le theatre. . .

¹ Son nom ne se trouve point parmi les innombrables Hansen du *Dansk biografisk Leksikon*. Nulle indication dans Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.

Nulle allusion à la location de la salle Guénégaud, assez voisine pourtant du gîte de notre épistolier; visiblement, il est plutôt le fidèle rapporteur d'une opinion toute faite que le témoin auriculaire de l'une et l'autre pièce. et faut-il que la tragédie de Racine, "qui vous est bien connu,"² soit inférieure à celle de Pradon, pour qu'en dépit d'une figuration inférieure, le protégé du duc de Nevers et de sa sœur ait si nettement l'avantage!³

Le 1er mars 1677, Hansen envoie à son illustre correspondant deux sonnets sur les mêmes rimes, l'un à Tircis, l'autre à Iris (réponse au premier), et il ajoute: "Je vous enverrai lundi prochain La critique avec la R[éponse] touchant Phaedre et Hypolite de Mr Racine."

Huit jours plus tard en effet, sans faute, avec l'annonce de la mise en vente de la brochure chez Barbin, le rapporteur s'exécute: et il semble bien que son parti-pris déclaré ait privé la bibliothèque ducal d'une première édition qui, dans l'intervalle, aurait pris une certaine plus-value:

On acheva samedi passé Phœdre et Hyppolite de Mr Racine, il n'y en a, ce me semble, que sept feuilles, et le prix est un escu blanc, je permettrai bien que les autres payent la folle enchere, je l'aurai à l'avenir pour un prix plus proportionné. Je vous envoie presentement la critique du D. d. N. et la réponse, dont je vous ai parlé dans ma dernière.

Dans un fauteuil d'oré Phœdre tremblant, et bleme,
dit des vers où d'abord personne n'entend rien,
Sa nourrice lui fait un sermon fort Chretien
Contre l'affreux dessein d'attenter sur soismême.
Hyppolite la hait presque autant qu'elle l'aime,
Rien ne trouble son air ni son chaste maintien.
La nourrice l'accuse, et s'en punit bien.
Thesée a pour son fils, une rigueur extreme
Une grosse Arrisie au teint rouge, au crin blond,
N'est la que pour montrer deux enormes tettons,
Que malgre sa froideur Hyppolite idolatre.
Il meurt enfin traîné par ses chevaux ingrats,
Et Phœdre apres avoir pris la mort aux rats,
Vient en se confessant mourir sur le theatre.

Allgemeiner politischer und historischer Briefwechsel. Darmstadt, 1927, tome II, à quoi ces textes sont empruntés.

² L'hypothèse d'une rencontre personnelle chez Colbert, ou même dans un milieu janséniste, ne saurait être tout à fait exclue. Cependant il semble bien s'agir plutôt de la notoriété de l'auteur d'*Andromaque*.

³ Cf. H. C. Lancaster, *French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, Part IV, pp. 110-126, et son discours à la réunion de la MLAA à La Nouvelle-Orléans, reproduit dans *Adventures of a literary Historian*,

R.

Dans un Palais d'oré Damon, jaloux, et bleme,
 Fait des vers où jamais personne n'entend rien,
 Il n'est ni Courtisan, ni Guerrier, ni Chrestien,
 Et souvent pour rimer il se derobbe a soimême.
 Hippomene le hait beaucoup plus qu'il ne l'aime
 Il a d'un franc Poete l'air et le maintien
 Il veut juger de tout, et n'en juge pas bien,
 Il a pour le Phoebus une tendresse extreme.
 Une sœur vagabonde au crin plus noir que blond
 Va par tout l'univers promener deux tettons,
 Dont, malgre son pays, Damon est Idolatre
 Il se tue à rimer pour des lecteurs ingrats,
 L'Eneide pour lui est la mort aux rats,
 Et Pradon à son goût est le Dieu du Theatre.

Ces deux sonnets sont bien connus: ⁴ encore ont-ils, sous la plume maladroite du précepteur et avec ses graphies fantaisistes, une saveur assez corsée, et l'actrice visée, la grosse d'Hennebaut, faisant place, dans les bouts-rimés des partisans de Racine, à l'autoritaire Marie-Anne Mancini, duchesse de Bouillon, de qui son frère, le précieux duc de Nevers, passait pour être l'attentif, est plaisamment burlesque. On comprend qu'il y ait eu de l'irritation à l'hôtel de Bouillon, mais Hansen n'en parle pas. Il se contente d'annoncer, le 30 avril 1677, l'envoi de "la Dissertation ou critique qu'on a fait sur les Tragedies de Phoedre et Hyppolyte": ceci parmi des nouvelles d'Olivier, qui travaille mollement à la fameuse machine à calculer de Leibniz, ou des mentions d'Huet, du *Mercurie galant*, et de Colletet. Il semble bien que la préciosité qui se survit à elle-même l'intéresse plus que le "grand style" . . .

Et c'est, pour le fond d'une grave question de biographie racinienne, une présomption à défaut d'un argument. La mauvaise humeur, allant jusqu'au découragement, dont Boileau tentait de guérir son ami à ce moment, sa décision chagrine de renoncer au théâtre, semblent vraiment s'expliquer bien plus par l'inintelligente partialité de ces "marquis" à l'inguérissable mauvais goût, que pour les raisons de scrupule religieux si souvent alléguées.

FERNAND BALDENSPERGER

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⁴ Cf. G. Mongrédien. Une vieille querelle. Racine et Pradon (*Revue bleue*, 15 janvier 1921, p. 52). On trouvera dans cet article la plupart des leçons mal transcrites par notre Danois.

UNE CLEF DE SAINT-EVREMOND DANS UNE LETTRE
INÉDITE DE L'ABBÉ DE SAINT-PIERRE

Dans le deuxième volume des *Œuvres de Monsieur de Saint-Evremond*, éditées par Desmaizeaux, on trouve un morceau intitulé : *Idée de la femme qui ne se trouve point, et qui ne se trouvera jamais*. C'est le portrait physique, intellectuel et moral d'Emilie, chez qui l'auteur a découvert les agréments et les mérites qui constituent pour lui la véritable perfection féminine : beauté régulière des traits, aisance gracieuse des gestes, justesse d'esprit et de propos, égalité d'humeur, vertu souriante, dévotion qui couronne sans les contrarier les obligations familiales et sociales. Ce portrait n'est-il qu'un jeu de l'imagination, ou bien aurait-il été dessiné d'après quelque modèle ? La solution de ce petit problème se trouve dans une lettre inédite de l'abbé de Saint-Pierre à Desmaizeaux, conservée au British Museum (Additional Mss. 4287, fol. 166) que nous reproduisons ici, avec ses particularités d'orthographe.

à Paris au Palais Royal
22 novembre 1729

J'ai lu avec beaucoup de plaisir, Monsieur, les ouvrages de feu M. de St-Evremond de l'édition dont vous avez pris soin.¹ Comme je suis de ses parens² vous avez un titre pour attendre de moi plus de reconnaissance que des autres lecteurs

Je vous dirai même à cette occasion une petite anecdote sur le petit ouvrage qui dans ses ouvrages a pour titre *Idée de la femme qui ne se trouve point*. Je l'ai vu en manuscrit en 1679 chez feu madame la marquise de Sebeville, sœur de ma mère,³ morte quinze ans auparavant. Il avoit alors pour titre *Portrait d'Emilie*. Elle me dit que M de St-Evremond l'avoit fait pour ma mère dans le tems qu'il venoit passer quelques semaines à Saint Pierre⁴ en sortant de Sebeville.

¹ Desmaizeaux avait publié, en collaboration avec Pierre Silvestre, une édition des *Œuvres mêlées* de Saint-Evremond (Londres, 1705, 2 vol., in-4). Enrichie ensuite d'additions, et d'une biographie de l'auteur en 1709, cette publication avait eu une quatrième édition à Amsterdam (5 vol., in-12) en 1726.

² Il s'agit d'une parenté éloignée. La mère de Saint-Evremond, Charlotte de Rouville, descendait par son père, Jacques de Rouville, d'une famille à laquelle était allié Richard Castel, bisaïeul de l'abbé.

³ Madeleine Gigault de Bellefonds, née en 1626, avait épousé en 1642 Charles Castel, baron de Saint-Pierre; elle mourut le 2 juin 1664.

⁴ Manoir familial situé à une courte distance du bourg de Saint Pierre l'Eglise.

Je ne vous aurois rien dit de ceci si je n'avois pas imaginé en relisant l'autre jour quelque chose de ses ouviages que vous pourriés aussi faire imprimer à Londres quelques uns de mes ouvrages * et en faire ainsi part à la nation angloise à laquelle nous devons beaucoup de bons ouvrages Madame la Comtesse de Sandwich * a bien voulu s'en charger Si vous approuvez mon dessein je vous en enverrai encore d'autres Je ne demande au libraire qu'un exemplaire

J'ai l'honneur d'être Monsieur votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

L'abbé de Saint Pierre

G. BONNO

University of California

UNE LETTRE INÉDITE DE CONDORCET À JEAN-ROBERT TRONCHIN

Le manuscrit de la lettre qui suit se trouve à la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève, au fonds Tronchin, A. 87, No. 76, pages 285-288. Le Genevois Jean-Robert Tronchin (1702-1788), à qui elle est adressée, était fermier général à Paris depuis 1762. C'est lui qui fut le banquier du cardinal de Tencin, et à partir de 1754, de Voltaire.

Le père et l'oncle de Jean-Robert Tronchin avaient été les chefs des aristocrates qui ôtèrent au Conseil Général de Genève toute initiative en matière de législation, transformèrent le gouvernement démocratique de la République en une oligarchie et semèrent les germes des troubles civils dont Genève fut agitée jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle. Les Tronchin contemporains de Jean-Robert luttèrent leur vie durant pour maintenir et affermir les avantages conquis par la génération précédente. Comme la réponse de Condorcet le montre, Jean-Robert Tronchin servait à l'étranger la cause des patriciens et saisisait les occasions, bonnes ou mauvaises, de travailler à Paris l'opinion publique en leur faveur.

* L'abbé de Saint-Pierre préparait alors l'édition de ses *Œuvres diverses* qui parut à Paris, chez Briasson (2 vol. in-12) en 1730. Le projet d'une édition anglaise de ses œuvres, auquel il fait ici allusion, ne s'est pas réalisé.

* La comtesse de Sandwich, veuve d'un ancien partisan de Jacques II, tenait à Paris un salon où fréquentaient les Jacobites réfugiés en France.

Avant l'insurrection victorieuse de décembre 1792, les principaux soulèvements de la bourgeoisie pour recouvrer ses droits eurent lieu en 1707, en 1738, en 1766 (à la suite de la condamnation des ouvrages de Rousseau) et en 1782. Chaque fois, l'oligarchie au pouvoir obtint l'intervention militaire des trois puissances garantes, la France, Berne et Zurich, auxquelles la Sardaigne se joignit en 1782. En juin de cette année, six mille Français sous le marquis de Jaucourt, trois mille Piémontais sous le comte de la Marmora et deux mille Bernois sous le général Lentulus s'avancèrent jusqu'aux murs de Genève et menacèrent de détruire la ville avec leur artillerie. Les portes des remparts leur furent ouvertes le 2 juillet 1782 et la domination de l'aristocratie se trouva rétablie, sous la protection d'une garnison étrangère qui ne partit qu'en mai 1784.

Le marquis de Condorcet était alors dans le plein élan de sa période de propagande politique, qui commence vers 1776.

Notons que ses théories sur le gouvernement populaire furent accueillies avec plus d'indulgence sous l'Ancien Régime que sous la Terreur : la même ardeur dialectique dont cette lettre témoigne fut fatale à Condorcet en 1794. Les critiques qu'il fit de la Constitution de l'An I déplurent à Robespierre ; il fut poursuivi par le Comité de Salut public, et mourut dans la nuit qui suivit son arrestation (27 mars 1794), préférant, croit-on, le suicide à la guillotine.

[juillet 1782.]

Permettez-moi, Monsieur, de vous rappeler la promesse que vous m'avez faite de me donner une notice sur la vie de M. Tronchin.¹ Je serais fâché de ne pas pouvoir faire son éloge au mois de Novembre,² d'autant plus que suivant toute apparence cela le retarderait d'un an au moins.

J'ai reçu un livre *Constitutionnaire*, je vous en remercie, mais je ne

¹ Il s'agit du docteur Théodore Tronchin (1709-1781), devenu membre de l'Académie des Sciences en 1778.

² Condorcet prononça cet éloge le 16 novembre 1782. Voir les *Mémoires de Bachaumont* (Londres, John Adamson, 1783), XXI, 183-190 : "13 Novembre. Relation de la séance de l'académie royale des sciences, tenue aujourd'hui mercredi pour la rentrée publique d'après la St. Martin. . . . Une anecdote que nous ignorions, c'est la faveur rare de son admission à l'académie, dont il étoit exclu de droit par les circonstances. En effet, comme protestant il ne pouvoit être reçu au rang des académiciens ordinaires ; comme attaché à M. le duc d'Orléans, il n'avoit pas de qualité pour être classé parmi les associés étrangers. cependant le désir de la compagnie de le posséder dans son sein, fit passer par-dessus la règle, et il fut reçu en 1778."

J'ai pas lu, et j'attendrai pour le lire que geneve soit tranquille. J'ai vu avec douleur en parcourant ce livre qu'on y regrettait de n'avoir assassiné légalement que trois hommes en 1707, et cela m'a fait craindre pour 1782. J'ai été blessé aussi de voir que les magistrats devaient être autre chose que les commis du peuple J'avoue que je n'ai jamais rien imaginé de plus grand que d'être choisi par une nation pour veiller sur ses interets D'ailleurs cela n'est pas adroit M. hennin,³ commis de M. de vergennes,⁴ trouvera-t-il bon que les magistrats de geneve ne veuillent pas être commis⁵ francklin, vasingthon, laurence sont les commis des planteurs d'amérique, et les membres du Senat britannique sont commis d'un bourg ou d'une comté! Tous ces gens-là trouveront vos magistrats bien fiers. On pourrait dire, si ce n'était pas une espece de blasphème, que M. le comte de Vergennes lui même, étant revocable à volonté, n'est que le commis du roi de france.

J'espere cependant que tout ira bien; M de Jaucourt⁶ établira dans geneve la paix et l'opera comique; ⁶ vos Dames et surtout vos Messieurs seront bientôt excédés de la galanterie française, savoiarde et suisse,⁷ et, si jamais il venait de nouvelles querelles, on fera lire en plein Conseil la fable du jardinier et son seigneur⁸ et tout s'apaisera

Ne pendez qu'aussi peu qu'il sera possible en conservant la dignité du petit Conseil,⁹ du roi de france, des illustres cantons, et du

³ Pierre Michel Hennin (1728-1807), résident français à Genève de 1766 à 1778, premier commis aux Affaires Etrangères de 1778 à 1782

⁴ Charles de Vergennes (1717-1787), ministre des Affaires Etrangères sous Louis XVI

⁵ Le marquis de Jaucourt commandait les troupes françaises.

⁶ Malgré les efforts de Voltaire, le théâtre restait interdit à Genève. En 1766, lorsque les troupes françaises vinrent au secours des magistrats genevois, le chevalier de Beauteville, qui commandait la garnison, exigea et obtint l'introduction d'une troupe de comédiens dans la ville. Mais dès le départ des troupes d'occupation, le Conseil ordonna aux comédiens de quitter Genève, et, dans la nuit du 29 au 30 janvier 1768, le théâtre, incendié par des inconnus, brûla sans que personne voulût y porter secours.

⁷ Genève, à cette époque-là, n'était pas suisse Elle n'entra dans la Confédération qu'en 1815 Au XVIII^e siècle, de même que Mulhouse, la République de Genève avait seulement un traité d'alliance avec Berne et Zurich.

⁸ La Fontaine, *Fables*, IV, 4.

⁹ Le Conseil Général, composé de la totalité des citoyens (environ 1500 membres), élisait le Grand Conseil (les Deux-Cents), puis, de ce nombre, le Conseil des Soixante, et, de ces derniers, le Petit Conseil, ou Conseil des Vingt-Cinq En principe, le Souverain était le Conseil Général, dont les Vingt-Cinq étaient les ministres. En réalité, les Vingt-Cinq avaient saisi le pouvoir Ainsi, le Conseil Général gardait bien le droit d'élire les trois Conseils; mais le Petit Conseil fournissait la liste des candidats: pour quatre postes vacants aux Vingt-Cinq, il donnait six noms.

bienheureux victor,¹⁰ afin que les gens qui ont de l'humanité puissent dire de nos soldats

qu' Ils ont tous fait en dépit de vos Saints
Plus de batards encore (*sic*) que d'orphelins ¹¹

Come il [est] foit question de démagogues dans le livre *Constitutionnaire*, j'ai cherché ce mot dans mon dictionnaire, il signifie *qui conduit le peuple*, ainsi voilà vos négatifs ¹² redevenus démagogues, et ne différant des autres qu'en ce que les expulsés conduisaient le peuple par des argumens, et que ceux-ci le conduiront entre deux rangs de baionettes francaises.

Pardonnez-moi, Monsieur, le faible que j'ai pour les gouvernemens démocratiques, pour ceux où règne l'égalité, et où tous les droits des hommes sont conservés. Ce gout n'est pas fondé sur des lumières fort étendues, mais il est absolument désintéressé; et je ne puis souffrir qu'on dise à une classe d'hommes quelconque qu'elle n'est pas digne de soutenir ses droits et de les exercer Si jamais je lis le livre *Constitutionnaire* je commenceraï par effacer l'épigraphe.

Agreez, je vous supplie, Monsieur, les assurances de mon attachement et de mon respect

Les natifs ¹³ attachés au gouvernement s'appellent donc les cornualistes. C'est apparemment une prophétie sur l'arrivée de la garnison française.

¹⁰ Victor-Amédée III (1726-1796), roi de Piémont.

¹¹ Voltaire, *La Pucelle*, chant I.

¹² Les citoyens, dans les intervalles où ils ne prenaient pas les armes pour revendiquer leurs droits, protestaient assidûment auprès des magistrats, par des *représentations*, contre les abus de pouvoir de l'aristocratie; celle-ci, qui se perpétuait au pouvoir, *unquibus et rostris*, dans le Conseil exécutif des Vingt-Cinq ou Petit-Conseil, répondait invariablement à ces représentations d'une manière négative; d'où les noms courants des partis "négatifs" et "représentants"

¹³ Il y avait à Genève, outre les citoyens, divisés en deux camps, "Négatifs" et "Représentants," la masse des "Natifs," qui formaient les trois quarts de la population de la ville; ils n'avaient aucun droit politique, ne pouvaient ni se livrer au commerce, ni exercer une profession libérale, ni être élus jurés dans les maîtrises, ni parvenir à un grade militaire. Ils trouvèrent en la personne d'Isaac Cornuaud un défenseur habile, qui fit d'eux un parti redoutable; alliés aux "Représentants," ils forcèrent le gouvernement à se retirer, en avril 1782. (Voir les *Mémoires d'Isaac Cornuaud sur Genève et la Révolution de 1770 à 1795*, publiés par Emilie Cherbuliez, Genève, 1912.)

[de la main de Jean-Robert Tronchin] reçu 20 juillet 1782

Mr de
Condorcet

Adresse:

A Monsieur

Monsieur Tronchin chez

M. Deodati rue de la Michodière

près le boulevard

3 pages autographes in 8° sans signature;

l'adresse sur la 4e, ainsi que la date de la main
de Jean-Robert Tronchin.

ANDRÉ DELATTE

Wayne University

A NOTE ON THE 1752 TEXT OF *LETTRES PHILOSOPHIQUES*

In his edition of Voltaire's *Lettres Philosophiques*, Gustave Lanson noted three paragraphs which had been added in later editions to Letter XI, *Sur l'insertion de la petite vérole*. As to the dates of their addition he follows Beuchot¹ in stating that the first of the three was added in 1752² while the other two did not appear until 1756.³ Lanson goes on to state in his *Commentaires* to this letter⁴ that the two final paragraphs must have been added in 1756, since they were borrowed from a *Recueil de pièces concernant l'inoculation de la petite vérole* which did not appear until April of that year. This *Recueil* included, *Abrégé de la fondation faite à Londres en 1746 pour l'inoculation, avec une partie du sermon prêché en 1752 par Milord Isaac, évêque de Worcester, dans l'église paroissiale de cet hôpital*.⁵ Voltaire quotes the Bishop, *ergo*.

But this neat bibliographical picture is disturbed by the notice of Voltaire's Dresden edition of his works which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1753,⁶ quoting in translation the additions made to Letter XI. This translation goes beyond the

¹ See notes, Moland, xxii, 115.

² *Œuvres*, Dresden, Walther.

³ Genève, Cramer.

⁴ #39, I, 150.

⁵ The sermon is probably: *A sermon preached before the president, vice-president and governors of the hospital for the smallpox, and for inoculation, on March 5, 1752. By Isaac Ld. Bp. of Worcester.* London, Woodfall. See, *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxii, 195, April, 1752.

⁶ xxiii, 251.

first paragraph and quotes the good Bishop. A comparison of texts, which I append, will show what is meant. The text is so close to Voltaire's that I do not think it can be viewed as an editor's addition, nor does it seem likely that anyone but a translator would have qualified the Bishop of Worcester as, "A diocesan in England."

It would seem that there were variant copies of the 1752 edition which neither Beuchot nor Lanson had seen.

Gustave Lanson, *Lettres Philosophiques*, 4th ed., 1930, I, 136, note.

52—*K ajoutent cet alinéa:*

Il y a quelques années qu'un missionnaire jésuite ayant lû cette lettre (56-K ce chapitre, *K errata t. LXX*, p. 500, cet article) et se trouvant dans un canton de l'Amérique où la petite vérole faisait (56-K exerçait) des ravages affreux, s'avisa de faire inoculer tous les petits sauvages qu'il batisoit, ils lui durent ainsi la vie présente et la vie éternelle quels dons pour les sauvages!

Après sauvages, 56-K ajoutent ces deux alinéas

Un Evêque de Worcester a depuis peu prêché à Londres l'inoculation; il a démontré en Citoyen combien cette pratique avoit conservé de sujets à l'Etat; il l'a recommandée en Pasteur charitable. On prêcherait à Paris contre cette invention salutaire, comme on a écrit vingt ans contre les expériences de Neuton. Il faut bien du tems pour qu'une certaine raison et un certain courage d'esprit franchissent le pas de Calais.

Il ne faut pourtant pas s'imaginer . . . c'est la marche ordinaire de l'esprit humain.

Gentleman's Magazine, xxiii, 251, May, 1753

A new edition of the works of Voltaire corrected and much enlarged by the author, has been lately printed at *Dresden*, among other additions is the following to the chapter on inoculation:

A Jesuit missionary having some years ago read this chapter during his residence in a certain canton of America, where the smallpox made a dreadful havoc, caused all the children whom he baptised to be inoculated, and this became an instrument by which providence gave to these poor Indians temporal and eternal life.

(*same paragraph*)

The Bp of Worcester, a diocesan in England, has also since the first edition of this work, recommended inoculation from the pulpit like a good subject and compassionate pastor. In France they have preached against it, as they did 20 years against Newton's experiments.

In any case, Voltaire knew of the Bishop of Worcester's sermon long before 1756. On October 3, 1753, he writes to D'Argental:

L'année passée, l'évêque de Worcester prêcha dans Londres, devant le parlement, en faveur de l'inoculation, et prouva qu'elle sauvait la vie tous les ans à deux mille personnes dans cette capitale. Voilà des sermons qui valent bien mieux que les bavarderies de nos prédicateurs ⁷

ROGER B. OAKE.

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VOLTAIRE NEVER SAID IT!

Until the eleventh edition of Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* (1937, p. 1053) somewhat hesitantly established its origin, many looked in vain through Voltaire's writings for the immortal and often-quoted sentence:

I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.

After identifying the quotation as "Voltaire to Helvetius," Bartlett states that it is not found verbatim in Voltaire's works but seems rather to have originated in *The Friends of Voltaire* by S. G. Tallentyre (London, 1906, p. 199). This is in fact true; it might be added that the same quotation is again found in the same author's *Voltaire in His Letters* (1919, p. 65) this time improved in wording:

I wholly disapprove of what you say—and will defend to the death your right to say it.

A letter I have received from S. G. Tallentyre (really Miss Evelyn Beatrice Hall) under the date of May 9, 1939, confirms once and for all the fact that she invented the phrase:

Dear Sir.

I am much obliged for your letter of April 25th—it is certainly no bother to me. The phrase "I wholly disapprove of what you say and will defend to the death your right to say it" which you have found in my book "*Voltaire in His Letters*" is *my own* expression and should not have been put in inverted commas. Please accept my apologies for having, quite unintentionally, misled you into thinking I was quoting a sentence

⁷ Moland, xxxviii, 131.

used by Voltaire (or anyone else but myself). I am surprised my books on Voltaire still find a few readers—I thought I was quite a back number—

Yours very truly

(Miss) E. Beatrice Hall

S. G. Tallentyre

The words "*my own*" were underlined by Miss Hall.

BURDETTE KINNE

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LA VÉRACITÉ DE CHATEAUBRIAND: PREMIERS DOUTES BRITANNIQUES (1813)

Les "premiers doutes" imprimés, tout au moins: car s'il est vrai que les élèves de M. de Combourg, à Bungay et à Beccles, l'avaient surnommé *Shatterbrain*, le mélange séduisant de fantaisie et de sérieux de notre Breton avait déjà amusé quelques gentilles provinciales. Mais voici qui est plus grave.

La traduction anglaise du *Génie du Christianisme*¹ par Frederick Shoberl n'était pas lancée depuis six mois sous un titre, *The Beauties of Christianity*, qui rappelait les premières intentions de l'auteur à Londres, que le *Gentleman's Magazine* d'août 1813 (p. 110) publiait ces lignes:

Oxon, June 17.

F. A. de Chateaubriand, in Book v, Chapter 10 of the "*Beauties of Christianity*," asserts that

On the banks of the Yare, a small river in the county of Suffolk, we were shown a very curious species of Cress: it changes its place, and advances, as it were, by leaps and bounds. From its summit descend several fibres; when those which happen to be at one extremity of the plant are of sufficient length to reach the bottom of the water, they take root. Drawn away by the action of the plant, which settles upon its new foot, the claws on the contrary side loose their hold; and the tuft of Cresses, turning on its pivot, removes the whole length of its bed. In vain

¹ Le traducteur, Fred. Shoberl (1775-1853), fils d'un Allemand mais né à Londres, polygraphe abondant et traducteur du français et de l'allemand. Il est probable que le premier témoignage connu sur Chateaubriand en pays germanique soit de lui dans une lettre de Londres au *Neuer Teutscher Merkur* que j'ai citée jadis dans *Études d'Histoire littéraire*, tome II, p. 108. Il devait, en 1814, devenir co-propriétaire du *New Monthly Magazine*.

you seek the plant on the morrow in the place where you left it the preceding night, and you perceive it higher up or lower down the current of the river, producing, with the other aquatic families, new effects and new beauties. We have seen neither the flower nor the fructification of this singular species of Cress, to which we have given the name of Migratory, or the Traveller.

A note upon this passage is, that

"None of the Naturalists consulted upon this subject have verified the description of this curious species of Cress"

The Yare, I think, is in Norfolk It will allow some of your Readers on the banks of it to give some information on the subject, if you can insert this account now while the Cresses are in blow, as a plant having the power of detaching itself from its original *habitat*, and occupying a fast spot, is, I imagine, unknown to any Botanist.

A NEW CORRESPONDENT.

Il ne semble pas, hélas! que malgré la saison favorable à l'observation du phénomène, et en dépit de la légère correction géographique restituant à son vrai comté la chère rivière que traversait souvent le maître de français de Bungay, des observations favorables aient été faites. Du moins les années subséquentes du périodique si répandu ne semblent rien contenir d'afférent à ce problème, le caractère migrateur du cresson. *Nasturtium migrator* ne devint point, malgré le souhait si caractéristique du botaniste amateur, une sous-espèce du "cresson de rivière"; et par conséquent l'instinct vagabond que le nostalgique voyageur trouvait présent dans cet humble végétal ne s'ajouta point aux beautés reconnues de la religion chrétienne.

Qui était le contradicteur de Chateaubriand? Il me semble que rien n'empêche de démasquer, en ce "nouveau correspondant," à la fois soucieux de géographie exacte et de botanique réaliste, Robert Browne lui-même (1773-1858). De retour en 1805 d'une de ses nombreuses explorations, il devait être président de la "Linnean Society" et, parmi d'innombrables études, en consacrer une à "the Propagation of sea-weed" qui peut-être rappella à sa mémoire la petite semonce, pas bien méchante, qu'il avait administrée à la rêverie botanique du Français.

Pas bien méchante, mais peut-être de plus d'importance à venir qu'il ne pourrait sembler, s'il est vrai que de petites causes peuvent produire des effets assez grands. Le *Gentleman's Magazine*, après avoir accueilli favorablement quelques-uns des pamphlets politiques de Chateaubriand, ne fit pas très bon accueil à sa présence à Londres

comme ambassadeur de S. M. Très Chrétienne, et l'on peut se demander si l' "archéologue" Nichols, devenu le rédacteur en chef d'un périodique fort répandu, ne jugeait pas le diplomate français sur le souvenir de cette infime démonstration de . . . romantisme végétal.

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ZOLA'S FINAL REVISIONS OF *LA JOIE DE VIVRE*

In the library of Harvard College is a first edition (Charpentier-Fasquelle, 1884) of Émile Zola's *La Joie de vivre*, corrected in the author's own hand in view of succeeding editions. This volume is of real value to American students of naturalism, since primary sources for the study of Zola's methods—manuscripts, first drafts, documents, etc.—are very rare everywhere except in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It is of interest also since *La Joie de vivre*, written during the years 1880-1884, marks almost the mid-point of Zola's career. The revisions it contains give some insight into the methods of the Zola who had now reached maturity but who still sought to perfect his literary instrument, the Zola who had produced the *tour de force* of *L'Assommoir*, but who had yet to attain the simplicity and dignity of expression of *Germinal* and *La Terre*.

In this corrected edition of *La Joie de vivre*, one point is especially to be emphasized: in all cases the corrections or changes bear on questions of stylistic detail; no extended revision is attempted and no re-arrangement of a chapter or even of a full page is evident. The revisions number about two hundred fifty and range from changes in individual words or phrases to additions or deletions of whole sentences. The changes and corrections are fairly well distributed throughout the entire novel, but three chapters especially seem to have received more than usual attention, if we are to judge by the number of revisions they contain. Chapter VI, recounting the death of Mme Chanteau, mother of the hero, Lazare, has more changes than any other. This chapter is based on the life of Zola himself¹ and the frequent corrections it contains indi-

¹ *La Joie de vivre, Œuvres Complètes d'Émile Zola*, ed. Le Blond (Paris: Bernouard, 1927-29), XIII, 364 (note of M. Le Blond).

cate that Zola considered it the 'scène à faire' of the work. The following chapter, VII, which contains the account of Lazare's sufferings after the death of his mother, and which also seems to be largely autobiographical in character,² has the second largest number of changes and corrections. Finally, the scene of the accouchement of Louise, Lazare's wife, a scene which is easily the most striking of the work, has the third largest number of revisions.

More than half the total number of revisions were made by Zola for the purpose of improving the expression by making it more brief, clear, or exact. Often these changes are so slight as to be mere deletions of single words, usually of small importance in the phrase (bien, alors, peu à peu, plutôt). Occasionally rhetorical weaknesses are remedied by simple substitutions of words, as here, where the ellipsis is eliminated: ". . . le jeune homme . . . se croyait parfois près de rentrer dans les heureux contes de nourrice, où l'on n'a plus peur," which is changed to ". . . le jeune homme . . . se croyait parfois près de rentrer dans l'heureux âge d'innocence, où l'on n'a peur" (p. 256). Again: ". . . elle eut la maladresse de faire une allusion à la fortune de Louise et de laisser entendre que son beau-père, le lendemain, lui trouverait une situation," which becomes: ". . . elle eut la maladresse de faire une allusion à la fortune de Louise et de laisser entendre que Thibaudier, le lendemain du mariage, trouverait pour son gendre une situation" (p. 320). Taken as a whole, such revisions, even though short, are important indications of Zola's realistic and logical tendencies.

About two-score changes seem to have been made for the purpose of providing more striking and vivid expression in certain phrases. Some of these changes, again, are short, as the phrase: ". . . la peur de Saccard prenait Chanteau," which is changed to: ". . . la peur de Saccard travaillait Chanteau" (p. 105); or the words of the abbé: ". . . je vais mettre ma soutane," which become: ". . . je vais passer ma soutane" (p. 257). Occasionally a longer change is introduced, as here: "Lazare l'écoutait plein de surprise. Il n'avait pas songé à cette contradiction, il s'étonnait des sensations opposées et inexplicables qu'il découvrait en lui." In the revision the first sentence remains the same, but the other is changed as

² See my article, "Autobiographical Elements in Zola's *La Joie de vivre*," *PMLA*, LVI (Dec., 1941), 1133-49.

follows: "Il n'avait pas songé à cette contradiction, pourquoi ces façons de sentir différentes et illogiques?" (p. 216). This latter example, it may be noted, provides an excellent illustration of Zola's effective use of the forms of direct discourse in a context of indirect narration or description. There are several other instances of this kind of improvement; for example, the sentence: "Mais pour manger, les fruits ne suffisent pas" (p. 364) is changed from this rather pallid form to the following: "Mais pour manger, toujours des fruits, c'est maigre."

There are in addition a few scattered changes made for the improvement of the rhythm of certain phrases, some deletions of repetitions and pleonasm, and some attempts at the correction of lapsi of various kinds. It is notable that changes to improve the euphony of a phrase or sentence are extremely rare.

These revisions indicate that Zola was primarily interested in the creation of a simple, logical prose which should have as its principal aim the exact expression of his thought. He evidently was not much concerned with the construction of prose that should be harmonious to the ear, if we are to judge by the small number of changes made for the sole purpose of improving the euphony, rhythm, and movement of the phrase. Quite evidently, he lacked Flaubert's test of the 'gueuloir'.⁸ His prose, it would seem, was designed solely to express ideas, not to strike and impress with its sound and color and movement. Here, as in all his work, Zola's intellectual qualities of logic and order prevail completely over the more purely artistic.

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THE EARLY DATE FOR MARLOWE'S *FAUSTUS*

The recent view that Marlowe's *Faustus* was not written until 1592 rests mainly on the argument that the English Faust Book,

⁸ The comparison with Flaubert may be carried further. Émile Faguet in his "Les Corrections de Flaubert" (*Propos Littéraires*, III) notes that Flaubert *always* corrects by suppression (Zola does not, for additions are almost as common as deletions and simple changes are more frequent than either); and that some of Flaubert's corrections to *Madame Bovary* include as many as eight or ten lines. Zola's corrections rarely run to more than a single line or at most two lines.

Marlowe's source, cannot be shown to have been published in any previous year. To the evidence which I have elsewhere brought against this argument and in favor of a date c. 1589 I should like to add the reminder that Gabriel Harvey's *An Aduertisement for Papp-hatchett*, dated by him "At Trinitie hall this fift of Nouember: 1589,"¹ makes reference to Faustus:

As for that new-created Spirite, whom double V. like an other Doctour Faustus, threateneth to conuere-upp at leysure, (for I must returne to the terrible creature, that subscribeth himselfe Martins Double V. and will needes also be my Tittle-tittle) were that Spirite disposed to appeare in his former likenesse, and to put the Necromancer to his purgation, he could peraduenture make the conuering wisard forsake the center of his Circle.²

This was Harvey's retort to a passing stroke dealt him in the anti-Martinist tract *Pappe With An Hatchet* by John Lyly, who signed himself Double V. (W, double you, a match for two of you, as Bond explains). The spirit whom Lyly had threatened to conjure up was Harvey himself.

Here, then, is a reference to Faustus definitely prior to November 5, 1589. Now we must ask, as in the case of a similar reference to Faustus in Henry Holland's *A Treatise Against Witchcraft* (1590),³ whether the reference is to Marlowe's play, or to the original German Faustbuch published at Frankfort in 1587, or to *A Ballad of the life and death of Doctor Faustus* entered in the Stationers' Register on February 28, 1589, now lost and of unknown content, or to the English Faust Book.

We may reject as improbable the alternatives that the allusion is to the ballad or to Marlowe's play. No doubt the ballad was

¹ Although written at this time it was not published until its incorporation *verbatim* into Harvey's *Pierces Supererogation*, 1593. See McKerrow, *Works of Thomas Nashe*, v, 74, 92.

² Grosart, *Works of Gabriel Harvey*, II, 209. The entire *Aduertisement for Papp-Hatchett* comprises pages 124 to 221, the place and date of composition being subscribed on the latter page.

³ Discussed in my paper "The English Faust Book and the Date of Marlowe's *Faustus*," *MLN*, LV (1940), 95-101. Since the Holland and Harvey references to Faustus are in many ways analogous and the method to be adopted in interpreting them is the same, I shall not repeat the full argument here but refer the reader to the earlier paper. See also "Some Nashe Marginalia Concerning Marlowe," *MLN*, LVII (1942), 45-9.

one of the ephemeral single-sheet broadsides issued so prodigally in London. Harvey at Cambridge is not likely to have seen it or to have thought it worth citing even if he had. The case is less clear with regard to Marlowe's play, which Harvey might have made a point of hearing on some visit to London, but no such visit is recorded and on the whole Harvey does not seem to have been much of a playgoer. Moreover, the existence of another reference to *Faustus* by Harvey which is pretty clearly to the English *Faust Book*, as noted below, renders it probable that the present reference is to the same work. Of course, if the reference were to Marlowe's work, the composition of the play in 1589 or earlier would be established without more ado.

Against the possibility that Harvey had in mind the German *Faustbuch* is the reasonable certainty that, like almost all other Elizabethans, he could not read German. His voluminous marginalia, edited by G. C. Moore-Smith, contain frequent entries in Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, and Italian but not one word in German,⁴ and Harvey is not known either to have owned any book in that language or even to have alluded to any. In fact, we find him reading Braunschweig's medical treatise in an English translation.

We are left with the high probability that the reference is to the English *Faust Book*. This is further heightened by the fact, noted by Hale Moore,⁵ that about 1590 Harvey wrote in his copy of Frontinus' *Strategematicon* another marginal allusion to the great conjurer:

. . if Doctor Faustus cowld reare Castles, & aime Diuels at pleasure-
what woonderful, & monstrous exploits, might be acheuid by such terrible
meanes.

Since the feats of *Faustus* here mentioned are described in chapters XL and LII of the English *Faust Book* but not in the play Marlowe wrote, and since the arguments already presented forbid the view that Harvey knew the German *Faustbuch*, the ballad, or the play, our conclusion is clear. Both of Harvey's allusions to *Faustus* came from the same source, the English *Faust Book*. And so specifically does the latter allusion point to exploits detailed in

⁴ The same observation holds good for the additional marginalia published by Caroline Ruutz-Rees, "Some Notes of Gabriel Harvey's in Hoby's Translation of Castiglione's *Courtier*," *PMLA.*, xxv (1910), 608-39.

⁵ Gabriel Harvey's References to Marlowe," *SP.*, xxxiii (1926), 337-57.

the Faust Book that it is impossible, I think, to argue that in either case Harvey had in mind merely a general tradition about Faustus not drawn from any particular publication, even if such a tradition could be shown to have been current in England before the English Faust Book. As a matter of fact there is not a scintilla of evidence that Englishmen had previously even heard of the German magician.

We are, I believe, driven by multiplying signs more and more powerfully to the inference that the English Faust Book was first published at least as early as 1589. Each sign affords only a probability, but many probabilities converge to make one certainty, at least such certainty as it is given us to achieve about the facts of three hundred and fifty years ago.

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FERDINANDO FRECKLETON AND THE SPENSER CIRCLE

Edmund Spenser's relationship to the Spencers of Althorpe, acknowledged on both sides in his lifetime, has been extended of late to include the family of his wife, Elizabeth Boyle. She was distantly related to the family of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe,¹ and was the first cousin of Erasmus Dryden, traditionally an acquaintance of the poet.² These facts give additional relevance to a document cited, in another connection, by Joseph Hunter in *Chorus Vatum*. Hunter is concerned only with evidence of the friendship between the Drydens and the Spencers; probably of greater interest to-day is the mention of one Ferdinando Freckleton, since we know now that a person of that name married the widow Joan Boyle, mother of Elizabeth Boyle.³ Hunter's note relates a business trans-

¹ Ray Heffner, "Edmund Spenser's Family," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, II (1938-39), 79-84.

² W. H. Weply, in *Notes and Queries*, CLXII (1932), 166, 185, *et passim*.

³ W. H. Weply's study of the lawsuit brought by Edmund Spenser, his wife, and his wife's brother against Thomas Emyly and John Mathewe established the fact. More important, of course, is the evidence of the suit for Spenser's marriage and for the family relationships of his wife. See *Notes and Queries*, CXLVI (1924), 445-7, CLXII (1932), 165-9, 182-7.

action involving Freckleton, the Drydens, and Sir John Spenser, the brother of the ladies to whom Spenser dedicated poems in the *Complaints* volume:

To show that there was a friendship between the Spencers of Althorpe and the Drydens of the time of Edmund Spenser may be cited a Bond remaining in the Exchequer of George Dryden of Adson alias Adneston co. Northamp gent—Whereas Ferdinando Freckleton of Huntingdon gent became bound to me 25 Oct 28 Eliz. in 200 £ to secure 100 £; and Whereas Sir John Spenser of Althorpe Kt is indebted to the Queen in divers sums of money—to assign Freckleton's bond on security in behalf of Sir John Spenser—28 April 34 Eliz. 1592⁴

Before commenting on the identity of Ferdinando Freckleton, another item concerning a person of that name may be added to the record. Among the complimentary verses prefixed to Richard Tarleton's *Tragical Treatises* (1578) is a poem of three stanzas headed: "Ferdinando Freckleton Gentleman, in praise of these treatises." Only a fragmentary copy of the *Treatises*, now in the Folger Shakespeare Library, is known to have survived. Freckleton's verses contain no apparent biographical clues; they are conventional praises, concluding with admiration of Tarleton's ability to apply his talents to the grave as well as to the gay:

And where I lookte for manie a wanton drifte,
of tales and ridles in this booke of thine,
Nowe do I see thou canste bestow thy gifte
in grauer geere both learned and diuine,
For (trust me *Tarleton*) in thy worke appears,
A platforme that both sense and matter lears.

Is the Ferdinando Freckleton of either, or both, of these references the gentleman who married the widow Joan Boyle, Elizabeth Boyle's mother? The first reference would bring him into acquaintance with the Drydens, friends of the poet, and, less probably, with the Spencers; the second would allow him a modest connection with the versifiers, if not the poets, of his day. A conclusive identification, on the basis of accessible information, does not appear to be possible. Mr. Douglas Hamer⁵ has provided us with a useful list

⁴ *Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum*, British Museum Add. MS. 24490, vol. iv, p. 472 [251v]. A photostat is in the Library of Congress. Hunter's handwriting is difficult to read, and the transcription of the symbols after *Althorpe* (read as *Kt*) and after *money* (read as *to*) is uncertain.

⁵ *Notes and Queries*, CLXII (1932), 209-210, 231. See also R. B. Adams, *Notes and Queries*, CLXII (1932), 265-6.

of records relating to persons named Ferdinando Freckleton, in addition to three references originally cited by Mr. Welply;⁶ and still other records have been generously put at my disposal by Mr. Mark Eccles. A comparative study shows that all these references clearly do not concern the same person, but involve several persons named Ferdinando Freckleton. The records too often lack details of place, or of date, or of family connections to permit a completely satisfactory grouping, although several definitely refer to persons other than Joan Boyle's husband and can be eliminated from further consideration. The "Ferdinando Freckleton of Huntingdon gent" of Hunter's note is, very probably, the stepfather of Elizabeth Boyle. The identity of the Ferdinando Freckleton who wrote complimentary verses for Tarleton's *Treatises* is, in the present state of our information, simply a matter of guesswork. Very likely he is the Oxford scholar who took his B. A. on 4 April, 1573,⁷ but this plausible guess does nothing toward establishing the identity of the scholar and poet with "Ferdinando Freckleton of Huntingdon gent."

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THE TELESCOPE AND THE COMIC IMAGINATION

On the day Galileo's *Sidereus Nuncius* (1610) appeared, Sir Henry Wotton remarked that the author was doomed to be "exceeding famous or exceeding ridiculous."¹ One of the first English writers to make the wrong guess was the Cambridge playwright Thomas Tomkis. In his *Albumazar* (1615), i, iii, Ronca, one of the astrologer's confederates, tries to impress his dupe, the elderly Pandolfo, with the miracles which the astrologer can perform. As evidence, Ronca exhibits Albumazar's perspicill—"An engine to catch starres, / A mase t'arrest such Planets as haue lurk't / Foure thousand yeares vnder protection / of *Iupiter* and *Sol*."² Although

⁶ *Op. cit.*

⁷ *Alumni Oxonienses*, II, 532, cited by Douglas Hamer, *Notes and Queries*, CLXII (1932), 209.

¹ Logan Pearsall Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (Oxford, 1907), I, 487.

² *Albumazar* (1615; STC No 24100), sigs. B2v-B4r. None of the satiric

the perspicill is always described fancifully, a telescope is clearly meant.³ With it Ronca claims he can read the *Iliad* in a nutshell twelve miles off and gaze into the Vatican. The instrument, he says, "will draw the Moone so neere that you would sweare / The bush of thornes in't prick your eyes" (B4^r).

So far the comic element is slight: the charlatan has merely described the miraculous "engine" and made preposterous claims for its powers. But put this passage beside the *Sidereus Nuncius*, and a second, more elaborate kind of comedy appears, for Tomkis's charlatan does precisely what Galileo did. After a few preliminary pages in the *Nuncius*, Galileo describes his *perspicillum* (a term which Tomkis first anglicized) and emphasizes its miraculous powers rather more than its exact structure.⁴ He then turns at once to his lunar discoveries, which must have seemed to his contemporaries as fantastic as drawing "the Moone so neere that you would sweare / The bush of thornes in't prick your eyes." For he saw what no man had ever seen—that the moon was not the perfectly smooth, though spotted orb which the philosophers had promised, but that the spots were vast mountains, craters, and valleys scarring the surface of the globe.⁵

But by two devices Tomkis pushes his satire further still. First, Ronca keeps telling Pandolfo of the wonders visible through the perspicill; yet, when Pandolfo looks, though he has the illusion of strange sights, he actually sees only what is right before him—the audience, then some of the actors representing Tom Coryate and his porters loaded with "obseruations / Of Asia and Affrick" (B4^v). In other words, what is wonderful in the sights Pandolfo sees is all in his mind, not in the world of reality. Secondly, the astrologer

material here discussed appears in Tomkis's source, G. B. della Porta's *Lo Astrologo* (Venice, 1606).

³ "The Chyrstall / Of a large Arch multiplie's millions, / Worke's more then by poynt blanke," Ronca explains (B4^r), and, although *arch* has never been defined as synonymous with *telescope*, telescopic powers are certainly implied. In other words, Tomkis is not referring vaguely to such magical glasses as those described in Reginald Scot's *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, ed. Montague Summers (1930), pp. 178-79; nor to such magical mirrors as those to be used on the stage by Middleton in *A Game of Chesse* (1624) and by Rowley in *A Shoo-maker a Gentleman* (1638).

⁴ *Opere* (Milano, 1808-11), iv, 305-09.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv, 309-27, especially pp. 309-10.

has another device, his otacousticon, pointedly modelled after the perspicill and extending the powers of hearing as the telescope does those of sight. Pandolfo is equally taken with this contraption and, after some beseeching, is allowed to put it on. It turns out to be an elongated pair of ass's ears^a—fit wear, Tomkis seems to say, for the gulls who believe in such "engines."

In the next scene but one (I, v) Albumazar, the astrologer himself, swaggers in with the name of Galileo on his lips.

Ronca, the bunch of planets new found out
Hanging at th'end of my best Perspicill,
Send them to Galilao at *Padua*;
Let him bestow them where hee please. But th' starres
Lately discovered 'twixt the hornes of *Aries*,
Are as a present for *Pandolfo's* marriage,
And henceforth stil'd *Sidera Pandolfæa*. (C, v)

This passage alludes even more directly to the *Sidereus Nuncius* than did the earlier scene. Albumazar, cherishing his new stars but casually dismissing his new planets, neatly turns Galileo's work upside down. For in the *Nuncius* Galileo had, with obvious care, built to a climax of the opposite kind. In his preliminary outline of his discoveries Galileo listed his findings in this order: (1) many stars never seen before, (2) the features of the Moon's surface, (3) the numberless stars of the Milky Way, and (4) the new planets or the Moons of Jupiter.⁷ This outline is but the first of three distinct treatments of the same material. Each time Galileo shifts the order of his first three discoveries but always reserves the last place for the new planets. Of all his momentous discoveries the Moons of Jupiter seemed to bulk largest in his mind because—and subsequent attacks on his book proved him right—this finding would do more than any other to jolt the conservative adherents of Aristotle, Ptolemy, and the "Old Astronomy."⁸

Albumazar's willingness to name the new found stars *Sidera Pandolfæa* again shows that Tomkis's comedy lies on two levels. Beneath the trite jest about cuckoldom (the horns of Aries, the

^a After Pandolfo sees the otacousticon, he exclaims, "Why 'tis a paire of Asses eares, and large ones" (B4v) Cf. John Taylor, *No Mercurius Aulicus* (1644), sig A2v, in *Works* (Spenser Soc., 1873), II, no pagination, "the long eard Outacousticon of Albumazar."

⁷ *Opere*, IV, 303-05.

⁸ He says as much, *ibid.*, IV, 305.

Ram) is the pointed allusion to Galileo's naming Jupiter's satellites the Medicean Stars in honor of his patron Cosimo. The satire is reinforced later in the play when Albumazar is ironically urged to "Discover more new Stars, and vnknowne Planets / Vent them by dozens, stile them by the names / Of men that buy such ware" (v, 1, K2^r). The honor conferred on the Medicis resounded in other princely courts of the time. Witness a letter Galileo had from the court of France, April 20, 1610:

In case you discover any other fine star, call it by the name of the Great Star of France, as well as the most brilliant of all the earth [sic], and, if it seems fit to you, call it rather by his proper name, Henri, than by the family name Bourbon. Thus you will have an opportunity of doing a thing due and proper in itself, and, at the same time, of rendering yourself and your family rich and powerful forever.⁹

Tomkiss's satire, however ill-judged, has some historic interest aside from its anticipation of such later ridicule of the telescope as is found in works like Jonson's *The Staple of News*, Shadwell's *The Virtuoso*, and Samuel Butler's *The Elephant in the Moon*. Absurd as it sounds now, Tomkiss's use of the *Sidereus Nuncius* does imply that Galileo might claim to see strange sights, that he might even, by the force of suggestion, delude others into thinking that they saw them too, but that men free of superstition or self-interest were too well aware of reality to be taken in. This scepticism would indeed be fantastic if each point of Tomkiss's ridicule could not be matched in the writing of his contemporaries. For instance, the eminent astronomer Christopher Clavius, one of Galileo's admirers, said that he "laughed at the idea of there being four new planets, to see which they must first be put inside the telescope. Let Galileo keep his opinions and welcome. I hold to mine."¹⁰ Others like Julius Libri, astronomer of Pisa, refused to look through a telescope at all.¹¹ Still others must have put their faith in writers like the young German scholar Martin Horky, who claimed that he had looked through a telescope and seen nothing, and that Galileo had announced the new planets only to sustain his own pride and satisfy his avarice; or in authorities like Jacob Christmann, who wrote: "We are not to believe that nature has given Jupiter four

⁹ J. J. Fahie, *Galileo* (London, 1903), pp. 99-100.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

satellites in order to immortalize the name of the Medici. These are dreams of idle men who love ludicrous ideas better than our laborious maintenance of the heavens."¹² Thus Tomkis was by no means alone, though he was probably the first English author to enter a satiric disclaimer against such reverence as was revealed in Kepler's cry: "O telescope, instrument of much knowledge, more precious than any sceptre! Is not he whole holds thee in his hand made king and lord of the works of God."¹³

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AMORETTI, SONNET I

In 1907, the late Sir Israel Gollancz arrived at certain interesting conclusions in regard to a copy of the first issue of *The Faerie Queene*, Books I-III, then owned by him.¹ On the title-page the words *προς αυτον* had been written, and on a blank page near the end of the volume, a version of the first sonnet of the *Amoretti*, with the title "A sa mistresse." Gollancz became convinced that the volume was Spenser's own copy, and that he had sent it to Elizabeth Boyle, "inscribing therein the Sonnet, which was subsequently to form the prelude to the whole sequence of the *Amoretti*." The *Amoretti*, he reminds us, was published five years after *The Faerie Queene*. "Thus now for the first time," he remarks, "the real force and meaning of the first Sonnet are made clear," namely that it refers to *The Faerie Queene* and was written to ask the lady's acceptance of a copy of that work.

Gollancz's conclusions, so far as I know, have not been challenged, and indeed a facsimile of the sonnet has been printed at least three times as Spenser's autograph without any qualifying statement, twice with the added assertion that it represents a presentation inscription to Elizabeth Boyle.²

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 103-04.

¹³ *The Sidereal Messenger . . . and a Part of the Preface to Kepler's Dioptrics*, trans. E. S. Carlos (1880), p. 86.

¹ "Spenseriana," in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1907-1908, London, pp. 99 ff.

² In A. S. W. Rosenbach, *Books and Bidders, The Adventures of a Bibliophile*, Boston, 1927, p. 150; in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, IX

The *προς αυτον* of the title-page may have the force, as Gollancz says, of "from the author to himself," and may indicate that this particular copy was his own. I must leave that to the Greek specialists. But all Gollancz's other inferences, I feel, are open to question.

First the handwriting. A careful comparison of it with the dozen specimens of Spenser's hand now available will, I am sure, leave few with the belief that we have here an example of Spenser's penmanship.³ Perhaps the two opening lines were written by one person, the remainder by another—a suggestion made to me by Mr. Herbert C. Schulz, Curator of MSS. at the Huntington library. The secretary hand used after the first two lines is less regular than Spenser's, less sloping, lacks the long strokes to which he inclines in the case of *f* and *s*, lacks his characteristic *of*, and most of its capitals are not made exactly as he makes them. Also several of the small letters—*a*, with a spur at the top, *b*, and *h*—differ from Spenser's.

But our sonnet might be in another hand and yet an earlier version of the printed form. Gollancz says, "The lines undoubtedly represent the first form of Sonnet I." I think this may be so; yet when I examine the variants, I wonder whether we may not have here merely a slightly distorted version written down from memory by some admirer of the *Amoretti*.

The sonnet refers, says Gollancz, not to the *Amoretti*, but to *The Faerie Queene*. This seems to me an extremely unlikely inference, in view of the second quatrain:

Happy ye lines when as wth starry light
Those lampinge eies shall deigne on you to looke
And reade the sorowes of my dieng spright
written wth teares in hartes close bleedinge booke.

These lines could hardly be warped into an application to Spenser's

(June 3, 1933), 626; and in *English Poetical Autographs*, edited by Desmond Flower and A. N. L. Munby, London, 1938.

³ For specimens, see Henry R. Plomer, *Modern Philology*, xxi (1923), 201-207; Raymond Jenkins, *Studies in Philology*, xxxii (1935), opposite p. 126; *PMLA*, lxi (1937), opposite p. 338, and lxix (1938), opposite p. 350; *English Literary Autographs, 1550-1650* (ed. W. W. Greg and others, Oxford, 1925-1932), Plates xxxix, xl, *Facsimiles of Royal, Historical, Literary and Other Autographs in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum* (ed. George F. Warner, Series i-v, 1899), No. 92.

epic, but they describe well the first two-thirds of the *Amoretti*, sonnets which are of course filled with the sorrows of an unsuccessful lover.

The sonnet is inscribed, Gollancz tells us, "on the blank left-hand page facing Spenser's letter to Sir Walter Raleigh"; in other words, just at the end of the text of *The Faerie Queene*. A more natural place for a presentation sonnet would be on a flyleaf at the beginning of the book. Perhaps the writer merely chose a blank page of his volume of *The Faerie Queene* to record a sonnet by Spenser that he liked, which of course may have reached him in an earlier form than that eventually printed.

My main contention in this brief paper is then, first, that the sonnet is apparently not autograph, and hence was not employed by Spenser in connection with his presentation of a copy of *The Faerie Queene* to Elizabeth Boyle, and, secondly, that its "real force and meaning" have nothing to do with *The Faerie Queene*.

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A NOTE ON SUCKLING'S *A SESSIONS OF THE POETS*

As far as I am aware, no editor or commentator has attempted to annotate the reference at line 17 of Suckling's *A Sessions of the Poets* to "Bartlets both the brothers" and the stanza at lines 55-59:

To Will Bartlet sure all the wits meant well,
But first they would see how his snow would sell;
Will smiled and swore in their judgements they went less
That concluded of merit upon success.

The two Bartlets were almost certainly William and John Berkeley, of whom the elder soon afterwards became Sir William and Governor of Virginia, and the younger was later raised to the peerage as Lord Berkeley of Stratton. In contemporary documents their name is variously spelt Berkeley, Barkley, Barclay, Bartley, and Bartlet. Suckling's poem was written early in August 1637,¹ and at this time William Berkeley was, like Suckling, in attendance

¹ P. H. Gray, "Suckling's *A Sessions of the Poets*," *SP.*, xxxvi (1939), 60-62.

on the King as a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, while John Berkeley had returned to Court only a few weeks previously from an embassy to Queen Christina of Sweden. It is impossible to doubt that Suckling was well acquainted with both men.

Apart from this reference John Berkeley is not known to have had any claims to poetic fame, but his brother's tragicomedy *The Lost Lady* was acted at Court during the Christmas season of 1637-38, when Suckling's own play, *Aglaura*, was also produced. I do not pretend to be certain of the meaning of the allusion to William Berkeley's "snow," which doubtless refers to some contemporary joke which was even then intelligible only in Court circles. But it may quite possibly refer to the frigidity, or purity, of *The Lost Lady* which, when *A Sessions of the Poets* was written, had probably been read and discussed among Berkeley's friends, but had yet to stand the test of actual performance.

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MILTON, SAPPHO (?), AND DEMETRIUS

In *An Index to the Columbia Edition of the Works of John Milton*¹ the reference to Sappho is erroneous. It reads. "Sappho, Fragment preserved by the scholiast on Sophocles, *Elect.* v. 148 r 47 (S r. 6)." Line six of the first sonnet is "First heard before the shallow Cuckoo's bill." Evidently a reader for the *Index* misunderstood Warton's note to this line:

Jonson gives this appellation [messenger of spring] to the nightingale, in the SAD SHEPHERD, A. II. S. vi.

But best, the dear good angel of the spring,
The nightingale —————

ANGEL is messenger And the whole expression seems to be literally from a fragment of Sappho, preserved by the scholiast on Sophocles, *ELECTR.* v. 148.

ΗΡΟΣ Δ'ΑΙΤΕΛΟΣ, *μερόφωνος ἀηδών*.
*Veris nuntia, amabiliter cantans luscinia.*²

¹ New York, 1940, II, 1725.

² *Poems upon Several Occasions by John Milton with notes by Thomas Warton*, London, 1785, pp. 331-2.

Clearly Warton means that the lines which are almost literally from Sappho are Jonson's, not Milton's.

In *Comus*, however, there is an expression which Milton may have taken from a fragment of Sappho. Of the Haemony, which his shepherd friend has given him, the Spirit says:

The leaf was darkish, and had prickles on it,
But in another Country, as he said,
Bore a bright golden flow'r, but not in this soil:
Unknown, and like esteem'd, and the dull swain
Treads on it daily with his clouted shoon. (631-5.)

In *De Elocutione*, Demetrius quotes the following lines as an example of "epiphoneme" or "diction that adorns": "Like the hyacinth-flower, that shepherd folk 'mid the mountains tread underfoot, and low on the earth her bloom dark-splendid is shed."³ Demetrius does not say that the lines are by Sappho, but since the time of Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* (1843) they have been included in the Sappho canon.⁴

There are two interesting aspects of this possible borrowing. The first is that almost immediately following the lines inspired by Demetrius' quotation Milton inserted in the Cambridge MS a line taken literally from *The Valiant Welshman*, by R. A., Gent. (London, 1615): "That Mercury to wise Ulysses gave."⁵ Here then, is a good example of the wide variety of authors who furnished Milton with grist—from Sappho(?) to R. A., Gent.

Second, if the lines quoted by Demetrius inspired the lines in *Comus*, we have additional evidence of Milton's careful study of *De Elocutione*, one of the rhetorics Milton recommended in *Of Education*. Professor W. Rhys Roberts⁶ has already pointed out

³ A. S. Ways translation in W. Rhys Roberts' *Demetrius On Style*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 121. The passage is from ¶ 106 of the tractate.

ὑψηρεῖ μὲν ἡ τοιάδε,
οἶαν τὰν δάκνυνον ἐν οὐρεσι ποιμένες ἄνδρες
ποσσὶ καταστειβουσιν,
ἐπικοσμεῖ δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον τὸ
χαμαὶ δέ τε πορφύρον ἄνθος.

⁴ Edgar Lobel, however, in his recent edition of Sappho (*Σαπφῶς Μέλη, The Fragments of the Lyrical Poems of Sappho*, Oxford 1925, p. 47) says that he doubts the authenticity of these lines.

⁵ Milton later changed "That Mercury" to "That Hermes once." The borrowing was first noted by Todd.

⁶ "Milton and *Demetrius de Elocutione*," *The Classical Review*, 15 (Dec., 1901), 453-4.

how in *An Apology Against a Pamphlet* Milton remembered something which he had read in *De Elocutione*. Incidentally, with the help of the very useful *Columbia Index* it is possible to present further evidence that Milton knew this rhetoric well. In *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* he names Demetrius:

For Christ gives no full comments or continued discourses, but as *Demetrius* the Rhetorician phrases it, speaks oft in Monosyllables, like a maister, scattering the heavenly grain of his doctrine like pearl heer and there.⁷

The reference must be to ¶ 7, where Demetrius says:

Short members may also be employed in vigorous passages. There is greater vigour and intensity when much meaning is conveyed in a few words. Accordingly it is just because of their vehemence that the Lacedaemonians are chary of speech. Orders are given concisely and briefly, every master being curt towards his slave⁸ (*καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπιτάσσειν σύντομον καὶ βραχύ, καὶ πᾶς δεσπότης δούλῳ μονοσύλλαβος*).

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BYRON'S EPITAPH TO BOATSWAIN

One of the best known of Byron's early writings is his epitaph on the dog Boatswain. "Near this spot are deposited the Remains of one who possessed Beauty without Vanity, Strength without Insolence, Courage without Ferocity, and all the Virtues of Man without his Vices. This praise, which would be unmeaning Flattery if inscribed over human ashes, is but a just tribute to the Memory of BOATSWAIN, a Dog, who was born at Newfoundland, May, 1803, and died at Newstead Abbey, Nov. 18, 1808." Printed in 1809 (in Hobhouse's *Miscellany*) and in 1814 (second edition of *Cain*), the epitaph has frequently been quoted as an illustration of Byron's Child Harold mood. Mrs. Mayne found it "disconcerting," however, that the epitaph was written on October 30, "nearly three weeks before the dog died."¹ This circumstance

⁷ I, 19.

⁸ Roberts' translation, *Demetrius On Style*, p. 71.

¹ E. C. Mayne, *Byron* (New York, 1924), pp. 88-89. It is further "disconcerting" to find Byron writing on November 18 to Hodgson that Boatswain died November 10, instead of November 18. See *The Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals*, ed. R. E. Prothero (London, 1898), III, 171.

points to a studied—perhaps artificial—rather than a spontaneous mood of composition.

Such an inference is strengthened by an interesting parallel in the *Annual Register* for 1777 (p. 195). The following epitaph to Sylvia, by Dr. Percival (perhaps the Manchester physician and author, Dr. Thomas Percival, described by *DNB.*) is very close in mood and manner to Byron's praise of Boatswain "To the Memory of Sylvia —, a cheerful companion, faithful friend; and real Philosopher, if Obedience to God, conformity to Nature, and Benevolence to Man, with unaffected indifference to Profit, Power, or Fame, be true Philosophy. She mingled in all companies, yet preserved her native simplicity of manners; and was caressed by the profligate, while she reproved their Vices. . . . This Monument blazons no feigned virtues of the Dead, to flatter the Vanity of the Living; for it is erected not to a Woman, but a Spaniel."

It is possible that Byron himself saw this epitaph in the *Register*, but such a supposition is not necessary to give interest to the parallel. Since in a footnote Dr. Percival mentions a monument in Temple's garden as his inspiration, we have perhaps another "source" for Byron's epitaph. More plausible, and more important, we may have a clue to a minor literary fad in the eighteenth century. For the contrast of perfect brute and imperfect man is one congenial to the misanthropic philosophies of the period, and the epitaph is a convenient form for its statement. At any rate, Byron's epitaph to Boatswain seems less distinctively personal when read alongside of Dr. Percival's similar composition.

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A SOURCE FOR HARDY'S "A COMMITTEE-MAN OF 'THE TERROR'"

A book that much interested Thomas Hardy was *The Journal of Mary Frampton*, first published in 1885. Its appeal for him is not hard to explain. Mary Frampton was a Dorset woman, living most of her life in Dorchester, and her journal—more a

letter-book than journal—covers the period 1779-1846, and particularly the Napoleonic years. Through it move the familiar Dorset families, the Framptons, Damers, Strangwayses, and Lady Susan O'Brien, the Lady Susan of "Friends Beyond" and the noble lady of "The Noble Lady's Tale," whose romantic marriage with a popular actor of her day Hardy often recalled. It has not, I think, been noticed that this book provided Hardy with the germ of one of his last short stories, "A Committee-Man of 'The Terror'" (first printed in the Christmas Number of the *Illustrated London News*, 1896, and collected in *A Changed Man*, 1913). Mademoiselle V—'s strange romance, which commenced when she fainted on the bridge at Weymouth, confronted by the *émigré* Monsieur B—, "Member of the Committee of Public Safety, under the Convention," who had guillotined her father, brother, and uncle, and broken her mother's heart, seems to have been suggested by the following passage. It comes from a letter of Lady Elizabeth Talbot's to her sister, Lady Harriot Fox-Strangways, London, March 3, 1797: ". . . It is perfectly certain that there are forty thousand *émigrés* in this town at present; a greater number than have ever been known at any one time since the Revolution. . . One of the Directory was seen a few days ago in the Strand, and recognized by a French lady whose father, mother, and brother he had murdered. She fainted away in the street, and before she recovered enough to speak he had escaped in the crowd."¹ Hardy has given the dramatic episode a Wessex setting, in characteristic fashion, and moved the time ahead some five years to the brief Peace of Amiens, but the debt to Mary Frampton's Journal is no less apparent.

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YEATS'S FIRST TWO PUBLISHED POEMS

No bibliography of Yeats¹ includes mention of what apparently were the first two poems he published: "Song of the Faeries"

¹ *The Journal of Mary Frampton*, ed. Harriot Georgiana Mundy (2nd ed., London, 1885), p. 94.

² The most complete are Allan Wade, "A Bibliography of the Writings of W— B— Yeats," *Collected Works*, Stratford-on-Avon, 1908, viii, 197-

and "Voices" that appeared in *The Dublin University Magazine*, March, 1885. Both Wade and Roth, in their listing of Yeats's contributions to periodicals, begin with the lyrical drama "The Island of Statues" that came out in the same magazine in April, May, June, and July of 1885.² Yeats himself indicated the order of these initial publications when, in telling of an invitation to read "The Island of Statues" to critics who were to decide about its acceptability for the college magazine, he said, "The magazine had already published a lyric of mine, the first ever printed."³ The lyric he referred to was probably "Voices," for he had reprinted it frequently: "Song of the Faeries," with its four conventional quatrains, he had excluded from his work after 1889 and had doubtless forgotten. For the purposes of the remainder of this discussion "Voices" needs quoting in its original form:

What do you weave so soft and bright?
 The cloak I weave of sorrow;
 O lovely to see in all men's sight
 Shall be the cloak of sorrow—
 In all men's sight.

What do you build with sails for flight?
 A boat I build for sorrow;
 O swift on the seas all day and night
 Saileth the rover sorrow—
 All day and night

What do you weave with wool so white?
 The sandals these of sorrow;
 Soundless shall be the footfall light
 In each man's ears of sorrow—
 Sudden and light.

Yeats incorporated both poems in "The Island of Statues," II, 3.⁴ The faery song he used with only punctuational changes; the

287; A. J. A. Symonds, *A Bibliography of the First Edition of Books by W— B— Yeats*, London, 1924; and William M. Roth, *A Catalogue of English And American First Editions of W— B— Yeats*, New Haven, 1939. To these should be added P. S. O'Hegarty's "Notes of the Bibliography of W. B. Yeats," *The Dublin Magazine*, Oct.-Dec., 1939, pp. 61-5; Jan.-Mar., 1940, pp. 37-42.

² Wade, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

³ "Reveries Over Childhood and Youth," *Autobiographies*, New York, 1927, p. 114. "Reveries" was first published in 1915 by the Cuala Press.

⁴ The faery song, *Dublin University Review*, July, 1885, pp. 138-9, the voices song, *ibid.*, p. 136.

voices song he broke up into a series of questions and answers in which a First Voice spoke line 1, a Second Voice lines 2-5, a Third Voice line 6, a Fourth Voice lines 7-10, a Fifth Voice line 11, and a Sixth Voice lines 12-15. No titles are used. He reprinted this scene in *The Wanderings of Oisín and Other Poems*, 1889, calling it "Island of Statues, A Fragment."⁵ In the faery song, the first line is changed slightly; in the voices song, "sorrow" is capitalized throughout and a few commas are shifted.

The only part of "The Island of Statues" printed again was the voices song: under the title of "The Cloak, the Boat, and the Shoes" it appeared in *Poems*, 1895; *Poems*, 1899; *Poems*, 1901; *The Poetical Works*, I, 1906; *The Collected Works*, I, 1908; *Early Poems and Stories*, 1925; and *Collected Poems*, 1933. In the 1895 version the changes are rather marked:

'What do you make so fair and bright?'

'I make the cloak of Sorrow
'O, lovely to see in all men's sight
'Shall be the cloak of Sorrow,
'In all men's sight'

'What do you build with sails for flight?'

'I build a boat for Sorrow,
'O, swift on the seas all day and night
'Saileth the rover Sorrow,
'All day and night'

'What do you weave with wool so white?'

'I weave the shoes of Sorrow,
'Soundless shall be the footfall light
'In all men's ears of Sorrow,
'Sudden and light.'

Yeats was evidently satisfied with the poem as it now stood, for no further changes were made until *Collected Poems*, 1933, when he dropped the comma after the "O" in lines 3 and 8, and deleted the single quotation mark at the beginning of lines 3-5, 8-10, and 13-15. In this latter case, some one may have got after him on the grounds of English Composition.

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⁵London, pp. 141-56. Wade, *op. cit.*, 201 and 251, incorrectly indicates that the entire play was reprinted.

TROLLOPE AND HENRY JAMES IN 1868

In 1867 Anthony Trollope published anonymously, *Nina Balatka*, "in order to see whether the large public which his novels had already gained was faithful to him because of the quality of his work, or merely because of the guarantee of quality which his name supplied."¹ The novel failed to sell and in the following year Trollope tried again with another anonymous novel, *Linda Tressel*, which also failed to sell. The identity of the author of these two novels was the subject of much speculation. "The authorship was (and remained) unknown to the great majority of the reading public . . ."² *Linda Tressel* fell to the young Henry James for review in the *Nation*, June 18, 1868. The twenty-five year old critic began:

We have read "*Linda Tressel*" because it is by the author of "*Nina Balatka*," and because it is as clear as noonday to our penetrating intellect that the author of "*Nina Balatka*" is but another title of the author of "*Barchester Towers*." . . . Mr. Trollope's style is as little to be mistaken as it is to be imitated. . . . Mr. Trollope has . . . his own reasons for suppressing his name . . . if perchance his motive had been partially to refute the charge that he has exhausted his vein and that his later novels owe their popularity only to the species of halo irradiated by his signature, he may assure himself that he has been amply successful.

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THE "UNTRACED QUOTATION" OF ERNEST
DOWSON'S DEDICATION

Among the several "quotations . . . which remain untraced" in Ernest Dowson's collected works, for which "the notes will be found wanting" in Flower's definitive edition,¹ is a longish passage in French which forms part of Dowson's dedication of his *Verses* (1896) to "Adelaide" [Faltinowicz]. It begins as follows:

¹ Michael Sadleir, *Trollope: A Bibliography* (London, 1928), 71-72.

² *Ibid.*, 261, n.

³ Desmond Flower, *The Poetical Works of Ernest Christopher Dowson*, London, Cassell and John Lane, 1934, p. 243.

Votre personne, vos moindres mouvements me semblaient avoir dans monde une importance extra-humaine. Mon cœur comme de la poussière soulevait derrière vos pas. . . .²

The source of the citation is *L'Education sentimentale*,³ of Dowson's "favourite"⁴ Flaubert. Amusingly enough, the origin speech made by Frédéric to Mme Arnoux is treated, in the novel quite ironically, as a piece of romantic self-deception and exaggeration: Flaubert adds, "Frédéric, se grisant par ses paroles, arrivait à croire ce qu'il disait." Dowson, on the other hand, accepts the passage without mental reservation, terming its phrases "sentences far beyond my poor compass. . . ." The difference in attitude is wholly characteristic in the case of each author.

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REVIEWS

The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, poems written youth, poems referring to the period of childhood. Edited from the manuscripts, with textual and critical notes by E. SELINCOURT. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford University Press], 1940. Pp. xvi + 379. \$6.00.

Wordsworth and the Seventeenth Century. By J. CROFTS. Wart lecture on English poetry, British Academy, 1940. London: Humphrey Milford [New York: Oxford University Press], 1940. Pp. 20. 1sh. 6d. or \$0.60. (From the proceedings of the British Academy, xxvi.)

The White Doe of Rylstone. By WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. Critical edition by ALICE P. COMPARETTI. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1940. Pp. xii + 311. \$2.50. (Cornell Studies in English, xxix.)

² *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

³ Flaubert, *L'Education sentimentale*, Paris, Charpentier, 1909, p. 513.

⁴ Flower, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxvi, uses the word to express Dowson's general esteem for Flaubert.

Some Letters of the Wordsworth Family, now first published, with a few unpublished letters of Coleridge and Southey and others. Edited by LESLIE NATHAN BROUGHTON. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1942. Pp. xii + 131. \$3.00. (Cornell Studies in English, xxxii.)

The Wordsworth Collection, formed by Cynthia Morgan St. John and given to Cornell University by Victor Emanuel. A supplement to the Catalogue. Compiled by LESLIE NATHAN BROUGHTON. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1942. Pp. viii + 87. \$2.00.

The One Wordsworth. By MARY E. BURTON. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942. Pp. xiv + 237. \$3.00.

Wordsworth's Pocket Notebook. Edited, with Commentary, by GEORGE HARRIS HEALEY. Ithaca, New York. Cornell University Press, 1942. Pp. x + 106. \$1.50

The death of Ernest de Selincourt on May 24, 1943, was a severe loss; for, not to mention his editions of Spenser and Keats and his two volumes of lectures, he did more for Wordsworth scholarship than any other single person has done. Through the confidence he inspired in Gordon Wordsworth he had access to a chaotic, jealously-guarded mass of important manuscripts that were not only unpublished but unknown. To the editing of these he brought an unusually keen mind, a retentive memory, industry, and a detailed knowledge of the Lake District and of the life of the poet and of his sister. At the time of his death he was engaged on an edition of the entire poetic works, only the first volume of which has appeared. The unique feature of this edition was to be the use of manuscript material—unpublished poems and early versions of published poems. It is to be hoped that Professor de Selincourt had a good part of this material ready for the press and that the remainder will be brought out by his co-laborer, Miss Helen Darbishire.

The first volume is important not only to students of Wordsworth but to all who are interested in how a poet develops. It is noteworthy for 58 pages of juvenilia, and for early versions of *An Evening Walk*, *Guilt and Sorrow* and *The Borderers*—of these last two there are no less than four manuscripts; its limitation is that the new material is of almost no value esthetically. The juvenilia reveal the young Wordsworth in the throes of adolescence: self-conscious, imitative, sentimental, revelling in a melancholy which he did not feel and in Gothic terrors which he had not experienced.

There is no promise of genius, no imagination, no originality. Gloomy, vague, obscure, and unreal, these early efforts are singularly unlike the early work of Shelley but equally unpromising. It is illuminating to compare the mawkish, self-conscious account in *The Vale of Estlinwate* (lines 418-37) of the boy's waiting for the horses that were to take him home for the holidays with the memorable description of the same occasion in *Prelude*, xii. 287-335. The inadequacy of the early lines was due, not so much to the young poet's limited powers of expression, as to the fact that, while feeling had stamped the incident on the boy's memory, the significance it came to have lay in what the brooding mind of the adult enabled the imagination to do with it.

In Professor de Selincourt's editing there are a number of slight inaccuracies: "other MS." (p. 315), but the notes mention only one MS.; "*Prelude*, (1805) iii. 84-108" (p. 367), iii should be iv; "*Il Penseroso*, 79-6" (p. 369), 79 should be 75, "419-36" (*ib.*) should be 418-37, "538 and 541" (*ib.*) should be 542 and 545; "in the same notebook as the translation of Juvenal" (p. 374), but the *Imitation of Juvenal* (it is not a translation) is preserved in two notebooks. Furthermore it is not always clear in the titles and rubrics of the juvenilia whether we have the words of the poet or of the editor, and one wonders whether "rob'd" (p. 276, l. 274) is right and whether even in the "Dirge" (a poor a piece as a great poet ever produced) Wordsworth wrote "They laid him . . . To cavern dark" or

The woodman at dim morn, who blows
The chearing turf his dear wife gave

Professor L. N. Broughton of Cornell University, who kindly collated the dedicatory letter, argument, and first hundred lines of the first edition of *Descriptive Sketches* with the reprint here given, reports fifteen slight inaccuracies in punctuation, capitalization, or spelling, most of which are due to following the final rather than the first text.

Mr. Crofts maintains that Wordsworth's poetry owes little to developments in "the sceptical and sophisticated eighteenth century" since it belongs "clearly to the simpler world of the seventeenth," and has "most curious parallels" with "the religious biography of this period." The lecture is stimulating but seems to me in the main unsound. For example, I do not find "profound modifications of personality" in the Wordsworth of 1795-8 but a return, with a new awareness, to the earlier personality. In the last four pages Mr. Crofts discriminates admirably between the treatment of nature in Wordsworth's poetry and in that of seventeenth-century writers, whose eyes were fixed, not on the object, but on brave, translunary things.

Much labor has gone into the preparation of Miss Comparetti's

comprehensive, careful and useful edition of the gray, austere *White Doe of Rylstone*. Her volume includes the final text together with full, variant readings, two maps, 50 pages of notes, 42 of the comments of various writers (interesting chiefly for the light they throw on the history of criticism and of Wordsworth's reputation), and no less than 80 pages on the sources. Not a little of this material might well have been condensed or omitted in the interest of a more searching consideration of matters less obvious but of greater moment. One of these is the part played by the doe in Emily's recovery. Miss Comparetti rightly mentions the joy and peace the doe brings but not its reawakening of Emily's affections. Another subject demanding fuller treatment is the relation of the poem to Scott's metrical romances, of which Wordsworth held a poor opinion and the popularity of which, when contrasted with the neglect of his own work, must have irked him. In choosing a story so similar even in time and place to one of Scott's own, in employing Scott's meter and Scott's format, the quarto, Wordsworth was certainly challenging comparison with the work of his friend. The challenge was emphasized by the shift in emphasis from the outer to the inner world, from pageantry to patience, from romantic love to family affection. Wordsworth wrote Scott on August 4, 1808: "I think your end [in *Marmion*] has been attained That it is not in every respect the end which I should wish you to propose to yourself, you will be well aware, from what you know of my notions of composition, both as to matter and manner." In *The White Doe* he seems to be carrying out the purpose which he wished the Border Minstrel had proposed to himself: the exaltation of spiritual values over physical. The work is not an attack on the active life but an attempt to redress the balance in favor (as its author wrote Coleridge April 19, 1808 and repeated in the Fenwick note) of "the better fortitude Of patience and heroic martyrdom Unsung." There may also be an unconscious allusion to Scott's poetry in Wordsworth's letter to Wrangham of January 18, 1816: "Throughout [*The White Doe*], objects . . . derive their influence not from properties inherent in them, . . . but from such as are bestowed upon them by the minds of those who are conversant with [them]. . . . Thus the Poetry . . . proceeds whence it ought to do, from the soul of Man, communicating its creative energies to the images of the external world." Nearly all of these letters and other relevant documents are included in Miss Comparetti's useful edition.

Mrs. Broughton's well-edited volume is notable for containing 67 letters of Wordsworth's, 5 of his sister's, 4 of his wife's, 6 of Coleridge's, and 5 of Southey's. None of these has previously been published in its entirety and nearly all are recent additions to the rich Wordsworth collection in the Cornell University library. None is important or particularly interesting, although Wordsworth's illuminating comments to Mrs. Clarkson on *The Excursion*

are here printed accurately and completely for the first time. Manner and the matter are characteristic of the three poets when not at their best: Wordsworth, pedestrian; Coleridge, affectionate but wordy and tending to the fatuous; Southey, pleasantly conversational but little more. Forty-three of the letters, addressed to G. H. Gordon, are concerned chiefly with Wordsworth's attempts to find a home on the continent in which his son William could be tutored. Readers of these and other letters in which the Wordsworth children figure largely will wish an account of their later histories. Were they, except for Dora, dull and generally negligible?

The letters which Mr. Broughton prints (except those from Southey) are listed along with more than 700 other items in his supplement to his 1931 catalogue of the Cornell University Wordsworth Collection. In these ten years the library has acquired not only unpublished letters and manuscripts but many books from Wordsworth's or from Ruskin's library, nearly 150 Coleridge items, and over 200 dealing with the lake country. Scholars will be glad to have the list of numerous books, articles, and reviews dealing with Wordsworth and Coleridge which could have been assembled only by one with Mr. Broughton's persistence, his unusual acquaintance with new publications and with all that pertains to Wordsworth.

Miss Burton's thesis is that the revisions of *The Prelude* reveal, not two Wordsworths—a young, radical, inspired creator and an old, pedestrian conformist—but one, a writer whose beliefs and poetic powers changed but little from 1805 to 1840. Of the evidence from the poet's acts and letters as well as from the testimony of Crabb Robinson and others which points in the opposite direction, she says nothing. Nor does she mention the suppression of animistic passages in the early texts and the addition of pious ones. The softening of lines which might be interpreted pantheistically she ignores or explains on other grounds. She also seems to ignore the cautious double negative, which was introduced rather often into the later text. But on this and some other points I may be mistaken, for the inadequacy of the index makes it difficult to discover what subjects or passages are discussed.

Her astonishing conclusion that when Wordsworth came to revise *The Prelude* he was "a vastly better poet than his younger self" (p. 227) ignores the supreme poetic gift, which is creation, not revision. "When I compose," a distinguished living poet has remarked, "I am a poet; when I revise, I am a critic." Miss Burton is right in maintaining that the revisions of *The Prelude* are usually improvements; but a great part of them are improvements such as almost any experienced writer could have made. Furthermore many of the changes commended by Miss Burton are of the kind that the youthful Wordsworth reprobated: "bestowed" for "did give" (p. 139), "behold" for "see," "cleaves" for "sticks,"

"ken" for "mark," "adhered" for "stuck," "glassy plain" for "ice," "garb" for "clothes," "whereto" for "to which," "ere long" for "meanwhile," "perchance" for "perhaps," "nigh" for "near" (pp. 144-5), "intrusive restlessness" for "false activity," "stripling of the hills" for "mountain Youth," "learnt betimes" for "been tram'd up," "unworldly votaries" for "blameless priesthood," "solicit our regard" for "might here be spoken of" (p. 213). Such stuffiness Miss Burton terms "the change to a more poetic word" (p. 144) or to "more polished phrases" (p. 212), just as she finds that the distortion of the normal word order in the final text "greatly strengthens" the line or serves "to make the poem more poetic" (pp. 204-5). And so, by a singular irony, he who led the attack on "poetic diction" is praised for having perpetrated such diction!

Mr. Healey has edited with care and intelligence a small, hitherto unpublished notebook used by Wordsworth in 1839 and 1840. In it the poet jotted down appointments and other memoranda during a visit to London and Oxford when he received the honorary degree of D. C. L. He also wrote in it an early version of the first of his sonnets on Furness Abbey, an unpublished quatrain, two unpublished bits of verse apparently on a portrait of Miss Fenwick, and a form of *Prelude*, viii. 451-8 which differs but slightly from the lines as published, for which no manuscript authority had previously been found. The material is not important but Mr. Healey has edited it admirably.

RAYMOND HAVENS

The Evolution of "The Faerie Queene." By JOSEPHINE WATERS BENNETT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. ix + 299. \$3.00.

When we stop to consider we are all aware that *The Faerie Queene* in its final form has many inconsistencies and loose ends, that in the long course of composition it must have undergone more or less radical changes, and that the letter to Raleigh, which did not even harmonize with the part of the poem it accompanied, could not have been Spenser's one and only plan. Yet most of the time we incline, as Mrs. Bennett says, to assume that Spenser began with 'A Gentle Knight was pricking on the plaine' and drove straight on through his six books until death overtook him, so that in our critical comments on his artistic development and other topics we are likely to forget his patchwork method. Some years ago Miss Spens made a serious if not too plausible attempt to divine the nature of the poem's evolution, and now Mrs. Bennett has made a new attempt. Her solid, thorough, and acute study is a notable contribution to Spenserian exegesis. As Mrs. Bennett's articles

have amply shown, she has all Spenser and Spenserian scholarship under ready command, and even readers who have some sense of virtue may now and then feel like the ladies who tried on Florimell's girdle. The author's learning, however, is only the foundation for a fresh and lucid argument. In the first eight chapters Mrs. Bennett examines such general problems as the nature of Spenser's first essay (the one Harvey saw), the late plan described in the letter to Raleigh, and the roles of the Faery Queen and of Arthur. In eleven more chapters she analyzes the six books and tries to disentangle early and late elements and to explain general and particular changes in plot and technique, allegory and characterization. One of many welcome things is her emphasis on *Revelation* as the basic source of Book I.

In a brief review of a complex study one can perhaps best show its range and importance, if not the array of evidence mobilized, by itemizing some of the author's ideas. These are presented in the book as suggestions with varying degrees of probability, but for convenience here they are summarized as facts. The letter to Raleigh did not embody Spenser's plan of 1580 but was an attempt "to systematize the product of ten years of experimentation." Though his allegiance was divided between Virgil and Ariosto, the poet did not, after writing Books I and II, decide to follow the loose pattern of Ariosto; he began as Ariosto's disciple. At first, too, starting from Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* and his own April eclogue, he celebrated Elizabeth as the Faery Queen, an English Diana. She was then given an Order of Maidenhead, an Order not mentioned to Raleigh but conspicuous in III, IV, and V. She finally developed into the remote but ideal Gloriana, while her role as Diana was taken by Belphebe. The Order of Maidenhead gave place to a scheme of twelve moral virtues, exemplified by twelve knights. But Spenser did not begin with supposedly Aristotelian virtues but with the four cardinal and more or less Christianized virtues. The Arthur so prominent in the letter to Raleigh, and in our theories of Spenser's heroic poem, was not an initial and central part of his plan but a late addition prompted by a revival of public interest in the British hero, an addition not always well articulated with the story as it stood—as in II, where Arthur for a while crowds Guyon out of the picture. The names of Guyon and Arthegall, taken from the two famous Earls of Warwick, were tributes to the Dudley family from the author of *Stemmata Dudleiana*. Arthur was not designed as a compliment to Leicester. The Irena episode in V was originally written about Lord Grey but in 1595 was altered to fit Sir John Norris; Arthegall, the rescuer of Irena and Burbon, is Norris.

As this partial list indicates, Mrs. Bennett challenges a good many traditional assumptions and opinions and doubtless she will not convince all readers on all points. For instance, I find it a bit hard to accept Arthur's vision of the Faery Queen (I, ix) as "little

more than a paraphrase" of *Sir Thopas* (p. 11). And I do not understand the logic behind the statement that "Spenser's apologists have devised an interpretation of chastity to fit the contents of the book" (p. 144); one does not know what course is open to critics except to try to interpret what the poet gives them. Praise of Spenser's positive conception of chastity has been misguided. Mrs. Bennett argues, because, in his "thoroughly conventional" view, chastity was simply virginity; because he had conceived of Britomart's story "as a love story, modeled on Ariosto's tribute to the house of Este"; because he was embarrassed by the need of flattering the virgin queen; and because he could not please her with a heroine passionately in love. But after all, whatever Spenser's conjectural problems, there remains the insurmountable fact that he did choose to write and offer to the queen a Book in which the heroine of chastity was an ardent ideal lover. Once in a while some readers may feel that, with her genius for reconstruction, Mrs. Bennett has for the moment left her Palmer behind and tried to prove too much. But concreteness of exposition is one of her merits and, on the rare occasions when slight qualms arise, one has a case to meet. And as a rule one has nothing but admiration for the author's analytic skill and judgment, and gratitude for the many fresh rays of light her close investigation throws upon the poem that we have.

DOUGLAS BUSH

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John Dryden: Some Biographical Facts and Problems. By JAMES M. OSBORN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. xiv + 295. \$3.50.

This is an able, scholarly performance, which will be of service to students of Dryden for many years to come. It covers a variety of subjects, for the most part related only as they pertain to the life of John Dryden. The manner in which they are treated testifies to the intelligent curiosity and scholarly resourcefulness of the author. Mr. Osborn's good judgment may be illustrated not only by what he has included in his book but also by what he has omitted. For example, he is fully aware, as I have occasion to know, of certain interesting records of Dryden's financial transactions, such records as the exchequer receipts now in the possession of the William Andrews Clark Library and the account of his deposits and withdrawals preserved by Hoare's Bank in London. But the story told by these records is still so incomplete as to be without special meaning, and it was therefore properly excluded.

More than half of the book is devoted to a survey of the chief biographies of Dryden, and the survey proves to be illuminating in various ways. Not only does it reveal a number of interesting facts

about the methods of scholarship and of biographical writing employed by such men as Birch, Malone, Scott, and Johnson, but, by tracing in detail how certain traditions concerning the poet originated, developed, and (in some instances) were disposed of by investigation, it also simplifies the problems of Dryden's future biographers, who will the more easily avoid the prejudices and errors of the past. The sections given to Edmond Malone are especially informative and the appraisal of the fact-finding and the critical abilities of Johnson, Malone, and Scott is especially judicious.

The usefulness of the book proceeds from virtues of different sorts. It contains new information about Dryden, his family, and his friends. For example, it traces Dryden's residences in London, establishes the fact and the date of his baptism, calls attention to and dates an important letter which he wrote to Dorset, throws new light on his relations with Walsh, discloses several interesting facts about his connections with the Salwey family, to whom he was related, and provides us with new material about the life and death, in Rome, of his second son. In the analysis of manuscript notes and corrections in Dryden's copy of the 1679 Spenser it gives us a new view of the poet's reading habits and of his attitude toward the text of Spenser. Besides providing new information, it outlines some of the more interesting problems connected with Dryden's career, sums up, in a comprehensive way, the facts bearing upon them, and weighs the evidence. The results are sometimes inconclusive, but Mr. Osborn's statement of the pertinent facts will at least lighten the task of other scholars who deal with the same problems.

At the risk of appearing to quibble over words I should dissent from a few conclusions as they are stated by Mr. Osborn. Thus, when he writes, discussing the *Medal of John Bayes* (p. 167): "Because the outside evidence always supports and never contradicts what Shadwell says, even those incidents where corroborative evidence is lacking must be accepted until they can be disproven"; I should say that they must be accepted as probabilities but not as facts. Likewise when he writes, apropos of the Verses on Konigsmark (p. 254): "In the absence of contradictory evidence Gregor's testimony is enough, in my opinion, to allow the verses to be accepted as Dryden's"; I should say, inasmuch as this kind of testimony has so often proved to be misleading, that Dryden's authorship is a possibility but not a fact. However, since it is pretty clear that Mr. Osborn offers such judgments tentatively, with the full realization that further evidence may lead to different conclusions, they are not properly subject to serious objection. These, and the half dozen minor slips to be found in the volume, do not detract from its essential soundness and usefulness.

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Stefan George: Poems. Rendered into English by CAROL NORTH VALHOPE and ERNST MORWITZ. Pantheon Books Inc. [1943] 253 pp. \$2.75.

Late, years after Rilke, Stefan George makes his appearance in the poetic and spiritual world of the United States, perhaps at an opportune time i. e. at a moment when America, after facing the enormous problems of the war with almost stoical composure, is beginning to bend its emotional energies toward the tasks of peace and reconstruction. If the reading public and especially the younger generation can overcome the difficulties which form and thought of this poet both in translation and original present, there is hope that he may with his sternness of vision and intransigence of ethical postulates help to shape the social and political ideas of a post-war world, hope and irony if he whom the Nazi leaders would fain have raised on their shield while he lived and deified after he had passed, should have prophesied rightly in his words

I shall be earth, shall be the grave of heroes,
That sacred sons approach to be fulfilled.

The present translation is imbued with the spirit of Stefan George throughout down to its very technique, which the epilogue on "Method and Purpose" elucidates: it bars every freedom of the translator except that of sometimes changing feminine to masculine rhymes, thus yielding to the character of the English language; it maintains intact the integration of the stanza and even, if at all feasible, of the line; it observes the meter and its ornaments, such as alliteration and vowel scales, and zealously guards the dignity of form as expression of content against patchwords in rhyme or rhythm. Bearing in mind such selfimposed strictures and the extraordinary difficulties of the text itself, the objections and suggestions appended at the end of this review should be seen in proper proportion and considered as a modest contribution toward a second edition of the book

A word must still be said about the introduction, which presents the reader not only with a competent introduction to the world and art of Stefan George by one of his close friends, but also with a running commentary to these 99 poems, which were chosen from seven of the poet's volumes not alone for their intrinsic merit, but from the standpoint of presenting a conception of his development, art and ideals. No doubt the felicitous cooperation of the translators owes its success to the esoteric knowledge and interpretation of Mr. Horwitz and the tried art of verse rendering of Mrs. North Valhope. The larger part is at least more than adequate and a goodly number of the poems are congenial and strikingly brilliant (especially those of *Teppich des Lebens* and *Siebente Ring*). The numbers of the following observations refer to pages:

Vocabulary (especially in technical terms and shading): 43 *woodwax* unfamiliar for *broom*, 105 *quickening grasses* the plural destroys the definiteness of a botanical name (better known as *quick grass*); *tendrils* need not be trimmed (in spite of Muret-Sanders the word *Ranken* means only *branch, vine*), 151 *osiers* need no watering, *wall-bloom* deviates too far from the technical name *wall flower*, 43 *tide* is moving water and does not form a frozen surface, just as in 57 waves cannot serve as a mirror, 47 *oozed* disagreeable connotation, *fence* has no bark, *Wipfel* are not sprays, 51 *slacken* the absolute use of verbs (either without object noun or reflexive) is disturbing, as for instance also in 73 *flinging* (myself) and in 55 where *further landing* suggests a pier, 53 *grau* suggests mourning while *sallow* has a negative valuation; 55 *regions* too indistinct for *Gelände*, *frosty* has a disagreeable connotation, which especially in 173 vitiates the key words *kuhle Au* of this landscape, 85 *bespricht* *stills, charms*, 99 *to fix the vague divinings of the night*—incomprehensible, 119 *Belt surge*? 143 *spun* for *niederfiel* is misleading, one sees grain instead of hail, 171 *tidc*? Stanza 3 is incomprehensible; in the last stanza an *and* between *circling stars* and *flowers blowing* would clarify the serial construction; 173 *rue* pity instead of emotion? 175 *Rasen* cannot be seen in *rocks, fruit* is spent suggests end rather than beginning; the change of tense in *abating* and *do not grasp* changes the subtle shading; 183 *Lord of Turning* is incomprehensible, 185 *candid* is not a visual impression; 195 *revealed* is too pale for *aufreiß*; 203 *raunt* *breathes*? 211 *Bleibe der Flamme Trabant* follow the flame would have the flame move, while the idea is that it stays, 213 *light within flaming in*? 219 *hollow* would be more concrete than the plural, 227 *be immersed* lacks the dynamic; 235 *stay* does not express that he may enter but would not remain, 237 *is gone* expresses abstractly a permanent state instead of the concrete today's waiting in vain; 239 *this these* cacophonous

Construction 47 *to the yet unknown*. person or object? *remote in his grief*. which is the subject, who or the unknown? 49 *he* cannot be understood as referring to *sun* (In hall of . . . the sun . . . planets reigns?) 57 *too* seems to modify *garlands* and not *your*, 59 *shall play rule*: which is the verb? 69 the plural *paths* would have separated more clearly *molley* from *pond*; 81 *looks wrathe*? last line is incomprehensible; would *now* not be better than *then* in last stanza? 99 *gain* sounds commercial; 103 comma after *gains* would clarify somewhat, as after *voice* in 129 and after *now* in 133 (fourth line from bottom), 139 the construction of the last four lines would become clear if *Be now* . . . *laving* could be at the end (unfortunately disturbing the rhyme scheme), 151 *edges*: cannot be immediately recognized as a verb; 153 the change of tenses makes the last stanza incomprehensible; 157 *is shifted*: the motion demands a dynamic verb form in the present tense, otherwise the noun dominates the metaphor; 163 who is the *spouse*? 197 *is come*; *knows*: the present tense instead of the past makes it abstract; 201 confusion of tenses beclouds the meaning entirely; 209 first lines incomprehensible; would this be better? You call it much when that which I possess / you took as yours; *precarious* is *bedenklich* not adverbial, and in sense: *compelling*? *voucher* suggests the paper rather than the person; 217 line 3 *my* (so in original) instead of *the* would make the passage clearer; 219 change to: *That he was granted sojourn in their splendor*; and since *they* refers to *heights*, it would be more emphatic and clearer in its reference at the beginning. *They shall continue* . . . ; 231 *grooves*: cannot be sensed as a verb, 235 line 7 *that house*?

The reader will keenly miss a complete alphabetic index of titles and first lines.

ERNST FEISE

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Three Poets and Reality, A Study of a German, an Austrian and a Swiss contemporary lyricist. By RUTH HOFRICHTER. Yale University (for Vassar College), 1942. \$2.00.

Ruth Hofrichter hat in dem vorliegenden Band das Werk dreier moderner Lyriker auf ihr Verhältnis zur Realität hin untersucht. Die drei Dichter sind Carossa, Weinheber und Steffen — ein Deutscher, ein Österreicher und ein Schweizer. Der Begriff "Realität" ist in seinen beiden grundsätzlichen Möglichkeiten gefasst: als Natur, im weitesten Sinne des Wortes, und als politische Gegebenheit. Der naturnaheste der drei Dichter ist Carossa; für den Anthroposophen Steffen hat die Natur nur als Symbol und Gleichnis dichterisches Leben, während die ideologisch orientierte Lyrik Weinhebers sich in einer völlig abstrakten Landschaft bewegt. Was diese Dichter aber, auf der anderen Seite, miteinander verbindet ist die politische Realität: ihre mehr oder weniger gewollte Existenz innerhalb des nationalsozialistischen Machtbereiches. Ihr Verhältnis zum Hitlerismus ist dabei aber wieder so verschieden wie ihre Persönlichkeiten verschieden sind: Carossa nimmt ihn mit versteckt protestierender Resignation hin, Steffen ignoriert ihn völlig, und nur Weinheber hat ihn wirklich zur bizarren Basis seiner Dichtung gemacht. Die Verfasserin hat sich jedoch nicht mit der Feststellung dieser geistigen Situation begnügt, sondern ist durch geschickte Analysen kritisch zu den dichterischen und menschlichen Quellen dieser Dichter vorgedrungen. Besonders aufschlussreich ist die Untersuchung der inkonsequenten und widerspruchsvollen Weltanschauung Weinhebers. Die Auseinandersetzung mit Carossa und Steffen dagegen bringt wenig Neues zutage. Das mag nicht zuletzt daran liegen, dass weder Carossa noch Steffen (und Carossa noch weniger als Steffen) praedominierend lyrische Dichter sind. Während die Verfasserin aber das erzählende Werk Carossas ausführlich in die Diskussion einbezieht, so ausführlich, dass die Lyrik dieses Dichters eigentlich nur zur Erhartung der aus der Prosa gewonnenen Aufschlüsse benutzt wird, beschränkt sie sich bei Steffen ausdrücklich auf die Lyrik: ein etwas unsystematisches Vorgehen, das nicht ganz befriedigt.

Am wenigsten überzeugt der Rahmen, in den die drei Einzelarbeiten eingespannt sind. In einem einleitenden Kapitel werden Probleme angeschnitten, auf die es im Folgenden keine Antwort gibt. Abgesehen von dem Verhältnis der drei Dichter zu Rilke wird wenig oder nichts gesagt über ihren Platz in der deutschen Literaturtradition. Es wird kein Versuch gemacht, ihre eigene Realitätschau zu dem Realitätsproblem früherer Generationen in Beziehung zu setzen. Ebenso wenig wird begründet, warum die Verfasserin sich auf die drei herausgegriffenen Dichter beschränkt hat, und man muss bedauern, dass der Rahmen nicht weiter gefasst wurde.

und das Problem der Realität beim modernen Dichter überhaupt und als solches ins Auge fasst. Trotzdem aber haben wir hier einen ersten ernsthaften Versuch, die Rolle des Lyrikers unter völlig unlyrischen Verhältnissen und Umständen, des Lyrikers unserer Zeit, zu untersuchen und ein Kapitel der modernen deutschen Literaturgeschichte zu skizzieren, das noch viele kommende Generationen von Historikern beschäftigen wird—wenn die hier untersuchte politische Realität erst wirklich Historie geworden ist.

WOLFGANG PAULSEN

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The Italian Questione della Lingua. An Interpretative Essay. By ROBERT A. HALL, JR. Chapel Hill, 1942. 66 pp. (University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 4.)

Mr. Hall's Essay gives us something more than a mere outline of the *Questione della Lingua*. He has attempted to review the whole question and to evaluate it from the vantage point of modern linguistic science; and in this respect his approach adds to and criticises the treatment of the subject by Vivaldi, Labande-Jeanroy and others. It is inevitable and acceptable that he should use Labande-Jeanroy's distinction of the four possible positions in this long debate: 1) Tuscan and Archaistic 2) Tuscan and Anti-Archaistic 3) Anti-Tuscan and Archaistic and 4) Anti-Tuscan and Anti-Archaistic. There can surely be no quarrel with these headings or with Hall's particular allocations under them. Likewise his external history of the debates is scrupulous and accurate.

The third chapter of the essay entitled "Who was Right" is more provocative. In order to formulate judgment, Mr. Hall insists on distinguishing three elements of the debate: the origin and nature of Italian, its extension, and the question of authority. As to actual origin, Mr. Hall finds that the "Tuscan" party was right. "Modern linguistics furnishes incontrovertible proofs of the Tuscan and more specifically Florentine nature of standard Italian." In the question of extension of this standard language, both sides exaggerated their claims. In its spread, the Florentine language took up features from dialects which it overlaid and superseded. The formation of Italian in the Trecento and the spread of the language was of the same type as that of standard French, Spanish or English. As for the question of authority, Mr. Hall keeps to his vantage point of "modern linguistic science" and brings to bear on the position "that no type of linguistic structure and no linguistic phenomenon is inherently and inalterably superior to any

other. Nor does any speaker of a language have any inherent authority over any other speaker."

It is interesting to have here the viewpoint of "modern linguistic science" introduced into the question. But one feels that Hall has at this point kept too strictly to a position of modern linguistic *scientist* to the detriment of his *historical* judgment. That is, he seems here to be making a pronouncement which few of the debaters in the long *questione* would have found very reasonable. For, as Mr. Hall well knows, but as linguistic scientist refuses to consider here, the *questione della lingua* was primarily a debate over a standard *literary* language. To judge of "who was right" without considering this fundamental aspect of the question, however thorny and unscientific it may be, seems to misplace the true accent of the historical situation. From the earliest apotheosis of the "tre corone" to Manzoni, the question of an authoritative literary *tradition* is constantly present in the *Questione*. Even with Dante, of course, it was very much present. Mr. Hall may be quite right in stating that the "volgare illustre or aulico set up by Dante in the *D. V. E.* was not a fact" and that "the plain truth of the matter is that such a volgare aulico never existed outside of the imagination of Dante and the anti-Tuscans." But is it not more important to the question that it did exist in Dante's imagination, and continue to be an elusive *fera fuggitiva* (quod in qualibet redolet civitate, nec cubat in ulla) through the centuries. What modern Italian writer has failed to pursue *it* in his work? In a chapter headed "who was right" such things must be taken into account.

These are perhaps minor doubts. Mr. Hall's essay merits attention from all students of Italian and is the neatest digest of the *Questione della lingua* now in print.

CHARLES S. SINGLETON

Simon Tyssot de Patot and the Seventeenth-Century Background of Critical Deism. By DAVID RICE MCKEE Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. 105 pp.

The *Voyages et aventures de Jacques Massé* appeared in 1710. Of this little book, the Marquis d'Argenson wrote nearly half a century later:

Ce livre a fait grand bruit dans son temps, et est encore aujourd'hui à la mode. C'est un voyage imaginaire dans les terres australes, en un pays où l'auteur prétend que l'on vivoit sous la religion naturelle, avec une candeur

et un ordre que l'on ne voit point sous la religion révélée. Il se prétend bon chrétien, mais il introduit des interlocuteurs qui lancent effrontément des argumens terribles contre la religion¹

The author of these "argumens terribles," Simon Tyssot de Patot, remained prudently unknown to his reading public in the eighteenth century. Born in London in 1655, he passed a few years in Rouen, but spent most of his life as a Protestant refugee in Holland. Even there his independence of thought brought him some trouble and persecution. His intellectual background was developed from such reading as Montaigne, Descartes, Gassendi, Hobbes, Spinoza, La Mothe Le Vayer, Denis Veiras,² Bayle, and Fontenelle. He was one of the popularizers of critical deism and, forerunner of Béranger, belonged, he says, to "la Religion des honnêtes gens" (p. 92). Unlike Rousseau later, Tyssot "has no primitivistic abhorrence to the use of money, nor is he an advocate of happy ignorance" (p. 87). His *Fable des abeilles*, unrelated to Mandeville's, seems to have aroused echoes in Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique*, Article *Abeilles* (1770) (pp. 58-61). In another passage Voltaire refers, in a long list of freethinkers, to "l'auteur déguisé sous le nom de Jacques Massé" (p. 11). Thus Tyssot de Patot takes his place among those obscure authors of "imaginary voyages" who played no small rôle in the spread of new and liberal ideas. Professor McKee's careful and intelligent study fills a gap in this important phase of literary history. The *Voyages et aventures de Jaques Massé* remains today one of the most interesting of these secondary works not undeservedly resurrected from the past.³

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¹ D'Argenson, *Mémoires*, Paris, Jannet, 1858, v, 125-26.

² Cf. E. Von der Muhl, *Denis Veiras et son Histoire des Sévarambes*, Paris, 1938.

³ The spelling of Locke as "Loke" by Tyssot does not have the special significance which Professor McKee attaches to it (p. 80). The spelling occurs, for example, in the original edition of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* (Lanson ed., Paris, 1915-17, I, 166 ff.), and was not an unnatural way to reproduce the name in French at the time. The use by Voltaire of mathematical computation in 1771 against the idea of resurrection of the body can be linked also with his famous "Note des damnés," added to the *Henriade* in 1746 (Moland, VIII, 175, n. 1). In this connection (cf. pp. 65-66), it is worth remarking also that *Jacques Massé* is mentioned at Cirey as early as January, 1739, by Mme de Graffigny, not, as Professor McKee inadvertently states, by Mme du Châtelet (p. 11). The detail does not affect, however, the legitimate inference that the work was already known to Voltaire as to a rather wide reading public.

BRIEF MENTION

Life in Eighteenth Century England. By ROBERT J. ALLEN. Boston, Massachusetts: Museum of Fine Arts, [1941]. Portfolio of 42 plates with explanatory captions and 40-page interpretative booklet. \$5.20. (Museum Extension Publications, Illustrative Set, 4.) In 42 plates are 61 illustrations, from 22 collections, public and private, here and abroad, representing the age in which England was changed from a little agricultural island to a rich mercantile colonial nation. In his prefatory note Professor Tinker prepares for the emphasis on material things and on the "lesser arts," as well as for the unity of spirit largely prevalent from poetry and politics to china and furniture. If in the whole collection balance and proportion are not perfect, for representing the life of the age, because of overweight on some matters, and omission of others (such as the plight of the poor and notably, religion, in the age of the Wesleys and Whitefield), that is almost inevitable. We are grateful that five valuable pieces of theatrical history can be provided from the Harvard Theatre Collection, and if we might prefer that the portrait of Coram had taken the place of one of Hogarth's "Marriages," we know that humanitarianism could not be adequately depicted thereby, nor could "Gin Lane" serve fully for the misery and brutality of that refined age. But No. 30, of 17th century interest, might well have given way to perhaps, the fine print of Stourhead, a drawing of trees by Gainsborough, an aquatint by William Gilpin, to show the important line running from Shaftesbury to Wordsworth, now hardly indicated. If we wish for a view of the Bath Crescent, that is probably because of recent news.

Dr. Allen's accompanying brochure provides compactly much information, which might connect more closely with the pictures and gives a list of books and one of musical recordings available. This portfolio is one more valuable aid to the teacher of literature, history or art, for which we owe gratitude to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

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PATER'S USE OF GREEK QUOTATIONS

Though Pater's scholarship is usually taken for granted, it has been questioned by various critics. His biographer, Wright, for instance, wrote that Pater was "no scholar, as Oxford understands the word" and mentioned particularly his weakness in Latin and Greek and his habit of misquoting the Bible.¹ His use of quotations in general has been criticized by Chew, who wrote that it was characterized by "the separation of passages joined in the original, the junction of passages far distant in the original, unnoted omissions and, in some cases, mistranslations." Chew considers this "intentional, yet with no thought of deception, being closely related as a literary device to Pater's whole method of composition" and yet so persistent that "in hardly a single translated passage can one depend upon the accuracy of the translation."² Since Chew drew his illustrations almost entirely from modern literature, I have undertaken a study of Pater's Greek quotations to see what light they throw upon his classical scholarship and his literary usage. The difficulty of such a study lies partly in the great number of quotations and partly in the fact that Pater almost never gives an exact reference to a specific passage. Sometimes he refers to a particular book of Homer or to a dialogue of Plato, occasionally even to a book of the *Republic*, but usually he introduces a quotation only by saying, "as Pausanias tells us" or "as Plato says." However, it has been possible to trace more than four hundred references to their source. These fall naturally into three groups, direct quotations in Greek with or without translations, passages directly translated usually with quotation marks, and allusions without actual translation.

¹ Thomas Wright, *The Life of Walter Pater* (London, 1907), I. 236; II. 114.

² Samuel C. Chew, "Pater's Quotations," *Nation*, 99 (1914), 404 f.

Direct quotations in Greek vary in extent from one or two words to three lines. They number about a hundred and twenty, approximately two-thirds from Plato but from many other writers also, Homer, Hesiod, Parmenides, Heraclitus, Pindar, Aeschylus, Euripides, Thucydides, Xenophon, Athenaeus, Cleanthes, Strabo, Pausanias and Marcus Aurelius. The majority of these quotations are entirely accurate but slight changes are found in some. It is Pater's habit to quote a noun phrase in the nominative, whatever its case in the original. What Chew calls "unnoted omissions" are found not infrequently but often the word omitted is a conjunction, pronoun or some other word, superfluous or even unintelligible in a phrase quoted out of its context.³ Occasionally a more important word or phrase is omitted for the sake of brevity,⁴ once several lines.⁵ In one case the omission of the word *if* (*ei*) and the consequent change from a condition to a statement leaves an incorrect form of the negative.⁶ Chew's criticism that Pater joins passages far distant in the original is illustrated, as far as I can see, only once in the Greek quotations, when Plato is discussing the same subject in both passages and in the later passage refers to the earlier one with the words "which we were discussing just now."⁷ Occasionally Pater adds a Greek phrase not found in the passage quoted. In one case the phrase added, "itself by itself," is frequent in Plato though it does not occur in this passage.⁸ In another case Pater introduces a quotation by a Greek phrase "along with you to consider, to seek out, what the thing may be."⁹ This is essentially Platonic in tone and vocabulary but does not appear in Plato in this form and is used here, I think, simply to give the quotation which follows a proper setting. Similarly Pater rounds out Pindar's phrase "the delight-

³ Eight examples.

⁴ Five examples

⁵ Rep., 478 A, B, *Plato and Platonism* (London, 1910), 43. All references to Pater's works are to this Library Edition.

⁶ *μηδέν* is ungrammatically used with the indicative in an independent clause (*Meno*, 87 D, *Plato and Platonism*, 83).

⁷ Rep., 398 B and 414 B, *Plato and Platonism*, 247.

⁸ *αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτό*, *Meno*, 86 C, *Plato and Platonism*, 83.

⁹ *Σκέψασθαι καὶ συζητῆσαι ὅτι πότε ἔσονται*, *Plato and Platonism*, 179. Contrary to Pater's usual custom the Greek in this case is added in a footnote. Note wrong accents.

ful things" by adding "in Hellas."¹⁰ In another passage the addition of a preposition makes it possible for him to bring naturally into his sentence words used together by Plato but in an entirely different context.¹¹ Certain slight changes may be due to a faulty memory; for instance, a change in order, the use of a simple verb rather than its rarer compound, the change of the tense of a participle, the substitution of one particle for another, the use of a synonymous phrase. Twice this apparent failure of memory goes further but not far enough to affect the meaning.¹² Occasionally Pater's purpose is probably to make the meaning more intelligible when the Greek is quoted out of its context,—a noun is substituted for a pronoun, for instance, or a specific phrase for one that is too vague when used by itself. In one case the Greek phrase is altered slightly in an apparent attempt to fit it in properly as an integral part of the sentence.¹³ One may conclude, then, that the slight inaccuracies which are found in about a third of Pater's Greek quotations may be accidental and caused by a faulty memory or may be intentional and brought about by a desire for brevity or an attempt to make a phrase intelligible when quoted out of its context or to adapt it to the passage in which it is used. Since the inaccuracies are comparatively few and, for the most part, so slight as never to change the essential meaning, it would be pedantic to censure him because he did not meticulously check all his references. In addition to Greek quotations Pater frequently uses Greek words and phrases, which cannot be traced to any single passage. Usually these phrases are idiomatic Greek and correctly used but he makes one curious slip in using the accusative with a verb which always takes the dative. This is so obviously wrong that it seems strange that the error was not noticed and corrected in a later edition.¹⁴

Pater's direct translations from the Greek may be divided into two groups: those varying in length from a phrase to several lines

¹⁰ Pindar O. 14 5, *Plato and Platonism*, 267.

¹¹ *Phaedr.*, 272 A, *Plato and Platonism*, 119.

¹² Marcus Aurelius 7. 53, *Marius*, 2. 47; *Phaedo*, 97 C, *Plato and Platonism*, 81.

¹³ Marcus Aurelius 4. 32, *Marius*, 1. 200.

¹⁴ ἀκολουθεῖν τὸν λόγον, *Plato and Platonism*, 281. Campbell calls attention to this in his review of *Plato and Platonism*, *Ol. Rev.*, 7 (1893), 266.

and the longer passages, roughly half a page to several pages.¹⁵ Excluding Plato and Marcus Aurelius, whom it is convenient to consider separately, there are approximately fifty short passages, covering a wide range of writers. The writers appearing most frequently are Homer,¹⁶ the Homeric Hymns, Heracitus, Parmenides, Pindar, Euripides and Pausanias. There are also one or two translations from Hesiod, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristotle, Callimachus, Plutarch, Athenaeus, Aristeides and Hermas. Two of the translations are rather free¹⁷ and occasionally unimportant words are omitted¹⁸ but, on the whole, the translations are remarkably close and accurate. The junction of passages far distant in the original to which Chew objects is found only in two short passages from the *Shepherd* of Hermas.¹⁹

His longer translations differ somewhat in faithfulness to the original. That of a passage of twenty-seven lines from Theocritus' seventh idyl is very close.²⁰ His translation of a messenger-speech from the *Bacchae* of Euripides²¹ and of the *Halcyon* are somewhat cut but fairly close.²² Cleanthes' "Hymn to Zeus" is shortened by omissions to almost half. Shorey says of this, "Walter Pater, by a trick of translation, converts its loose verbose rhetorical Greek hexameters into the plausible likeness of an Old Testament psalm."²³ And yet, one may add, still manages to keep closely to the original.²⁴ The translation from Eusebius'

¹⁵ Direct translations when accompanied by the Greek, as some of them are, usually do not have quotation marks but quotation marks are regularly used when the Greek is not given.

¹⁶ Once Pater uses six lines of Pope's translation of the *Odyssey*, without indicating his indebtedness. As far as I know this is the only time when he uses a translation not his own (*Od* 7. 86-90, *Greek Studies*, 196).

¹⁷ Thuc. 2. 41, *Plato and Platonism*, 102; Paus. 2. 10. 5, *Greek Studies*, 248, 249.

¹⁸ Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, *Greek Studies*, 12; Homeric Hymn to Pan, *Greek Studies*, 16.

¹⁹ Mandate, 6. 2. 2, Mandate, 10, 1. 2, Vision, 3 13. 2, Mandate, 10. 3. 1; *Marius*, 2. 115, 116; Vision, 3. 10. 5, 13. 3, *Marius*, 2. 120.

²⁰ Theocritus 7. 131-157, *Greek Studies*, 126, 127.

²¹ *Bacchae*, 677-751, *Greek Studies*, 71-73.

²² *Marius*, 2. 81-84. For references in *Marius* I have used Anne K. Tuell's annotated edition (New York, 1926).

²³ *Platonism Ancient and Modern* (Berkeley, Cal., 1938), 20.

²⁴ *Plato and Platonism*, 50.

Ecclesiastical History differs from these others in that while it follows the Greek closely, the passage is not only condensed by some omissions but certain sections are transposed and the whole somewhat re-arranged.²⁵ Lucian's *Hermotimus* is reduced to approximately half by the omission of sentences and sections or even groups of sections. In addition, it suits Pater's purpose in *Marius the Epicurean*, which, one must not forget, is a work of fiction, to represent Hermotimus, not as an old man, but as a boy. That necessitates, of course, some changes; for instance, the twenty years of study become "months of toil." But actually, except for the omission of details, which are, for the most part, unessential, the dialogue is produced faithfully.²⁶ The method used in the "somewhat abbreviated version" of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter is slightly different:²⁷ almost all the numerous ornamental epithets and some passages of several lines are omitted. Several times he summarizes a passage briefly in his own words. For example, a passage of twenty-seven lines, Demeter's speech to Helios and his answer, is summed up by, "The goddess questioned him and the Sun told her the whole story." There is nothing to distinguish this sentence in Pater's own words from the translation, which follows the Greek very closely. One may object, as Chew does, to "unnoted omissions" but one must admit that Pater is remarkably skillful in omitting only the digressive and the superfluous and succeeds admirably in making the translation appear a smoothly connected whole.

As for Plato, Pater himself sets a high standard for translation. He says in his "Essay on Style," "If the original be first-rate, one's first care should be with its elementary particles, Plato, for instance, being often reproducible by an exact following, with no variation in structure, of word after word, as the pencil follows a drawing under tracing-paper."²⁸ Pater's own translations of approximately a hundred passages of Plato, most of them in *Plato and Platonism*, usually measure up very well to this standard.²⁹

²⁵ Eusebius 5. 4, 6, 35, 9, 10, 15, 17-19, 51, 20-23, 27, 45, 46, 29-31, 36-38, 41, 42, 53-58, 61-63, *Marius*, 2. 191-196.

²⁶ *Marius*, 2. 144-170.

²⁷ *Greek Studies*, 83-91.

²⁸ *Appreciations*, 14, 15.

²⁹ In one case the reference is incorrect. The reference should be *Rep.*, 458, not 144 (*Plato and Platonism*, 266).

There are twelve "unnoted omissions" for the sake of brevity. Though the translation usually follows the Greek closely, in about a dozen of the shorter passages it is rather free. However, the sense is always brought out adequately and, as in seven cases the Greek is also given, Pater is probably here deliberately interpreting rather than translating. In three passages there is paraphrase rather than translation, i. e., phrases are condensed as well as omitted and once the order of sentences is also changed.³⁰ In only one case do we find the junction of passages distant in the original.³¹ Though there are a few obscure or infelicitous expressions, I find almost no errors.³² Certainly Pater makes every effort to give a clear and exact rendering and usually he is successful. In the longer paragraphs, for instance, he frequently gives in parenthesis an explanatory word: "enthusiasm (or possession)," "into this form of life (into a human body)."³³ Or he gives his own personal comment in parenthesis; there are, for example, four such explanatory comments in a half page translation of the *Philebus*.³⁴ As an example of the art of translation at its best, we might take Pater's translation of what he calls Plato's evening prayer³⁵ where we get a combination of painstaking accuracy with the highest literary excellence.³⁶

Pater's use of the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius in *Marius the Epicurean* must be considered by itself for the obvious reason that *Marius* is a work of fiction with Marcus Aurelius playing an important part. Pater clearly knows the writings of Marcus Aurelius extremely well and makes use of them freely in various ways. Passages in quotation marks are introduced in various connections, sometimes in the conversation of the emperor, sometimes in the analysis of his character. The speech of Marcus Aurelius before the senate is a cento of passages from his writings, twenty-

³⁰ *Meno*, 71 A, *Phaedo*, 98 C, *Rep.*, 327, 328, *Plato and Platonism*, 101, 80, 128

³¹ *Phaedo*, 95 C and 107 A are brought together, *op cit*, 95.

³² Campbell points out *Cl. Rev.*, 7 (1893), 266, two or three errors.

³³ *Plato and Platonism*, 172

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 153, 154.

³⁵ *Rep.*, 571, *Plato and Platonism*, 138.

³⁶ Campbell in his review says, "The translations of illustrative passages are extremely close and have a strong flavor of the original" (*Cl. Rev.*, 7, 266).

two of which may be traced to their source.³⁷ On one occasion phrases from the *Meditations* are actually put into the mouth of Fronto.³⁸ As might be expected from the circumstances under which they are used, the translations are, for the most part, free and in many cases, though accompanied by quotation marks, are paraphrases rather than translations. Aside from the cento mentioned above and another shorter one,³⁹ there is one other case in which two passages far distant in the original are joined.⁴⁰ In addition to thirty-five passages that can be definitely located in the *Meditations*, there are several others given with quotation marks and often as the sentiment of Marcus Aurelius which, although in his spirit and consistent with his ideas, cannot be traced to any specific passage in his writings.

Aside from quotations in Greek and direct translations, there are nearly two hundred references in Pater to specific passages of Greek literature which may be traced without any question to their source. In most cases, the name of the Greek author is indicated. Rather more than half of these, as might be expected, refer to Plato, and more than half of the Plato references are to the *Republic*, though there are also references to the *Apology*, *Lysis*, *Meno*, *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus*, *Symposium* and *Theaetetus*.⁴¹ Most of these references to Plato occur, naturally, in *Plato and Platonism* but about thirty are found in other works of Pater. Half a dozen passages are referred to more than once. Of the non-Platonic references, the largest number (25) are to Homer and the next largest number (16) to Pausanias. This is not strange, when one considers Pater's great interest in art and religion, which makes both Homer and Pausanias, different as they are, important as source material. There are also references to the Homeric Hymns, Xenophanes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Xenophon, Aristotle, Plutarch, the *Greek Anthology*, Aelian, Arrian, Athenaeus and Dio Cassius. At times

³⁷ *Marius*, 1. 201-211.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 2. 10.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 2. 51, 52.

⁴⁰ Marcus Aurelius 2. 16 and 3. 11. 2, *Marius*, 2. 10.

⁴¹ This list would be extended considerably, if there were included dialogues which Pater discusses without alluding to specific passages, e. g. *Charmides*.

Pater's memory apparently proves false as to his source. For instance, in the story of Harmodius and Aristogeiton Pater, though he refers to Herodotus as his source, gives details found not in Herodotus, who mentions the story only briefly, but in Thucydides.⁴² Again there is a reference to Dionysus "a seven months' child, as Callimachus calls him." The extant remains of Callimachus do not contain that term but Lucian does use it of Dionysus.⁴³ Pater also says, "He [Homer] names Hades by the golden reins of his horses." Homer uses this term of Artemis and Ares but not of Hades. Perhaps Pater is thinking of its use by Pindar in a fragment quoted by Pausanias.⁴⁴ I cannot find that Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions, as Pater says he does, human sacrifices in connection with the worship of Dionysus, though that statement is found in other writers.⁴⁵ Sometimes Pater, probably unintentionally, misleads the reader as to the source of a reference. For example, when he says, "Alcman . . . boasts that he belongs to Lacedaemon 'abounding in sacred tripods,' that it was here the Heliconian Muses had revealed themselves to him," one would naturally suppose that he is referring to a poem of Alcman. Actually the reference is to an epigram of Alexander of Aetolia who, as a literary device, represents Alcman as speaking in his own person.⁴⁶ So too when he speaks of those who "like Aeschylus, knew Artemis as the daughter not of Leto but of Demeter" there is no indication that this is given on the evidence of Herodotus.⁴⁷ Occasionally the exact circumstances under which a remark in Plato's dialogue occurs eludes him. For instance, he twice represents Cebes as the author of a remark actually made by Phaedo, and once credits Socrates with an argument of Simmias.⁴⁸ In describing Cephalus, he speaks of "his Sophoclean amenity, as he sits there pontifically at the altar in the court of his peaceful house." Actually Cephalus has come from the sacrifices in the court and the interview with Socrates apparently.

⁴² *Greek Studies*, 277, 278, Herod., 5. 55, Thuc., 6. 54-59.

⁴³ *Greek Studies*, 25, *Lucian Dialogues of the Gods*, 9. 2.

⁴⁴ *Χρυσήνιος*, *Greek Studies*, 94, Paus., 9. 23. 4.

⁴⁵ *Greek Studies*, 47, 48, e.g. Paus. 9. 8. 2.

⁴⁶ *Plato and Platonism*, 212, *Greek Anthology*, 7. 709.

⁴⁷ *Greek Studies*, 169, Herod. 2. 156.

⁴⁸ *Greek Studies*, 93, 94, 95, *Phaedo*, 59, 92 C. Campbell calls attention to this (*Cl. Rev.*, 7, 266).

takes place in the house.⁴⁹ Similarly, Pater ascribes to the chorus a line spoken by Dionysus in the *Bacchae*.⁵⁰

Slight misinterpretations may be found in a few of these references. Though Pater knows that "The old Greek word which is at the root of the name Daedalus . . . probably means to work curiously," he goes on to say "all curiously beautiful woodwork is Daedal work" and concludes "the main point about the curiously beautiful chamber in which Nausicaa sleeps in the *Odyssey* being that . . . it is wrought in wood."⁵¹ This interpretation of the adjective seems to me unjustified, especially as the phrase "shining doors" shows that the chamber was not made entirely of wood. Pater calls poetry "one of Plato's two higher forms of divine mania" though Plato says that a third kind of possession and madness comes from the muses.⁵² Perhaps Pater is thinking of the first two (prophecy and augury) as one.

One may conclude, then, that Pater's Greek background was remarkably extensive, even granting that some of his references probably come from secondary sources.⁵³ It includes not only Homer and the great writers of the fifth and fourth centuries but in the earlier period Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and the pre-Socratics, in the Alexandrian period Callimachus and Theocritus and in the Graeco-Roman period Plutarch, Pausanias, Lucian and

⁴⁹ *Greek Studies*, 129, *Rep.*, 328 B. Incidentally, the phrase "Sophoclean amenity" illustrates well the richness of Pater's allusions, suggesting as it does both the story of Sophocles related by Cephalus and the term *εὐκολος* applied by Aristophanes to Sophocles (*Frogs*, 82).

⁵⁰ *Greek Studies*, 63, *Bacchae*, 19.

⁵¹ *Greek Studies*, 237, 238, *Od.* 6. 16-19.

⁵² *Appreciations*, 209, *Phaedrus*, 245 A.

⁵³ Pater himself mentions Mullach's *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum* and Zeller's "excellent work on Greek philosophy" (*Plato and Platonism*, 59) and probably these were the source of his references to the pre-Socratics. He also quotes in his chapter on Lacedaemon directly from K. O. Müller "in his laborious, yet, in spite of its air of coldness, passably romantic work on the Dorians" (*Plato and Platonism*, 199, 214, 220). The influence of this work in this chapter is very great and five of Pater's references may be traced to it. In addition, the fact that he quotes (*Greek Studies*, 262) from Overbeck's *Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik*, 131 (Leipzig, 1869) suggests that he may have used the same author's *Die Antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der Bilden Künste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig, 1868) as a convenient compilation of references in Greek literature to works of art and artists.

Marcus Aurelius. He knows not only the extant plays of Sophocles but the fragments also, not only the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon but his *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, the *Moralia* of Plutarch as well as the *Lives*. There are also translations from or scattered references to the *Greek Anthology*, Theophrastus, Strabo, Arrian, Aelian, Athenaeus, Aristides, Hermas, Eusebius and Nonnus. The only considerable field of Greek literature left unexplored by him, it seems, was Greek oratory. Apparently the Alexandrian period interested him less than the Graeco-Roman period, as there are comparatively infrequent references to Theocritus and Callimachus and none at all to Apollonius and New Comedy. One cannot, however, judge conclusively the range or intensity of Pater's Greek interests from his references and quotations except that they do make it clear that he was greatly interested in certain authors and intimately acquainted with their writings. It would not be fair, for instance, to conclude from the more frequent references to Euripides that he was preferred to Sophocles and Aeschylus. The uncertainty of such conclusions may be shown in the case of Sappho. The fact that he couples her with Catullus as a lyric poet⁵⁴ does not at all indicate the real interest in her that he must have had, since according to Wright he left notes for an article on her and an unfinished essay on the Age of Sappho.⁵⁵

The question arises whether Pater's knowledge of Greek literature was accurate and thorough as well as extensive. I am not in this paper concerned with certain conclusions of Pater, which have been attacked and, it seems to me, convincingly refuted, such as his interpretation of the *Bacchae*⁵⁶ and his view of Sparta.⁵⁷ It has been seen that he makes, on occasion, surprising slips and that he depends on a memory that does not always prove trustworthy. But considering his very extensive use of Greek quotations and references, the amazing thing is that these slips are so few and for the most part, so slight. To apply Chew's criticism to Pater's use of Greek quotations, though unnoted omissions are fairly common, especially in the longer translations, the junction of

⁵⁴ *Plato and Platonism*, 127.

⁵⁵ Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 116, 128.

⁵⁶ A. W. Verrall, *Cl. Rev.*, 9 (1895), 225 ff.

⁵⁷ Paul Elmer More, *Nation*, 92 (1911), 365 ff.

passages far distant in the original occurs only rarely⁵⁸ and mis-translations are almost non-existent. Instead of concluding as Chew does "in hardly a single translated passage can one depend on the accuracy of the translation" we can say that in almost no passage can the essential accuracy of the translation be questioned. Certainly only a person thoroughly at home in Greek literature could have had at his command such a great store of quotations and references and only a master of literary style could have used them so effectively and artistically, without pedantry, and, for the most part, without sacrificing accuracy.

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NOTES ON SIR RICHARD BLACKMORE

Little is actually known about the life of Sir Richard Blackmore. Even the date of his birth has remained hidden, for some authorities have either given no birth date at all or have placed it around 1650.¹ Good evidence exists, nevertheless, to establish 1654 as the probable year of his birth. At the close of the inscription which was placed upon Blackmore's tomb, the date of his death is given as October 9, 1729, and his age is stated as seventy-six.² This would indicate that he was born in 1653; but there is other evidence to indicate that 1654 is the correct date, for when he matriculated at Oxford on March 19, 1668/9, his age was given as fourteen.³

A search made by the Rev. T. S. B. F. de Chaumont through the parish registers of Corsham in Wiltshire revealed that the page of

⁵⁸ There are five cases outside the centoes of Marcus Aurelius.

¹ DNB omits the date. Among those giving 1650 or around 1650 are: *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed., London, 1937), III, 684; Joseph Thomas, *Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology* (5th ed., Philadelphia, 1930), p. 392; *An Analytical Bibliography of Universal Collected Biography* (London, 1934), p. 54.

² *The Gentleman's Magazine*, LIX (1782), 230.

³ Joseph Foster, ed., *Alumni Oxonienses* (Oxford, 1891), I, 133. This date is substantiated by *The Records of Old Westminster* (London, 1928), I, 94. It seems that Blackmore entered Westminster at the age of thirteen and remained there only a part of one year before matriculating at Oxford.

the register covering the year 1654 is so badly torn that it might as well be missing; furthermore there is no entry of the birth of Sir Richard Blackmore on any of the pages of the register covering the years from 1642 through 1663. It is the opinion of the clergyman who made this search that the record of Blackmore's baptism is on the torn page. This opinion seems justified by the fact that the entries of other children of the same family appear on various pages of the register.⁴ Of course, this evidence of the parish register is negative in nature, but with the support of both the records of Oxford and of Westminster to back it, it seems fairly safe to assume that 1654 is the probable date of Sir Richard Blackmore's birth, and that at the time of his death, he was probably in his seventy-sixth year.

Richard Blackmore, who grew up in this small village of Corsham in Wiltshire near Bath, was "descended from a good family in Dorsetshire."⁵ This family, although old and respected, seems to have been in modest circumstances, and Richard's father, Robert Blackmore, is said to have been an attorney-at-law.⁶

At the age of thirteen, Richard entered Westminster School, where he remained only a brief period before proceeding on to Oxford.⁷ At Oxford, Blackmore entered as a commoner in St. Edmund's Hall, where he took his degree of bachelor of arts on April 4, 1674, and the degree of master of arts on June 3, 1676. This time given over to study was much longer than was usual for one to remain at the university, and Anderson thinks that Blackmore was preparing to become a physician.⁸ There is evidence, however, that he served as a tutor at St. Edmund's Hall, for Hearne has said of Blackmore, "That he was a great tutor, and much respected, as I have often heard."⁹ Wood has also added evidence by saying, "Thomas Heynes . . . became a com. of S. Edm. hall under the tuition of Mr. Rich. Blackmore in the month of Nov. 1678."¹⁰ Blackmore was later in life twitted by the wits

⁴ Letter of May 1, 1940, from the Rev. T. S. B. F. de Chaumont to the author.

⁵ Robert Anderson, ed., *The Works of the British Poets* (London, 1795), VII, 581.

⁶ A. H. Bullen, "Sir Richard Blackmore," *DNB*

⁷ Joseph Foster, *op. cit.*, I, 133

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 581.

⁹ *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne* (Oxford, 1885), II, 169.

¹⁰ *Athenae Oxonienses* (ed. by Philip Bliss, London, 1820), IV, 793.

who disliked him on account of his teaching. It seems strange that when they accused him of having been a country school teacher, he did not reply that he had been a tutor at Oxford. Perhaps he had been both, for he remained silent on this point, although he frequently struck back on other counts.

According to a fellow collegian, Blackmore was a very diligent student, but a Dr. Thomas Pierce found Blackmore to be lacking in music and most defective in Greek; however he did feel that Blackmore was capable of being a demy, but he doubted that he would be chosen one.¹¹ It appears that Blackmore was not chosen, despite Robert Blackmore's petition to the King, "praying for a King's letter in favor of his son, Richard, that he may be chosen demy of Magdalen at the next election," and in which he reminded the King of his "having been a great sufferer for his loyalty in the times of usurpation."¹²

Although we do not know where he got the money to travel, we know that Blackmore visited the continent and took his degree in medicine from the university of Padua, after having studied there for two years.¹³ Nothing seems to have been known about his journey except the general information that he visited France, Germany, and the low countries in addition to his stay in Italy. Among the manuscripts of Reginald Cholmondeley, Esq. of Condober Hall, Shropshire, there exist bills of exchange which were drawn by Richard Blackmore on James Smith in 1683 and 1684. These bills of exchange are dated respectively from Nismes, Montpelier, Geneva, Venice, Strasbourg, Rotterdam, and Rome, which seems conclusive proof that Blackmore visited these cities.¹⁴ Further intimation that Blackmore visited Geneva is given by Anthony à Wood in an account of "Thos. Bent of Lincoln College," who died at Geneva, 21st of May 1683, and whose epitaph, fixed on the wall of a church there, was made by Richard Blackmore.¹⁵

Blackmore probably returned to London in 1684. On February 9, 1685, he married Miss Mary Adams at St. Paul's Church,

¹¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, December 1671 to May 17, 1672, Preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1897), p. 200.

¹² *Idem.*

¹³ *DNB.*

¹⁴ *Fifth Report of the Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts, Part 1* (London, 1876), p. 338.

¹⁵ *Fæsti Owonenses* (London, 1815), v, 380.

Covent Garden, with a Mr. Hopkins officiating.¹⁶ It has not been known previously who Blackmore's wife was or when he married. He enjoyed the distinction of being elected a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians at the Comitia Majora Extraordinaria of April 12, 1687, an honor which came to him rather early in his career.¹⁷ He continued in favor, and on April 17, 1697, he was sworn a "physician in ordinary with accustomed fee and allowance."¹⁸ Two years later he "attended Hannah Fromanteele, widow at Whitechapel; later he made a deposition for the heirs saying, 'Did not at any time then think her able to make a will.'"¹⁹ Shortly after this Blackmore and another physician, Hannes, treated the Duke of Gloucester.²⁰ When the King died, he was one of the physicians who gave their opinions at the opening of his Majesty's body and when Queen Anne ascended the throne, he was appointed one of her physicians, in which position he remained for some time.²¹ Norman Moore records that "During one of the last years of the seventeenth century, Dr. Blackmore was elected a governor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital."²² Munk has told us that "Sir Richard was voted to be an Elect of the Royal College of Physicians on August 22, 1716, and shortly afterwards, on October 1, 1716, he was made a Censor of the same body."²³ He has further recorded that on October 22, 1722, Sir Richard resigned his position of Elect in the Royal College of Physicians, and the reason given is that a year before he had moved his household to Boxted in Essex, where he spent the rest of his life.²⁴

On June 13, 1701, while he was still in London, he was elected

¹⁶ "The Registers of St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, London" in *The Publications of the Harleian Society* (London, 1907), xxxv, 57.

¹⁷ William Munk, *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians* (London, 1878), I, 467.

¹⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of William III* (London, 1927), p. 107.

¹⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of Anne* (London, 1924), II, 530.

²⁰ William Pittis, *Some Memories of the Life of John Radcliffe, M. D.* (London, 1715), p. 46.

²¹ Alexander Chalmers, *General Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1812), v, 336.

²² *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (London, 1918), II, 351.

²³ *Op. cit.*, I, 468.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 469.

to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, a society that counted among its members the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.²⁵ The last years of his life were saddened by the death of his wife; his affection for her is expressed in the epitaph which he wrote for their joint tombs.²⁶

An abstract of the will of Sir Richard Blackmore, which was dated May 13, 1729, reads as follows:

I desire to be buried in Boxted parish church, near my late wife, between 11 & 12 at night, with a velvet pall over my coffin, but no pall-bearers & my coffin to be plain and neat but not adorned with escutcheons & other ornament except what is necessary and no hatchment to be put up upon my house I desire all my lands, etc. to be sold. I bequeath to my great niece, Mary Warner, the interest on £500 until her age of 21 & then she to have the whole To my nephew, Richard Blackmore Hurst, £2000 on age of 21. To my niece, Rebecca Stafford, £500 & a further £150. To Robert Maberly, son of my niece Maberly, £50. To William Beach, son of my niece Beach, £50 To my nieces Anne Ellison & Mary Beach, my sister, uncles, the children of my niece Maberly, £5 each. If Richard Blackmore Hurst die before the age of 21, then £1000 to Oxford University to the Vice Chancellors and other Heads of Houses, to elect a student or Member of the University to write poems on divine subjects six months in every year, giving preference to St. Edmund's hall, viz.—650 lines in verse to be approved by the Vice chancellor & for the other six months to write some discourse in prose to censure & discourage all profane & obscene plays, poems, & other immoral writings which shall be published alternately each half year; each student elected to continue for 7 years. To Edward Moore, of Boxted, gent. £20 & I make him my executor, & to his sons, Edward & Thomas Moore, £5.

Residuary legatee:—my nephew Richard Blackmore Hurst; if he die before the age of 21, then Miss Rebecca Stafford, Mr. Robert Maberly, Mr. William Beach & Mary Warner to go share & share alike as residuary legatees.

Signed: Richard Blackmore.

Witnesses:—Henry Goodrick, Alice Norman, Arthur Mansal.

Proved:—4 November 1729, by Edward Moore the executor named.²⁷

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²⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of William III* (London, 1937), p. 358.

²⁶ Quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, LII (1782), 230.

²⁷ Abstract of Sir Richard Blackmore's will, furnished to the author by Miss Mary M. O'Farrell.

LA COULEUR DANS LA COMÉDIE HUMAINE DE BALZAC

On lit dans le *Journal* des Goncourt:

Flaubert nous disait aujourd'hui: l'histoire, l'aventure d'un roman ça m'est bien égal. J'ai la pensée quand je fais un roman, de rendre une coloration, une nuance. Par exemple, dans mon roman carthaginois, je veux faire quelque chose de *pourpre*; dans *Madame Bovary*, je n'ai eu que l'idée de rendre un ton, cette couleur de moisissure de l'existence des cloportes.¹

La couleur a-t-elle vraiment un rôle aussi important dans les romans de Flaubert? Il est permis d'en douter. Il m'a paru intéressant, toutefois, de noter que ce procédé littéraire, si on le dépouille de cet air de paradoxe que Flaubert lui donne dans le passage cité plus haut, est parfaitement connu de Balzac. Il l'a utilisé, et d'une façon consciente, dans plusieurs de ses romans. Voici, d'abord, ce qu'il écrit dans les premières pages du *Père Goriot*:

La rue Neuve-Sainte-Geneviève surtout est comme un cadre de bronze, le seul qui convienne à ce récit, auquel on ne saurait trop préparer l'intelligence par des couleurs brunes, par des idées graves; . . .²

Dans *Les Employés*, c'est tout un groupe de personnages qu'il fait mouvoir dans une atmosphère grise et voilée. Ce sont de petites gens qui complotent dans l'ombre et le secret. Il les compare à des souris, à des belettes. Elisabeth Baudoyer, l'âme du complot,

avait en elle quelque chose de chétif qui faisait mal à voir. . . . Ses traits fins, ramassés vers le nez, donnaient à sa figure une vague ressemblance avec le museau d'une belette. . . . Son teint (était) plein de tons gris, presque plombés.³

Mitral, un auxiliaire, est un homme "à visage de la couleur de la Seine et où brillaient deux yeux tabac d'Espagne." C'est un avare froid comme une corde à puits et sentant la souris. Les autres sont des auvergnats, marchands de ferraille ou de meubles d'occa-

¹ I, 367.

² VI, 223. Sauf indication contraire, les citations de Balzac sont faites d'après l'édition Conard.

³ XIX, 50.

sion, des usuriers de bas étage. Il les oppose aux Rabourdins qu'il fait vivre dans un milieu brillant et fortement coloré.

Ce procédé est encore plus manifeste dans le troisième épisode de l'*Histoire des Treize*, la *Fille aux yeux d'or*. On sait que le titre primitif de ce curieux roman devait être la *Fille aux yeux rouges*; ⁴ et c'est, en effet, cette couleur qui se dégage du récit. L'action se passe dans un boudoir rouge, blanc et or.⁵ Paquita ne s'abandonne à de Marsay qu'après l'avoir revêtu d'une robe de velours rouge. Enfin c'est dans le sang que le drame se termine; la fille aux yeux d'or expire "noyée dans le sang."⁶

Rappelons-nous aussi que c'est dans les neiges immaculées de la Norvège que se passe l'action de Séraphita, cet ange de pureté.⁷

Et, chez Balzac, il ne s'agit pas d'un simple procédé littéraire. La couleur n'est pas qu'un symbole. Elle exerce une influence réelle sur nous; elle est un de ces mille facteurs qui contribuent à former

⁴ Cf. Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, *Histoire des œuvres de Balzac*, 2^e éd., p 109.

⁵ Ces trois couleurs sont symboliques. "L'âme a je ne sais quel attachement pour le blanc, l'amour se plaît dans le rouge et l'or flatte les passions . . ." (XIII, 382), "Si la Fille aux yeux d'or était vierge, elle n'était certes pas innocente," dit Balzac, deux pages plus loin; et ainsi s'expliquent les trois couleurs qui prédominent dans la décoration du boudoir. Le blanc symbolise la virginité, le rouge l'amour et l'or la passion.

⁶ A noter que le roman est dédié à Eugène Delacroix.

⁷ "Les anges sont blancs" dit Louis Lambert. (*Louis Lambert*, XXXI, 161)—Ce symbolisme des couleurs, chez Balzac, a été maintes fois signalé par les critiques. Dès 1836, Nettement écrivait dans la *Gazette de France* (16 Février): "Dieu a donné à l'homme l'intelligence; M. de Balzac en a fait un pinceau." Nous lisons dans les études sur Balzac publiées par l'université de Chicago. "Mme de Mortsau, in *Le Lays dans la vallée*, is like that lily, symbolically white in person and in costume; the word *blanche* is repeated not unlike a Wagnerian motif." (*Studies in Balzac Realism*, III, 2). Cf. aussi G. M. Fess, *The correspondence of physical and material factors with character in Balzac*, p. 99.—P. Abraham, *Créatures chez Balzac*, p. 166.—H. Garrett, *Clothes and Character: the function of dress in Balzac*, pp. 56-57, etc.—Il semblerait même que Balzac ait voulu donner une couleur semblable à toute une série de romans, comme en témoigne le passage suivant: "Le ton, le style, la composition, il voudrait dire la couleur de ces études sur l'art (c'est moi qui souligne), sont en parfaite harmonie avec la *Peau de chagrin*, autour de laquelle elles doivent être groupées le jour où cette œuvre sera publiée . . . dans le format in-octavo." Cf. Préface de la première édition d'une *Fille d'Eve* et de *Massimilla Doni*. (Ed. Calmann-Lévy, 1879, XXII, 529.)

nos caractères et à déterminer nos actes. Voici un exemple entre plusieurs autres: Dans la *Recherche de l'Absolu*, il écrit:

L'amour enseveli dans leurs cœurs . . (Balzac parle de l'amour qu'Emmanuel de Solis et Marguerite Claës ressentent l'un pour l'autre) ce sentiment éclos sous la voute sombre de la galerie Claës, devant un vieil abbé sévère, dans un moment de silence et de calme; cet amour grave et discret, mais fertile en nuances douces, en voluptés secrètes, subissait la couleur brune, les teintes grises qui le décorèrent à ses premières heures.⁸

Et plus haut dans le même ouvrage:

Si l'on observe avec attention les produits des divers pays du globe, on est tout d'abord surpris de voir les couleurs grises et fauves spécialement affectées aux productions des zones tempérées, tandis que les couleurs les plus éclatantes distinguent celles des pays chauds. Les mœurs doivent nécessairement se conformer à cette loi de la nature.⁹

C'est, du reste, une théorie de Balzac que tous les êtres de l'univers agissent réciproquement les uns sur les autres.¹⁰ La couleur, comme tout ce qui nous entoure, doit aussi exercer une influence sur nous.

Et, selon son habitude, Balzac ne s'arrête pas aux causes; il s'efforce de s'élever jusqu'à des principes transcendants qui expliquent ces causes et dans lesquels il cherche l'unité de sa pensée. Dans le *Chef d'œuvre inconnu*, par exemple, il montre que le dessin et la couleur ne sont point distincts.¹¹ Dans *Massimilla Doni*, il va plus loin. Le médecin français demande à la Duchesse:

Madame . . en m'expliquant ce chef d'œuvre, . . (Il s'agit du Mosè de Rossini) vous m'avez parlé souvent de la couleur de la musique, et de ce qu'elle peignait, mais en ma qualité d'analyste et de matérialiste, je vous avouerai que je suis toujours révolté par la prétention qu'ont certains enthousiastes de nous faire croire que la musique peint avec des sons.¹²

La réponse de la Duchesse est trop longue pour être citée en entier. Je la résumerai brièvement. Les arts, affirme-t-elle, ont

⁸ xxviii, 223.

⁹ xxviii, 113-4 — Bien d'autres passages pourraient être cités pour confirmer ces théories de Balzac "En contemplant des arabesques d'or sur un fond bleu, avez-vous les mêmes pensées qu'excitent en vous des arabesques rouges sur un fond noir ou vert?" demande la Duchesse dans *Massimilla Doni*, xxvii, 456.

¹⁰ Cf. Curtius (Trad. Henri Jourdan), *Balzac*, p. 59.

¹¹ Balzac tiendrait ces théories de Delacroix. Cf. Curtius, *op. cit.*, p. 50

¹² xxvii, 455-456.

un même objet : réveiller des émotions. Les moyens dont ils se servent sont divers, les effets sont les mêmes. "Un architecte italien nous donnera la sensation qu'excite en nous l'introduction de Mosè." Elle avoue qu'elle "n'est pas assez savante pour entrer dans la philosophie de la musique." C'est Gambara, ce fou de génie, que Balzac va charger de nous expliquer rationnellement cette assimilation de la couleur aux sons. Selon Gambara, "la nature du son est identique à celle de la lumière. Le son est la lumière sous une autre forme : l'un et l'autre procèdent par des vibrations qui aboutissent à l'homme et qu'il transforme en pensées dans ses centres nerveux."¹³

La preuve que Gambara n'est que le porte-voix de Balzac, c'est que ces mêmes théories avaient déjà été exposées dans les dernières pages de *Séraphita*, celles qui décrivent son assumption au ciel. Wilfrid et Minna sont à genoux, dans une espèce d'extase, et le ciel s'entr'ouvre pour eux :

La lumière enfantait la mélodie, la mélodie enfantait la lumière, les couleurs étaient lumière et mélodie, le mouvement était un Nombre doué de la Parole, . . . ils comprirent les invisibles liens par lesquels les mondes matériels se rattachaient aux mondes spirituels. En se rappelant les sublimes efforts des plus beaux génies humains, ils trouvèrent le principe des mélodies en entendant les chants du ciel qui donnaient les sensations des couleurs, des parfums, de la pensée, et qui rappelaient les innombrables détails de toutes les créations, comme un chant de la terre ranime d'infinis souvenirs d'amour.¹⁴

Et dans *Louis Lambert*, il est encore plus précis :

Le son est une modification de l'air ; toutes les couleurs sont des modifications de la lumière ; tout parfum est une combinaison d'air et de lumière ; ainsi les quatre expressions de la matière par rapport à l'homme, le son, la couleur, le parfum et la forme, ont une même origine ; car le jour n'est pas loin où l'on reconnaîtra la filiation des principes de la lumière dans ceux de l'air.¹⁵

"Avant Baudelaire et Rimbaud, Sénancourt avait perçu de subtiles correspondances entre les parfums, les couleurs et les sons,"¹⁶

¹³ XXVIII, 60.

¹⁴ XXXI, 334-5.

¹⁵ XXXI, 164 — Notons que nous retrouvons dans cette étude de la couleur les trois grandes divisions de la Comédie Humaine. Des effets de la couleur Balzac s'élève aux causes, et des causes aux principes.

¹⁶ Cf. Moreau, Pierre, *Histoire du Romantisme*, p 12.

mais ces observations, inexpliquées, que les contemporains pouvaient attribuer à une sensibilité malade, sont loin d'avoir la précision, la portée des hypothèses balzaciennes que nous venons de résumer.

La plupart des romantiques, des poètes en particulier, ont usé et parfois abusé de la couleur. Il existe un contraste frappant que les contemporains ont plusieurs fois remarqué—entre l'éclat de la couleur dans les œuvres de la nouvelle école littéraire et les tons en grisaille du classicisme finissant. L'évolution réaliste est commencée. On se préoccupe de faire voir au lieu de faire comprendre. Balzac, aussi, comme ses contemporains, attribue à la couleur un rôle considérable; mais il fait plus. Par des généralisations qu'on a parfois qualifiées de hâtives et qui sont peut-être géniales, il s'est élevé jusqu'à des principes qui sont d'une grande originalité pour l'époque. Ces principes sont à la base des théories les plus importantes qui seront développées plus tard par l'école symboliste.

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JEAN LEMAIRE DE BELGES ET AUSONE

Dans sa jeunesse, Jean Lemaire avait composé un poème intitulé *Nostre eaige*. C'est, dit Stecher,¹ 'une paraphrase assez gracieuse de cette vieille maxime *Utendum est aetate: cito pede labitur aetas*' et il ajoute: 'Lemaire met aussi en vedette ce souvenir d'un chœur du Thyesta du Sénèque *Nulla sors longa est*.' Becker² a fait la description du ms. qui constitue le 'livret sommaire' de 1498 et où se lisent, à côté du poème *Nostre eaige* des pièces diverses en français et en latin: 'p. 9-12 *Publii Virgilii Maronis Rose* [. . .] p. 13. Ovid, *Ars amat.* III, 65-70 [. . .].—pp. 14-19. Das Gedicht *Nostre eaige* [. . .].—p. 144. Ovidii *Ars amat.* II, 113-120. *Forma bonum fragile est* [. . .].' Le ms. présente, ainsi, le

¹ *Œuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges*, p. p. J. Stecher (Louvain, 1891), IV, 334.

² Ph. A. Becker, *Jean Lemaire* (Strassburg, 1893), pp. 339-441. Becker indique que le poème *Nostre eaige* est une interprétation des armes d'un écu et d'une devise.

poème de Jean Lemaire immédiatement après l'idylle des Roses alors attribuée généralement à Virgile, et après le passage de l'*Art d'aimer* qui commence par le vers *Utendum est aetate . . .*, et il est curieux de relever l'expression *carpile florem* au vers 79 de ce même troisième livre de l'*Art d'aimer*. En outre, le passage copié à la page 144 du 'livret sommaire' se rapporte au thème de la fuite du temps: la beauté dure peu, les fleurs de la violette et du lys ne sont pas éternelles, la tige qui portait la rose n'a plus que des épines.

Examinons donc le poème de Jean Lemaire. La première strophe illustre le thème de la brièveté de la vie que nous avons relevé dans les deux passages de l'*Art d'aimer* cités dans le 'livret sommaire,' et qui se trouve aussi dans l'idylle d'Ausone:

Nostre eaige est brief ainsi comme des fleurs
Dont les couleurs reluisent peu d'espasse.
Le temps est court . . .

La deuxième strophe rappelle le symbole de la rose du soir: *

Force se pert, toute beauté finist
Et se ternist ainsi comme la rose
Qui au matin tant vermeille esparnit,
Au soir brunist

Ausone s'était plaint que la beauté des fleurs fût éphémère et que les roses ne vécussent qu'un jour:

Conquerimur, Natura, brevis quod gratia florum est
. . .
Quam longa una dies, aetas tam longa rosarum

La rose, avait-il dit, que le matin voit naître, le soir la voit flétrir:

Quam modo nascentem rutilus conspexit Eous
Hanc rediens sero vespere vidit anum

*Jean Lemaire a traduit l'idylle des roses, ainsi que l'a montré Miss Munn,⁴ et nous relevons ces vers de la version française:

* L. P. Thomas, 'Ronsard et quelques poètes de la "Rose du soir"', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 4 (1924), 481; cf. Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, ix, 190-191.

⁴ K. M. Munn, *A contribution to the study of Jean Lemaire de Belges* (New York, 1936), pp. 148-152.

Tant comme ung beau jour dure, autant la rose est vive,

. . .

Celle que on voit flourir quand le soleil se lieve

On la voit ja tarie ains le jour achieve

Et, en des termes presque semblables à ceux du poème *Nostre eaige*, et avec les mêmes rimes, Jean Lemaire a traduit le distique final de l'idylle d'Ausone:

Fille, cueillez la rose ainsi qu'elle espanit

Et notez que vostre aage aussi legier finit

Il y a donc, entre les passages de l'*Art d'aimer* recueillis dans le 'Livret sommaire,' l'idylle des roses et les deux premières strophes du poème *Nostre eaige*, identité de thème et similarité des détails d'expression; c'est, en particulier, chez Ausone que Lemaire a trouvé l'image de la rose qui 'au matin rubicunde embrasée tumbé en feuilles au soir.' Mais, tandis qu'Ausone avait vu dans la fragilité des roses l'illustration d'un thème épicurien, Jean Lemaire a terminé son poème *Nostre eaige* sur une note chrétienne. Tout est bien, avait conclu Ausone, car la rose a des rejetons qui lui succéderont et prolongeront sa vie: *sed bene*. Et Jean Lemaire, au contraire: ⁶

c'est donc bien [peu] de chose.

L'homme propose et, apres, dieu dispose;

Faisons donc pause a tous mondains delis:

Laissons jardins, roses, flourons et lis

Et ne plantons ou clos de nostre cueur

. . .

Sinon trois fleurs

Ces trois fleurs, ce sont les trois vertus théologiques, et Lemaire insiste sur le caractère mystique et symbolique du nombre trois:

Nombre de trois est tousjours florissant.

Pour illustrer les propriétés du nombre trois, notre rhétoricien ne manque pas de mentionner *dieu trine et ung*. On sait que les conflits d'images à propos de la Trinité ⁶ sont fréquents à cette époque et que le nombre trois est une expression stéréotypée; ⁷ mais,

⁶ Nous avons corrigé le texte de Stecher d'après la leçon de P. Spaak, *Jean Lemaire de Belges* (Paris, 1926), p. 17.

⁶ Cf. Marcel Françon, *Poèmes de transition* (Paris-Cambridge, 1938), pp. 36-37.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

en lisant les vers de Lemaire, on se souvient du *Griphe* d'Ausone sur ce même nombre.⁸ C'est là qu'Ausone a employé l'expression *tres Deus unus*. Il est vrai que ce *griphe* montre 'le peu de place que tenait le christianisme dans l'imagination d'Ausone,' comme le remarque J.-J. Ampère qui ajoute: 'mention bizarre du dogme de la Trinité, jetée au bout d'une pièce païenne, et à la fin d'un vers dont le commencement est peu sérieux.'⁹ Mais chez Jean Lemaire aussi se mêlent des manifestations de l'esprit chrétien et de l'esprit païen. Il en a donné maint exemple; en tête de sa traduction de l'idylle des roses, il a prétendu que 'l'argument de cest euvre est moral, et tel que le poete, descrivaint par grand artifice la merveilleuse beauté des roses en printemps au soleil matutin et leur soubdain defailllement au soir, veult monstrier par cest exemple que toute chose terrestre est transitoire et caducque, et qu'il n'y a riens de perpetuel soubz le ciel synon bonne renommée.'

Le *griphe* expliquait, non sans beaucoup de mystère, les vertus du nombre trois et de ses combinaisons avec l'unité, c'est-à-dire, en particulier, des nombres quatre, sept et dix. Ausone a écrit sur le nombre trois un nombre de vers égal au triple du produit de dix par trois (90). Le poème *Nostre eage* contient dix strophes de sept vers, et chaque septain peut se décomposer en un tercet et un quatrain qui sont reliés l'un à l'autre par une rime. L'arrangement de rimes a b a, b b c c¹⁰ ressemble à celui de la *terza rima*: a b a, b c b, c. Ces combinaisons d'ordre mathématique et philosophique expliquent peut-être, en partie au moins, l'emploi que fit Jean Lemaire de la *terza rima* dans plusieurs (trois) poèmes. Le premier conte de Cupido et d'Atropos est fait de cent vers répartis en trente-trois tercets plus le vers final, et c'est encore en 'vers tiercets' qu'est 'rythmée' la description du *Temple de Vénus* (205 tercets) où Jean Lemaire fait prêcher Génius, le prélat vénérien, sur le thème *Aetatis breve ver* (Ovide, *Mét.* x, 85).

Dans le *Temple de Vénus*, Jean Lemaire a conté la vision qu'il eut en rêve:

⁸ *Ausone*, trad. p. E. F. Corpet (Paris, 1887), pp. 123-125.—Remarquons que le premier mot de l'idylle des roses est *Ver*, le premier mot du *griphe* est *Ter*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.—Le vers 88 du *griphe* est: *Ter bibe. Tres numerus super omnia, tres Deus unus*.

¹⁰ Il faut, pourtant indiquer que, souvent, le sens oblige plutôt de couper le septain en un quatrain a b a b et un tercet b c c.

En la verdeur du mien flourishing aage¹¹

C'était 'sur le temps nouvellet' qu'il avait cherché du repos dans le sommeil. Et il a décrit un matin de printemps: 'Aurora . . . coulourait desja fleurs,' les éléments admiraient 'sa blancheur rubiconde,' des 'perles rondelettes' étaient pendues 'sur les rainceaux des espineux rosiers.' La traduction que Jean Lemaire a faite de l'idylle des roses présente un tableau semblable:

Au printemps gracieux. . . .
 j'alay sur la verdure.
 L'aube du jour poignant de couleur purpurine
 Ramenoit le beau jour
 . . .
 Lors on n'eut sceu juger se la rose en ses gemmes
 Donnoit couleur au jour ou la prenoit de mesmes.
 . . .
 Sur les tiges jouoit la perle rondelette

Le *Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus* dépeint aussi une scène champêtre à l'époque où 'May doulx et courtois' fait son apparition: 'Pan a manteau de couleur purpurine,'

Lors se monstre au monde
 Plus nette et plus monde
 Que une perle ronde
 Aurora la blonde
 Devant le soleil
 Clere et rubicunde
 . . .
 Toute la contree
 Sera rencontree
 De freche rousee

Mais, 'par un matin triste,'

 on perçoit Aurora
 Prendre paleur pour blancheur rubiconde.

Ce sont seulement des notations de détail qui sont communes à

¹¹ Cf. Pétrarque. *Nel tempo che rinnova i miei sospiri* (*Trionfo d'amore*, v. 1);—*Bell'era, e nell'età fiorita e fresca* (*T d. fama*, II, v. 88);—*Ch'era dell' anno e di mia etate aprile* (*Morte*, Canz. IV, v. 13);—*ch'avendo in mano mio cor in sul fiorire* (*Morte*, s. XX, v. 3-4);—*allor ch'ella fioriva* (*Morte*, Canz. I, v. 53);—*Nel dolce tempo della prima etade* (*Vita*, Canz. I, v. 1).

ces trois poèmes ; mais c'est le même sentiment ; en outre, le *Temple d'Honneur* contient 82 tercets. Ces 82 tercets se décomposent ainsi : L'acteur (12 tercets) ; Titirus (15) ; L'acteur et Galatee (5) ; Egle (4) ; L'acteur (46). Ils expriment la tristesse de trois des sept bergers et bergères à l'approche de la fin de la vie idyllique qu'ils avaient connue.

Les thèmes du printemps, de la fuite du temps, de la rose du soir, les préoccupations d'ordre mathématique et mystique sur le nombre trois,¹² l'emploi de la *terza rima* dans le *Temple d'Honneur*, le *Temple de Vénus* et le premier conte de Cupido, la présence du septain dans le poème *Nostre eaige*, où se retrouve un principe d'enchaînement des rimes semblable à celui de la *terza rima*, permettent de rapprocher ces œuvres les unes des autres et d'y voir la marque de l'influence à la fois de l'idylle des roses d'Ausone et de son griphe sur le nombre trois. Mais Jean Lemaire a suivi aussi d'autres modèles : l'*Art d'Aimer* d'Ovide et le *Roman de la Rose*, en particulier.¹³ Il y a eu contamination, et Jean Lemaire a

¹² Relevons aussi les 'neuf cieulx' du *Temple d'Honneur* (iv, 201) et 'Les neuf beaux cieulx que Dieu tourne et tempere Rendent tel bruit en leurs spheres diffuses' du *Temple de Vénus* (iii, 111). Cette idée pythagoricienne de la musique des sphères, Lemaire avait pu la recueillir dans un passage intercalé du *Roman de la Rose* (cf. éd. P. Marteau [Orléans, 1878], iii, 71) ou chez Dante (cf. *La divina Commedia*, dec. ediz [Milano, 1938], p. 162, Par. i, 76-78) ; mais le nombre des sphères (*neuf*) est d'une autre origine : le système de Ptolémée.

¹³ Cf. *Le Roman de la Rose*, p. p. E. Langlois (Paris, 1922), iv, 22 (vers 13483-13484) :

Le fruit d'Amours, se fame est sage,
Cueille en la fleur de son aage.

Cf. aussi les vers de Martin Le Franc rapportés par M. Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-375 :

Le temps s'enfuit, or l'employez
A voz pouvoirs joyeusement.

Relevons le *e'l vver fugge* de Pétrarque (*Vita*, s. LI, v. 14). — Il faut, peut être aussi, signaler les préoccupations de Dante à propos des nombres 3, 10, 33, . . . , car, en écrivant le *Temple de Vénus* et en employant la *terza rima*, Jean Lemaire pouvait suivre l'exemple de Dante aussi bien que celui de Pétrarque.

Sur la Trinité, citons les vers 19141-2 du *Roman de la Rose*, éd. E. Langlois, iv, 257 :

Ne vit pas la trine unité
En cete simple trinité.

combiné des motifs divers qui, d'ailleurs, se relieut naturellement les uns aux autres. Les sources de ses poèmes sont multiples; mais il s'est adressé principalement à Ausone et s'est inspiré de l'idylle des roses qui, à la fin du XV^e siècle et au commencement du XVI^e, était attribuée généralement à Virgile.

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THE FIRST ENGLISH DICTIONARY, CAWDREY'S TABLE ALPHABETICALL

Robert Cawdrey's *Table Alphabeticall* of 1604,¹ the first dictionary of the English language, has been previously discussed as an outgrowth of the Renaissance controversy on the influx of foreign words into the English vocabulary. In his preface Cawdrey opposes this influx,² supporting his position by plagiarizing the well known passage on "ynckhorne termes" from Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*, 1553. The *Table Alphabeticall* has also been shown to have stemmed in part from the Latin-English dictionaries and, specifically, to have borrowed material from Thomas Thomas's *Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae*, 1587 (sixth edition, 1600).³

It is my purpose here to point out further associations and borrowings of Cawdrey, which are probably more basic than those hitherto indicated. The student of early English lexicography notices at once that Cawdrey's concept of a dictionary differs from that of his immediate successors. Whereas Bullokar, Cockeram, Blount, and Phillips made their dictionaries storehouses of difficult and elegant words exclusively, Cawdrey's main interest, as

¹ The unique copy of the first edition is in the Bodleian, but a rotograph is available in the Library of Congress. The second edition is unknown; the third appeared in 1613 (copies in British Museum and Bodleian) and the fourth in 1617 (British Museum). Each of the later editions differed from its predecessors only in the slight expansion of the word-list.

² That Cawdrey is not entirely consistent in this attitude appears in the later discussion.

³ D. T. Starnes discusses Cawdrey's relations to the Renaissance controversy and to the bilingual dictionaries in "English Dictionaries of the Seventeenth Century," *University of Texas Studies in English*, No. 17 (July, 1937), 20-24.

expressed on his title page, was in "hard *usual* words." This attitude may, no doubt, be attributed to the fact that both Robert Cawdrey and Thomas, his son and the augmentor of the *Table*, were schoolmasters.⁴ The main source of Cawdrey's dictionary is therefore to be found, I believe, in pedagogical works and school-books,⁵ many of which contained lists of words to be studied for spelling, pronunciation, syllabication, etc. The addition of definitions to such lists was a natural step.

Addressing educators in his *Elementarie*, 1582, Richard Mulcaster⁶ devoted considerable space to a discussion of "the right writing of our English tung" and added a "Generall Table" of some 8000 items.⁷ This table, consisting mainly of short and familiar words, is annotated to afford illustrations of the principles laid down but lacks definitions. More significant than the table itself, however, is the fact that Mulcaster insists at length upon the urgent need for an English dictionary to build up the prestige and facilitate the correct use of the mother tongue.

It were a thing verie praiseworthy in my opinion, and no lesse profitable then praise worthie, if som one well learned and as laborious a man, wold gather all the words which we vse in our English tung, whether naturall or incorporate, out of all professions, as well learned as not, into one dictionarie, and besides the right writing, which is incident to the Alphabete, wold open vnto vs therein, both their naturall force, and their proper vse: that by his honest trauell we might be as able to iudge of our own tung, which we haue by rote, as we ar of others, which we learn by rule.⁸

Perhaps partly as a result of this strong plea by an eminent schoolmaster though mainly as an inevitable development in a

⁴ In his dedicatory letter (1604 ed.) Robert Cawdrey professes to have been formerly master of the grammar school at Okeham in Rutland and describes his son as "now Schoolemaister in London."

⁵ A link between the early dictionaries and the early grammars was noted by G. H. McKnight, *Modern English in the Making* (New York, 1928), p. 250; and A. W. Read referred incidentally to Coote as the main source of Cawdrey in "The Spelling Bee," *PMLA*, LVI (June, 1941), 495, n. 2.

⁶ Head-master of the Merchant Taylors' School (1561-1586) and of St. Paul's School (1596-1608), hence master of Edmund Spenser, Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, and other distinguished men.

⁷ *Mulcaster's Elementarie*, ed. by E. T. Campagnac (Oxford, 1925), pp. 190-245.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

language-conscious age, there is evidence of continuous interest in the dictionary project from this time on. In the prefaces to his *Booke at Large for the Amendment of Orthographie for English Speech*, 1580 and his *Bref Grammar for English*, 1586,⁹ William Bullokar, pioneer orthoëpist and grammarian of the English language, announced his intention, apparently never fulfilled, of culminating his linguistic studies with an English dictionary. The *Grammatica Anglicana* by P. Gr., 1594, contains a "Dictionarium" of about 500 words with Latin equivalents and a shorter "Vocabula Chauceriana" with Elizabethan equivalents.¹⁰

A more substantial contribution was made by Edmund (usually miscalled Edward) Coote in his *English Schoole-Master* of 1596,¹¹ one of the earliest and most popular English primers. Coote follows Mulcaster's advice as well as his practice, for he includes an alphabetical table with definitions for all but the commonest words and with symbols to indicate the language from which each word was derived.

Cawdrey's *Table Alphabeticall*, 1604, falls directly in the line of Mulcaster and Coote. Probably Cawdrey knew Mulcaster's work;¹² certainly he derived much help from Coote in both method and content. As for method, Cawdrey follows Coote in indicating the language from which the English words are derived,¹³ makes use of

⁹ Bullokar's works ed. by Max Plessow in *Palaestra*, LII (Berlin, 1906), pp. 247, 338.

¹⁰ The unique copy of the *Grammatica Anglicana* in the British Museum has been edited by Otto Funke in *Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie*, LX (Vienna, 1938). Funke attributes the work to Paul Graves (pp. xxxiii-xxxvi), about whom only the few facts gleaned from the prefatory matter are known.

¹¹ The first edition survives in a unique copy in the British Museum; although this copy lacks the title page and prefatory matter, it is unmistakably identified by the colophon: "At London. Printed by the Widow Orwin, for Ralph Jackson and Robert Dewar. 1596." The work ran through many editions with little revision, reaching a 54th edition in 1737 (copy in Yale Library). Coote was head-master of the grammar school of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk from June, 1596 to May, 1597. Of his subsequent career nothing is known.

¹² Most of the words in Cawdrey's table had appeared in Mulcaster's.

¹³ This good precedent set by Cawdrey was not followed in the two succeeding dictionaries, neither John Bullokar nor Cockeram making any attempt to deal with origins of words. Blount resumed the practice in his *Glossographia*, 1656, though his etymology was questionable.

the symbol "k" for "a kind of," and gives similar directions for the use of the table.

Coote

. thou must get the Alphabet, that is, the order of the letters as they stand, without Booke perfectly: to know where euery letter standeth, as (b) neere the beginning, (m) about the middest, and (v) toward the end. Therefore if the word thou wouldest finde, begin with (a) looke in the beginning of the Table, if with (t) looke toward the end. Againe, if thy worde beginne with (ba) looke in the beginning of the letter (b) but if with (bu) looke toward the end of that letter, . .

Cawdrey

. . thou must learne the Alphabet, to wit, the order of the letters as they stand, perfectly without booke, and where euery Letter standeth as (b) neere the beginning, (n) about the middest, and (t) toward the end. Nowe if the word, which thou art desirous to finde begin with (a) then looke in the beginning of this Table, but if with (v) looke towards the end. Againe, if thy word beginne with (ca) looke in the beginning of the letter (c) but if with (cu) then looke toward the end of that letter.

Whereas Coote's list consists of about 1500 words, the commonest undefined and the others defined by a single synonym, Cawdrey's list contains about 2500 words with definitions, though sometimes inadequate,¹⁴ for all. The following items from the beginning of the two tables will, however, illustrate the unmistakable borrowing which has occurred.

Coote

Abandon, cast away.

Abbesse, abbatesse, mistress of a Nunnerie.

Abbut, to lie vnto.

Abecedarie, the order of the letters, or he that vseth them.

Abiect, base.

Abiure, renounce.

Absolue, finish.

Cawdrey

Abandon, cast away, or yeelede by, to leaue, or forsake.

Abbesse, abbatesse, Mistris of a Nunnerie, comforters of others.

Abbut, to lie vnto, or border vpon, as one lands end meets with another.

Abecedarie, the order of the Letters, or hee that vseth them.

Abiect, base, cast away, in disdaine.

Abiure, renounce, denie, forswear.

Absolue, finish, or acquite.

¹⁴ Some definitions are vague: *Clauichordes*, mirth; *Orifice*, mouth; *Eden*, pleasure or delight. The symbol "k" forms an unsatisfactory substitute for descriptions of birds, fish, trees, etc.: *Bay*, (k) tree; *Beagle*, (k) hound; *Citron*, (k) fruite.

Absolute, perfect.

Absolution, forgiveness

Absurd, foolish.

Accesse, free coming to

Absolute, perfect, or vpright.

Absolution, forgiveness, discharge.

Absurd, foolish, irksome.

Accesse, free coming to, or a way to a place.

While Cawdrey's closest affinity is with the grammarians and schoolmasters and his list therefore consists mainly of familiar expressions, he—or more likely his son—also felt the fascination of the elaborate classical derivatives. There is a smattering of such words as the following, which were, of course, unparalleled in Mulcaster or Coote and derived from the Latin-English dictionary of Thomas mentioned above.

Amaritude, bitterness; *Ambage*, long circumstance of words; *Caenation*, supper; *Concinnate*, made fit; *Concruciate*, torment; *Conculcate*, tread underfoot; *Ientation*, breakfast; *Mundifie*, to make cleane; *Pactation*, couenancing; *Periclitation*, ieopardie; *Perucacie*, obstinacie; *Pluuiale*, raine; *Vniſcient*, huely, etc

It was unfortunate for the development of the English dictionary that succeeding lexicographers scorned the practical schoolmasters' tradition and focussed on the more eccentric and less permanent elements in the language. This attitude was, in fact, responsible for sidetracking the English dictionary for a century. Bullokar (1616) is careful to identify himself on his title page as "Doctor of Physick," Cockeram (1623) as "Gentleman," Blount (1656) as "Barrister of the Inner Temple," and Phillips (1658) as "Gentleman." Although Coles (1676) acknowledged himself a schoolmaster and was noticeably more tolerant in his word-list than his predecessors, he gave disproportionate space to specialized vocabularies—archaisms, cant and dialectal expressions, mythological and geographical terms. It was J. K. (John Kersey?) who, in the militant preface to his *New English Dictionary*, 1702,¹⁵ sounded the recall to the earlier tradition and reinstated the fundamental part of the language in the dictionary. J. K.'s comment on his immediate predecessor, Coles, is significant:

the Design of this Ingenious Author . . . is very different from ours; That apparently being to oblige the Publick, with as large a Collection as

¹⁵ Copies of this edition survive in the Bodleian and the University of Chicago Library.

possibly could be made of all sorts of hard and obsolete Words, both domestick and foreign, as well Proper Names as the Terms of all Arts and Sciences, Poetical Fictions, &c Whereas, ours is intended only to explain such *English* Words as are genuine, and used by Persons of clear Judgment and good Style, leaving out all those foreign Terms, that in Mr. *Coles's* time were viciously introduc'd into our Language, by those who sought to approve themselves Learned rather by unintelligible Words than by proper Language.

Finally in Nathan Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* of 1721 an acceptable balance and synthesis between the various elements of the language is at least approximated.

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THE SOURCE OF THE SUBTITLE TO CHAUCER'S *TALE OF PHILOMELA*

In Chaucer's *Tale of Philomela*, one of the Legends of Good Women, the expression "Deus dator formarum" appears. F. N. Robinson in his edition of Chaucer's works refers this subtitle to general Platonic doctrine, possibly of Boethian origin. The actual expression, Robinson concludes, arises perhaps from some unknown source which Chaucer was translating.¹

W. R. Moses in his article of April, 1934, "An Appetite for Form,"² does not discuss this subtitle at all. He does, however, use the opening lines of the Legend of Philomela³ which are apparently for him simply a translation of this subtitle, to advance his exposition on Chaucer's philosophical interest in the Platonist-Augustinian theory on matter and form.

¹ Cambridge Chaucer, p. 967. See also Skeat, *Complete Works of Chaucer* (Oxford, 1896), III, 340-41.

² *MLN.*, XLIX, 226-229. The article is a comment on the following couplet from the Legend of Medea (*LGW*, 1582-1583):

As mater apetiteth forme alwey,
And from forme into forme it passen may. . . .

³ Thow yevere of the formes, that hast wrought
This fayre world, and bar it in thy thought
Eternaly. . . .

See also J. A. Bryant, *MLN.*, LVIII (1943), 194-6.

Between St. Augustine, however, and Chaucer stand several centuries of philosophical exposition. And it is within this period that the expression, "Deus Dator formarum" acquires a technical philosophical signification. In Avicenna, one of the Arabs of the Bagdad School of thinkers, are found the philosophical sources which proximately make possible the "Deus Dator formarum." Avicenna held the general Neo-Platonic doctrine of the hierarchic cascading of the Intelligences from the Ineffable. Each intelligence emanated from the one above it in the series. These intelligences, connected to the spheres, produced by way of emanation both the soul and body of each planet. The lowest of these intelligences was joined with the moon and thus "Intelligentia Agens" informed both the intellect of man and all other earthly bodies. The "Intelligentia Agens" becomes in Avicenna the giver of forms. In the *Metaphysices Compendium* (translated into Latin by N. Carame, Rome, 1926) Avicenna (on pages 204 and 207) uses the expression, "Dator Formarum." It is Averroes who, as it were, calls the attention of the Middle Ages to this doctrine when, in his summation of Avicennian thought, he says: "Et ideo quia Avicenna obedit istis propositionibus, credidit omnes formas esse ab intelligentia agente, quam vocat datorem formarum." A more complete exposition may be found in *In Metaphysicorum Libros*, Book VII, Comm. 31 (*Commentaria in Opera Aristotelis*, Venice, 1562-1576, VIII, 181a and b).

After the twelfth century this expression, "Dator Formarum," is used as a technical philosophical expression indicating the thought of Avicenna. In the Christian West, however, He who at once informed the intellect and gave substantial forms to things would have to be God. And under one form or another the "Dator Formarum" or the *Intelligentia Agens* becomes identified with God. Gundissalinus, William of Auvergne, Bishop of Paris, Robert Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, and finally Roger Bacon, an English Franciscan of the thirteenth century, hand down this Avicennian tradition, now baptized, as it were. In his *Opus Majus*, Book II, Chapt. 5; in his *Opus Tertium*, Chapt. 23, Roger Bacon expounds his theory and traces his philosophical inheritance, through the names already mentioned, back to Avicenna.

Whether Chaucer knew any of this philosophical inheritance directly from Roger Bacon cannot even be surmised; the possi-

bility, however, was there. Chaucer does mention the names of Avicenna and Averroes in his works. In the *Pardoner's Tale*, lines 889-890, he refers to the "Book of Healing," the title under which the compiled works of Avicenna were known to the Middle Ages. In the description of the physician in the general prologue, he also refers to Avicenna and Averroes (lines 432-433).

Whether Chaucer held the expression "Deus Dator formarum" in its technical philosophical sense we have no way of knowing. As Mr. W. R. Moses has pointed out, the best that can be said is that Chaucer's ideology stemmed from the Neo-Platonic-Augustinian tradition. For purposes of accuracy, however, it is important to note that the subtitle of the *Tale of Philomela* did have a known source in the Middle Ages, and that Chaucer was aware of the writings of Avicenna. These two facts do not make Chaucer a Christianized Avicennian, nor does it necessarily follow that he read the works of Avicenna. It can be said in closing, however, that the expression "Deus Dator formarum" was as popular an expression among the intelligentsia of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as the expression "survival of the fittest" is today.

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THE SOURCES OF SPENSER'S BRITOMARTIS

There has been considerable speculation as to Spenser's immediate source for the name Britomartis, which he uses in the title of Book III of *The Faerie Queene* and elsewhere when the meter does not compel him to shorten the form. The *Variorum* Spenser includes a number of possible sources. Thomas Warton mentioned the name's appearance in Callimachus, Claudian, Solinus, the *Ciris* of Virgil, and the *Metamorphoses* (1586) of Antoninus Liberalis (*Variorum*, III, 330). Lotspeich gives references to Diodorus, Claudian, and Boccaccio, while C. B. Millican quotes a significant passage from Henry Lyte's *Light of Britayne* (1588), in which Queen Elizabeth is called "the bright Britona of Britayne: euen Britomartis President of Britaine" (*Variorum*, III, 339).

We should need to look no farther than this last quotation if we could assume that Spenser had neither written nor planned Book III before 1588, an assumption which seems especially untenable in the light of newly discovered evidence. In her recent volume, *The Evolution of The Faerie Queene* (Chicago, 1942, chs. 1, 8), Mrs. Josephine Waters Bennett concludes that Book III was planned and in part written even before Books I and II. It seems very doubtful that Spenser could have adopted the name Britomartis as late as 1588, especially since it was already known to him from other sources.

The most probable immediate source is one not hitherto observed, the *Liber Mythologiae* of Natalis Comes, from which Spenser drew a number of other classical names. In Comes' discussion of Diana (III, xviii) we find the following passage:

Cur venationibus praefecta credita sit Diana, caussa huiusmodi ab antiquis memoratur: Nympha quaedam Britomartis, vel (ut alii maluerunt) Britimartys, cum venaretur, in quaedam retia cecidit: unde cum se explicare non posset, fera superveniente praecipue, Dianae sacellum vovit si incolumis evaderet, quod postea erexit, & Dianae Dictynnae ab iis retibus nominavit, unde dicta est postea venantibus praefecta Dea, ut scripsit Dicaearchus, & Aristophanis enarrator. Alii tamen maluerunt Dianam ipsam venationibus praefectam fuisse, quod venationibus mirum in modum delectaretur, quare eius imagini semper arcus adhiberi solitus fuit, ut scripsit Melanthus in libro de imaginibus Deorum. Alii dicunt Britomartem Iovis & Charmes filiam carissimam fuisse Dianae ob venandi studium, quae cum Minoem insequentem fugeret, prae amore se in mare deiecit in retia, quae ad capiendos pisces erant in mare demissa, & a Diana in Deorum numerum delatam Dictynnae & Alpheiae nomine culta est ab Aeginetis & a Cretensibus, ut ait Apollodorus Cyrenaicus in libro de Diis

A similar but shorter account of Britomartis appears in the onomasticon by the Stephani and others which was appended to Ambrosius Calepinus' *Dictionarium Undecim Linguarum* (Basel, 1590, p. 67), and which had first appeared in 1544. This account omits any mention of Britomartis' deification after her death but directs the reader to Virgil's *Ciris* and to Diodorus Siculus.

Diodorus (v, lxvi, 3) briefly tells the story of Britomartis but casts doubt upon the account of her death while fleeing from Minos. In Virgil's *Ciris*, however, this account is accepted and her name occurs in the lament of her mother Carme, who is expressing sympathy for Scylla, also a victim of tragic love involving Minos

(ll. 295-6). Since Spenser used the *Ciris* as a source for the episode of Glauce and Britomartis, we can assume his familiarity with the name in Virgil. It is also possible that he read the *Ciris* in the edition of Julius Caesar Scaliger, where he would have found full notes by Scaliger on Britomartis and references to Pausanias, Hesychius, Strabo, and Solinus as sources (P. Virgilius Maro, *Appendix*, Lyons, 1573, pp. 327-30).

Following these leads, we find that Strabo agrees with Diodorus in doubting the veracity of the legend and mentions a temple of Britomartis at Cherronesus (*Geography*, x, iv, 12, 14). Pausanias gives substantially the same account as that already quoted from Comes (*Description of Greece*, ii, xxx, 3). He also states that Britomartis was sometimes confused with Artemis and mentions the worship of her by the Greeks (*Ibid.*, iii, xiv, 2; viii, ii, 4; ix, xl, 3). Most interesting of all, however, is the short statement given by Solinus in his *Collectanea*, ch. xi:

Cretes Dianam religiosissime venerantur, Britomartem gentiliter nominantes, quod sermone nostro sonat virginem dulcem

Here Britomartis is confused with Diana, who is so called because in Latin the name sounds like "sweet virgin." Solinus' etymology is obscure, but if Spenser knew this passage it would have influenced his adoption of the name.

We may speculate further upon the choice of Britomartis' name. Mrs. Bennett (*op. cit.*, ch. 7) has shown that the name of Artegall, Britomartis' beloved, was adopted as a compliment to the Earl of Leicester, but that it cannot foreshadow an expected union between Leicester and Elizabeth, as Leicester had been married to the Countess of Essex since 1578. The choice of Britomartis' name avoids such a suggestion. In his letter to Raleigh, Spenser definitely identifies Elizabeth with Diana in the person of Belpheobe, since Phoebe is another name for Diana. Gloriana represents Elizabeth as a great sovereign; Belpheobe represents her as a chaste and virtuous lady; Britomartis probably represents her as "Defender of the Faith," personifying the martial strength of England. Historically, however, Britomartis was not Diana but a nymph beloved of Diana, and her betrothal to Artegall could not therefore be a "topical" reference to marriage between Leicester and the Queen, a reference which would have become pointless anyway after Leicester's death in 1588.

In addition, we note that the original Britomartis was a huntress, a role in which Elizabeth liked to fancy herself, that she met death rather than lose her chastity, and that she was elevated to a rank among the gods. Besides Solinus' curious interpretation of the name as "sweet virgin," its apparent meaning is "Mars's Briton" or, in Boccaccio's phrase, "Britona, Martis filia" (*Variorum*, III, 339). It also has a superficial resemblance to Britomartis' prototype in Ariosto, Bradamante. These connotations of the name made its use a compliment to Elizabeth as a martial exemplar of Chastity and a lover of Justice (Artegall), without indicating a more personal significance which might have offended the sovereign and her court.

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JOHN DONNE AND PIERIO VALERIANO

In the *Biathanatos*, John Donne writes:

And it is recorded of many places, that all the Sexagenarii, were by the lawes of wise States, precipitated frō a bridge. Of which, if *Pierius* his conjecture be true, that this report was occasioned by a custome in Rome, by which men of that age were not admitted to surfrage; and because the way to the Senate was *per pontem*, they which for age were not permitted to some hither, were called *Depontani*.¹

The *Pierius* mentioned in the second sentence is Giovanni Pierio Valeriano di Belluno, the author of the *Amores*, the *De Infelicitate Litteratorum*, the *Antiquitates Bellunenses*, and the world famous *Hieroglyphica*, from which Donne admittedly draws his illustration.

. . . cum satis olim celebres civitates eo impietatis ferantur irrupisse, ut senes quicunque sexagesimum aetatis annum excessissent, de ponte in subiectum profluentem deicerentur. . . . Utcunque fabula inde ansam cepit, quod aliquando senes eius aetatis Romae in Senatum ad ferenda suffragia non admitterentur. In Comitia vere per pontem, qui colliculos duos iungeret, transitus erat: qui vere prohiberentur eo accedere, Depontani appellabantur.²

Since Donne cites Valeriano directly in this instance, and since

¹ *Op. cit.* (New York, 1930), p. 73.

² *Op. cit.* (Basel, 1556), p. 124v.

Valeriano was the great source book for emblem writers and symbolists, Valeriano may well be the authority for some of Donne's more difficult symbolism. Much of Donne's symbolism is conventional; his equating of the olive with peace; the lamb, dove, and turtle with mildness; oil with mercy; and sleep with death³ are to be found in Valeriano, but they are such common equivalents that it is absurd to gloss them. Other of his emblematic allusions undoubtedly come from Valeriano or are enforced by Valeriano's authority.

In "Elegie XVIII," Donne says of the foot,

It is the Emblem that hath figured
Firmness.

Valeriano writes, "Contra vero pedes in solido constituti, iactum ostendunt fundamentum,"⁴ and gives many illustrations to prove this. Donne was also given to thinking of man's skin as his "oldest clothes," but we have a variation on this in one of his Lenten sermons. "As soon as we were clothed by God, our very apparell was an Embleme of death."⁵ This may simply be a theological observation, but a parallel may also be found in Valeriano.

Sunt qui locum ex Genesi, Et fecit eis tunicas pelliceas, eo interpretentur hieroglyphico, ut mortalitate convestitos esse eos intelligi velint. Nam cutis omnino eos indicat, qui solis exterioribus intenti, interius emarcescunt.⁶

In another sermon, Donne draws an illustration from a coin of Darius.

It was the Embleme, and Inscription, which *Darius* took for his coin, *Insculpre sagittarium* to shew his greatness that he could wound afar off, as an Archer does.⁷

This illustration may have been taken from some numismatical treatise, but the only source I have been able to discover is Valeriano.

Abeo vero armorum genere, quo Persae plurimum utuntur, sagittas

³ See respectively *LXXX Sermons*, p. 77; *I Sermons*, p. 221; *Devotions* (Sparrow, Cambridge, 1923), p. 86.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 256v-257.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 249v.

⁶ *LXXX Sermons*, p. 147.

⁷ *I Sermons*, p. 155.

nummis Darius impressit, sive ita gentem suam significare volverit, sive potentiam suam late diffusam indicare."

Finally, there is in the *Devotions* a lengthy description of the armless busts called "Hermes" which the ancients erected to great men. Donne expounds the meaning of the "Hieroglyphique"⁹ in a manner that is closer to Valeriano's account than anything I have been able to find.

Contra vero erant Hermea signa quadrata sine manibus & brachiis, solo quippe insignita capite, eaque praecipue apud Athenienses. . . Ostendit vero hoc sermonem suapte vi pollere, & sine manibus omnia conficere¹⁰ Hermaes . . . ut significaretur, rationem & veritatem perinde ut forma quadrata rectam semper stare¹¹

Valeriano is by no means the source of all of Donne's symbolism. He does not say, as Donne does, that vapor is the hieroglyphic of God's judgment and blessings, that man is the emblem of God's union to the church, that war is a symbol of evil, and a torch of liberality, and that valor towards men is an "Emblem of ability towards women."¹² I do not know the source of these devices; perhaps, like Jonson, Donne invented some of his symbols.

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HENRY VAUGHAN'S "THE ASS"

According to Professor Judson, Henry Vaughan's use of the ass, in the poem of that title and elsewhere, as a symbol of meekness, humility, and patience was inspired by the "Ad Encomium Asini Digressio" with which Henry Cornelius Agrippa concluded his *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Omnium Scientiarum et Artium*.¹ I would not deny this for we know that Thomas Vaughan was an ardent reader of Agrippa's works. I would feel more certain of

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 310.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 256.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 290.

¹² See respectively *Devotions*, p. 70; I *Sermons*, p. 12; LXXX *Sermons*, p. 145; *Ibid.*, p. 760; *Paradoxes* (Keynes, London, 1923), p. 76.

¹ Cornelius Agrippa and Henry Vaughan, *MLN.*, xli, 178-81.

the connection, however, were Agrippa's book the only one to contain an account of this symbolism. This is not the case.

If, omitting from the consideration all pictorial sources and all traditional sources such as the Feast of the Ass, we look only in the library, we find many other accounts. In the *Hieroglyphica* of Valeriano Bolzani—a book printed in the early part of the sixteenth century and reissued many times—there are ten folio pages on the symbolism of the ass, and from the last pages of this essay—the section titled "Labor Indefessus atque Servilis"—Agrippa borrowed without shame.² Valeriano's work was a boon to emblem writers, and the most popular of these, Alciati, devotes his seventh emblem to the legend of the ass that carried the image of Isis. Though it had nothing to do with the emblem, Mignault, Alciati's commentator, wrote a long disquisition on the symbolism of the ass, borrowing copiously from both Valeriano and Agrippa.³

One of the most popular encomiums of the age was the oration of the monk Cipolus over the ass Ponocrates, which appeared first in a Latin translation by William Canter in his edition of Aristides. The translation was reprinted and found a place in Dornau's popular anthology, which also includes a long poem in hexameters on the same subject by the famous Dutch poet Jacob Van Den Eynde.⁴ Cipolus' oration is interesting because the monk tells of a little sermon preached by the ass in which the virtues of humility, meekness, and patience were praised. In the same year that Dornau's compilation appeared, William Jaggard brought out the second volume of *Times Store House*, the sort of book one got for Christmas and read the rest of the year. In this book, there is a chapter "Of strange and admirable properties in the Asse," and here again is the conventional symbolism and general lore.⁵

In 1623, Daniel Heinsius printed anonymously his *Laus Asini*; this book was so popular that it was turned into French by Coupé, and the Elzevir press reprinted it in a pocket edition of 264 pages

² *Op. cit.* (Basel, 1556), fols. 87-92. Adriano Banchieri's *The Nobleness of the Asse* was printed at London in 1595; I have not seen this work, but its title sounds pertinent.

³ *Emblemata* (Paris, 1580), p. 63.

⁴ *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Joco-Seriae* (Hanover, 1619), I, 493-98.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 654-6.

in 1629. The work is, of course, a well-known satire, but the usual lore appears once more. Besides these special treatises, there must be others that I have missed, for I know that the Christian qualities of the ass can be found recorded in the most unexpected places.⁶

This plethora of asinine symbolism suggests to me that Vaughan probably knew what everybody else knew. My remarks do not put Vaughan's reading of Agrippa beyond the pale of probability, but they do suggest that their common information about the virtues of the ass does not provide an adequate proof of influence.

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HARINGTON'S FOUNTAIN

Sir John Harington, the translator of Ariosto, has often been criticized for the liberties which he took with *Orlando Furioso* and for the freedom with which he added references to himself, his family, and his friends to his notes on Ariosto's poem. There are several examples of what may be called "Haringtoniana" which are interpolated in the translation itself as well. One of the most interesting of these is to be found in Book XLII. Ariosto, in describing a banquet at the palace of a Mantuan knight, speaks of tables placed in the middle of a courtyard where there was an elaborate fountain. He says (XLII. 78. 5-6),

Poste le mense hauean quoui i donzelli,
Ch'era nel mezo per vqual distanza. .

and then goes on to describe eight statues of notable women which supported the fountain. He does not say the tables were placed under the fountain, but Harington does (XLII. 71. 1-4):

But nothing did so much the sight enrich,
As did the plenteous fontaine, that did stand
Iust placed in the middle, under which,
The Pages spred a table out of hand. . . .

The fountain described by Ariosto is a large eight-sided structure.

⁶ See, for example, J. H. Alsted, *Theologia Naturalis* (Prostat, 1615), pp. 538, 561.

Eight white marble statues of famous women, with horns of plenty in their right hands, from which the water falls, support a wide blue enamelled basin. The statues are supported below by images of the poets who have glorified the ladies. The water falls into an alabaster receptacle, whence it flows away along a channel through the garden. Harington gives a more or less faithful though much condensed description of all this, but goes on with the following original details (XLII. 74. 7—75. 4):

These images bare vp a brasen tressell,
On which there stood a large white Marble vessel

This tooke the water from that azure skye,
From whence with turning of some cock or vice,
Great store of water would mount vp on hye,
And wet all that same court eu'n in a trice. . . .

There is, in Collinson's *The History and Antiquities of . . . Somerset*, an engraving of a fountain owned by the Harington family at Kelston. The structure consists of pillars supporting an oblong tank, in the center of which on a pedestal rises a large rounded basin. At the top is the date, "1567."¹

Harington must have been proud of his family fountain; Queen Elizabeth, who stopped at Kelston in 1592, a year after the publication of *Orlando Furioso*, is traditionally supposed to have dined "right royally under the fountain which played in the court,"²

¹ John Collinson, *The History and Antiquities of . . . Somerset* (Bath, 1791), I, "Bath," facing p. 41. The engraving is entitled "Fountain of the Harringtons at Kelweston Court." The Harington arms, a fret, occur four times among the decorations on the brim of the tank, while the water falls into the basin from a device which also conveys [the] Harington name. A hare with a ring in one paw is seated on a cask or tun. The device is the same as that in the medal or seal pictured at the end of the "Apologie" in Harington's *The Metamorphosis of Ajax* (London, 1596), 1st ed., Sig. Lviij, except that there the hare is holding the ring in his mouth. The date "1567" is on the side of the cask, in the engraving in Collinson.

Townsend Rich, in "Harington's Fountain," *TLS*, May 30, 1936, p. 460, pointed out Harington's changes in Ariosto's description of a fountain, but concluded that Harington himself had built a fountain of the type he described, and that in it he experimented with details of plumbing which later helped him in designing the Ajax. Mr. Rich apparently did not know of the engraving in Collinson, with its evidence that the fountain had been constructed many years before 1591.

² Richard Warner, *History of Bath* (Bath, 1801), p. 187. Warner's

and in the letter prefixed to *The Metamorphosis of Ajax* (1596) the author, addressing Harington, says he is anxious to see Harington's famed three wonders at Kelston, one of which is a "fountain stāding on pillers, like that in Ariosto, vnder which you may dine and suppe."³

Harington's mention of building materials different from those described by Ariosto, the trestle and basin type of fountain Harington depicts, his emphasis on ingenious details of plumbing, and his suggestion that the diners ate beneath the fountain all agree with what we know of the Harington fountain. It is evident, therefore, that Harington's confusing interpolations in describing the fountain in *Orlando Furioso* are prompted by the fountain built in his father's time at Kelston.

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SIR JOHN HARINGTON'S PEN NAME

Sir John Harington wrote *The Metamorphosis of Ajax* under the pseudonym of Misacmos. This name is not discussed in the edition of the work by Peter Warlock and Jack Lindsay (London, Francofolio Press, n. d.), and I have found no explanation elsewhere.

Prefixed to the *Ajax* is a letter purporting to be by Harington's "loving cousin," Philostilpnos. This name, writes Sir John, "I thought at first was a word to conjure a spirit, till at last, a fellowe of mine of Cambridge, tolde mee the *Philo* was Greeke, and that he would say in English, that he loveth cleanness" (Prologue, p. 20). The second component is also Greek, and the combination could mean a lover of cleanliness, or at least of what is polished or shining. Sir John continues: "To the end I may answere him in the same language, I am called *Misacmos*, which is cosin and allie to his name, and it signifieth a hater of filthnesse." To the letter itself the name is signed in Greek characters, *μισακμος*. Yet there seems to be no such word in Greek, nor is there an *'ακμος* with which

account is given *verbatim* again in Nichols' *The Progresses . . . of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1823), III, 250-1.

³ Harington, *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*, Sig. Aij.

the author might have combined *Mis*. There is, however, a Greek word *αἷμας* which may mean *squalor*, *filth*. Taken directly into English, this would have resulted in *Misauchmos*, apparently this looked forbidding to Sir John and he simplified it. His procedure is like that of Spenser, who writes *Elissa* for *Elassa*,¹ and *Cymocles* for *Caymocles*.² Neither author felt a pedant's compulsion to exactness, but modified to suit his purposes and tastes.

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AN INEDITED BURNS LETTER

An inedited letter of Robert Burns, recently discovered in a private collection in western Pennsylvania, adds a new name to the list of the poet's correspondents. The letter is addressed to the "Rev. Mr Thos. Smith, Auchinleck, Favor of Mr Ferrier"; the following text is from a transcript furnished me, with the owner's permission, by Miss Josephine E. Roberts of Grove City College, Grove City, Pennsylvania:

My dear Sir—

I know you will be setting me down in the book of your remembrance as an ungrateful fellow for not answering your kind obliging letter.— People will pretend business, and make fifty apologies, all of them frivolous and untrue.— Five minutes you will say would do the business, and what man so hurried that he cannot spare five minutes? So 'tis impossible to exculpate the Poet from the vile charge, of unkindly neglecting his Friend:— But, if you know the French proverb, "*Le vrai n'est toujours le [sic] vraisemblable [sic]*," it was never more applicable than in the present case— A few days after I got your much valued letter, I fell or rather my horse fell with me, and I broke my right arm.—

This, you will allow, was too good an apology.— I would gladly, since my recovery, have written you, but you are such a bird of passage there is no guessing where to find you; but by the same good luck that I met with you and at the same fireside too, I fell in just now with a pleasant, jolly fellow, a gentleman of your cloth, a Mr Ferrier, from Paisley, a man who may be stiled, a Body, or rather, a *Corporation* of Divinity; and he has obligingly promised to convey you this dry scrawl.—

I expect a printed copy of "*Logie o' Buchan*," by the first post.— I will

¹ *PMLA*, XLVII (1932), 101.

² *Modern Language Notes*, XLVIII (1933), 230.

take care to forward a Copy of it for you, if I should advertise for your address in the newspapers — It is a sweet little air, and the stanza equally beautiful —

I must break off here; for I find this dull rainy day and consequently, low spirits, have sunk me to such a miserable, matter-of-fact, diawling style that I am unequal to a higher task than a hand-bill Advertisement.—

Adieu my dear Sir! and believe me to [be] yours, sincerely —

Robt Burns

Bailie Kellock's }
4th July — 1791 }

With the letter are two poetical MSS., "Wilt thou be my Dearie" and "O wat ye wha's in yon town," the former inscribed at the end,

To the Rev. Mr Smith—
Un gage d'amitié
The Author

The songs exhibit no unrecorded variations from the printed texts, but they are evidence of further correspondence, not now extant, between Burns and Smith. "Wilt thou be my Dearie" was not composed until 1794;¹ the earliest appearance of the second song is in a letter to George Thomson, written at Ecclefechan, February 7, 1795.²

The contents of the letter need little comment. The broken right arm, which Burns sustained when his horse fell with him in March, 1791, is repeatedly mentioned in the published correspondence.³ The French proverb was a favorite quotation. The old song, "Logie o' Buchan," appeared as No. 58 in the third volume of James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*, where, according to James Stenhouse,⁴ it was printed from a text supplied by Burns himself. This volume was published in February, 1790; presumably Burns means that he has ordered an extra copy for his friend. No other allusion of Burns's to this song has come to light; it was not even included in the poet's tentative table of contents, which J. C. Dick facsimiled.⁵

Bailie Kellock of Thornhill has not hitherto been known as a

¹ *The Letters of Robert Burns* (Oxford, 1931), II, 233-4, 241, 252.

² *Ibid.*, 288-9.

³ *Ibid.*, 68 ff.

⁴ *Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1853), 336-7.

⁵ *The Songs of Robert Burns* (London, 1903).

friend of the poet, though his wife figures, not too favorably, in the most pungent of Burn's Excise letters. In 1790 one Thomas Johnston, convicted of illegally making malt, had appealed the conviction on the plea that he had sent written notice of his intention, but that the letter had miscarried. Burns commented:

As to Mr^s Kellock's oath, it proves nothing — She did indeed depone to a line being left for me at her house, which said line miscarried — It was a sealed letter, she could not tell whether it was a Malt Notice or not. — She could not even condescend on the Month, nor so much as the season of the year — The truth is, Thos. Johnston & his family being Seceders, & consequently coming every Sunday to Thornhill Meeting-house, they were a good conveyance for the several Maltsters & Traders in their neighbourhood to transmit to Post their Notices, Permits, &c. — ⁶

From this it might be inferred that, as in the well-known instance of William Lorimer, Burns as a private citizen was often on the friendliest terms with people whom, as an Excise officer, he had sometimes to hale to court.

"Mr Ferrier, from Paisley," is readily identified from the *Fasts Ecclesiae Scotianae* ⁷ as the Rev. Robert Ferrier (1741-1795), who was ordained, 23 August, 1764, as assistant and successor to his father, John Ferrier, minister of Largo, Fife. "Adopting the principles of Independent Church Government, he demitted his charge 23 Nov. 1768 and formed a new sect in conjunction with James Smith, minister of Newburn, at Balchrystie, but subsequently left them and became a Glassite, and finally pastor of a Congregational Church at Glasgow." He was evidently such a fine, lusty Christian as would appeal to Burns: twice married, he begot ten children, the five by his second wife, Catherine Sandeman of Perth, all being born between 1787 and 1794.

Thomas Smith's name does not appear in the list of "Burns's Literary Correspondents" compiled by his executors.⁸ Five years Burns's junior, he was born in Dumfries in 1764. After graduating from Edinburgh University in 1785, he attended Alloa Seminary. Licensed by the Dumfries Presbytery (not of the Established Kirk) in 1789 and ordained a year later, he spent the next decade as a home missionary. In the year of his ordination, the Synod appointed him as missionary to America, but he failed to go. In 1800, however, "on his motion and responsibility," he emigrated to

⁶ *Letters*, II, 40.

⁷ V, 219.

⁸ *Burns Chronicle*, 1933, 18 ff.

the United States. After eleven years of missionary and supply work, he was installed as pastor of a United Presbyterian congregation in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, where he remained until his death, 14 August, 1825. In 1814 he was chosen Moderator of the Synod of the American Church.⁹ But these data afford no clue to the qualities in the young missionary which attracted Burns to him, and which made him preserve these manuscripts through twenty years of itinerancy.

A notation added when the manuscripts were framed and glazed in 1854, establishes their subsequent history. After Smith's death, his widow removed to Mercer County, where, shortly before her death at "an advanced age," she gave the documents to James Magoffin of Mercer. He had them framed, and they have remained in the possession of his descendants ever since.

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KEATS'S "GATHER THE ROSE"

In a letter almost certainly written on September 22, 1818,¹ to John Hamilton Reynolds concerning Reynold's approaching marriage, Keats said, "But I conjure you to think at present of nothing but pleasure 'Gather the rose, &c.'" Maurice Buxton Forman, in a note on the letter,² argues that the source of Keats's quotation is not Herricks' well-known line but a line from Tasso,³ because of the fact that Keats, in his copy of Burton's *Anatomy*, wrote "Cogliam la rosa d'amorè" in the margin beside Burton's quotation from Ausonius: "Collige, virgo, rosas dum flos novus et

* From data supplied, through the courtesy of Miss Helen Hauck, Librarian of Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa., from William M. Glasgow *Cyclopedic Manual of the United Presbyterian Church of North America* (Pittsburgh, 1903), p. 319, and James A. Scouller: *A Manual of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, 1751-1887* (Pittsburgh, 1887), p. 589. Cf. also J. Simpson *Africa: History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1883), 299.

¹ It is at least absolutely certain the letter was written some time before December 1, 1818, when Tom Keats died, for in the letter Keats says, "Tom is not up yet—I cannot say he is better."

² *The Letters of John Keats* (New York, 1935), p. 217, n. 2.

³ Tasso's "Cogliam d'amor la rosa," *Gerusalemme Liberata*, xvi, 15, 7.

nova pubes." ⁴ The first question concerns the exact source of Keats's quotation, but more is involved, as I shall indicate later, than a mere question of source.

Mr. Forman is obviously right in believing that Keats was not thinking of Herrick's line, ⁵ but otherwise mistaken. Keats, in the first place, did not know Italian in September, 1818. On April 27, 1818, Keats wrote to Reynolds that he intended to "learn Greek, and very likely Italian." ⁶ Between April and September, 1818, he was too much occupied to attempt either pursuit. Before the middle of June he was busy taking care of Tom and attending to other matters, roughly from the middle of June to the middle of August he was in Scotland on a walking tour with Charles Brown, and from the middle of August to December 1, he was again at the bedside of his dying brother. He was also much concerned with such distressing affairs as the adverse criticism of *Endymion*. It was not until September, 1819, or shortly before, that he attempted seriously to study Italian. ⁷ And it was most probably at the same time that he wrote his quotation from Tasso in his copy of Burton, for the book was not given him until 1819, as Keats noted on the title page, and it was in September that he was reading Burton most carefully. ⁸

It cannot be argued, from the fact that Keats misquoted or adapted a line of Tasso's in his copy of the *Anatomy* in 1819, that he knew the line in 1818. It is very unlikely that he did, for it is exceedingly difficult to remember foreign words when one does not know the language. Even if Keats did know the line in 1818,

⁴ See *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Pt III, Sec. II, Mem. 5, Sub. 5.

⁵ Herrick, in *To the Virgins*, did not write "Gather the rose," but "Gather ye Rose-buds."

⁶ Forman, *ed. cit.*, p. 137.

⁷ On September 5, 1819, Keats wrote to John Taylor that he was "occupied in revising St. Agnes' Eve and studying Italian." In his letter to his brother George written between September 17 and September 27, 1819, Keats said, "I am reading Ariosto at present; not managing more than six or eight stanzas at a time." Presumably Keats had not gone far with his study of Italian. For the quotations, see Forman, *ed. cit.*, pp. 381 and 424.

⁸ The only reference to Burton by name in Keats's letters is under date of September 18, 1819: "I have been reading lately Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* . . ." (Forman, *ed. cit.*, p. 404) The only indirect allusion to Burton's work in Keats's letters was also made in September. (*Ibid.*, p. 392.)

the fact would be of little significance, for it is obvious that Keats was thinking of an English author. He quoted "Gather the rose" in English, and he was apparently not translating but quoting. After he had written "Gather the rose" Keats added, "&c." This fact surely implies that Keats expected Reynolds to recognize the quotation and to be able to complete it. It is impossible to think that Keats would expect Reynolds to recognize a line of Tasso's in the English words, especially since both Reynolds and Keats were thoroughly familiar with the English source.

This source was the *Faerie Queene*, II, xii, 75, 6-8:

Gather therefore the Rose, whilst yet is prime,
For soone comes age, that will her pride deflowre:
Gather the Rose of love, whilst yet is time.

Ausonius's poem, or the anonymous poem quoted by Ausonius, had been used directly or indirectly over and over again by poets, among them Tasso, Despériers of Lyons, Ronsard, Samuel Daniel, Herrick, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Shakespeare, and Spenser. There is no need to look further than Spenser, for Keats was thoroughly familiar with this canto of the *Faerie Queene*, as is so well known that no proof need be offered. Spenser's account of the "Bower of Blisse," in this same canto (II, xii, 42 ff.), was indeed the part of the *Faerie Queene* that Keats liked best and that influenced him most. And Reynolds was a confirmed Spenserian. It is, for these reasons, far more likely that Keats was referring to Spenser than to Tasso or to Fairfax's translation.

The point involved is of interest because of a tendency among scholars to believe that in 1818 and 1819 Spenser's influence on Keats was replaced by the influence of Shakespeare and Milton. It appears more correct to think that the influence of Shakespeare and Milton was added to Spenser's. One does not ever entirely forget the influences of childhood and early youth, and it was Spenser who first inspired Keats to become a poet. His turning to Shakespeare and Milton did not exclude Spenser. The matter here discussed is one small indication of that fact.⁹

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⁹ See also my article on "Keats's 'Golden-tongued Romance,'" *Modern Language Notes*, LVIII (February, 1943), 125-128, in which I show reasons for thinking that his sonnet "On Sitting down to read *King Lear* once again" does not, as has been argued, show a rejection of Spenser's influence in January, 1818.

AN EARLY REVIEW OF THE SHELLEYS' "SIX WEEKS' TOUR"

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, for July, 1818 (3:16:412-16), contains a review of the *History of a Six Weeks' Tour through France* that has not, so far as I know, been mentioned in studies of Shelley, and that seems never to have been associated with the name of either Shelley or Mary.¹ The *History*, published anonymously, is of course largely the work of Mary Shelley, based on a journal written jointly by Shelley and herself, but it includes two letters written by Shelley, and his poem on *Mont Blanc*, which is here first published. The review should certainly be included among contemporary notices of Shelley's works, just as the *History* is included in all bibliographies of Shelley.

The reviewer, who gives no indication of recognizing the authors of the anonymous volume, presents a friendly review with no moral warnings or irritating reservations such as one finds in all other *Blackwood* notices of Shelley or his works. He recommends the book as lively and well written, and cites many passages. Although he thinks the poem on *Mont Blanc* is "rather too ambitious, and at times too close an imitation of Coleridge's sublime hymn on the vale of Chamouni," he finds also that it is "often very beautiful," and he concludes his review with a selection of thirty-five lines from the poem (Part III in its entirety). *Blackwood's*, which later prided itself on its defense of Shelley and its early recognition of his genius,² might itself have been pleased if it had been aware of its earliest, unconscious recognition of the work of both Mary and Shelley.

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¹ There is no mention of the review in Forman's bibliography, *A Shelley Library*, in any of Forman's editions of Shelley's works, in Dowden's biography, in Marsh's summary of contemporary periodical comments on Shelley (George L. Marsh, "The Early Reviews of Shelley," *MP.*, August, 1929; 27: 1: 73-95), in Strout's account of *Blackwood's* early championship of Shelley (Alan L. Strout, "Maga, Champion of Shelley," *SP.*, January, 1932; 29: 95-119), in the Julian edition of Shelley's writings, in Newman White's *Uncatalogued Hearth* or in his recent biography of Shelley. The article has been overlooked probably because it was an anonymous review of an anonymous book and accordingly was not indexed in the journal under anyone's name.

² *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. 19 (1826), Preface, p. XXVII.

DATING A LETTER BY HORACE WALPOLE

After seeing William Mason's play *Elfrida* Horace Walpole described the performance in a letter to Mason.¹ Draper has suggested that the date of the letter be altered, using Genest² as his source for the performance of *Elfrida*:

On November 21, 1772, *Elfrida* was performed at Covent Garden. . . Mitford (I, 100) dates this letter Nov. 19, 1773; but as there was no performance of *Elfrida* at that time, and as it fits perfectly just one year earlier, I have ventured the transposition³

However, if the letter were dated "just one year earlier" it must be presumed that Walpole saw the play two days before it opened. Genest is misleading for he fails to list a performance of *Elfrida* just prior to November 19, 1773, the date of Walpole's letter according to Mitford. This performance is reported in the *London Chronicle* of November 13-16, 1773. It may be noted further that Walpole refers to the performances of Miss Miller and Miss Catley whereas Genest omits their names from the cast. Finally, as is clear from his letter to Mason on November 26, 1772, Walpole was bedridden with the gout in November, 1772, and could not possibly have made the trip from Strawberry Hill to Covent Garden.

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REVIEWS

Baudelaire the Critic. By MARGARET GILMAN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. vii + 264. \$3.00.

On a beaucoup écrit sur Baudelaire critique, et après les "Eclaircissements" de Jacques Crépet, surtout après les travaux de S. A. Rhodes, de Léon Lemonnier, d'André Ferran et de Jean Pommier;

¹ *The Correspondence of Horace Walpole and the Rev. William Mason*, ed., J. Mitford, London, 1851, I, 100.

² John Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage, from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830*, Bath, 1832, v, 360.

³ John W. Draper, *William Mason, A Study in Eighteenth Century Culture*, New York, 1924, p. 81.

il ne reste pas grand'chose à ajouter aux matériaux déjà amassés. Aussi Miss Gilman a-t-elle cherché un renouvellement de cette question dans la façon de l'aborder. Jusqu'ici on a étudié séparément le critique d'art, le critique littéraire, le critique musical. Miss Gilman a choisi d'adopter l'ordre chronologique, seul ordre, croit-elle, permettant de rendre "perceptible le développement de l'originalité de Baudelaire" (p. v).

Elle a donc essayé de suivre la production critique de son auteur "depuis les débuts jusqu'au plein épanouissement" (p. v), et dans cette production elle a distingué quatre périodes dont la succession suggère la courbe que l'on peut tracer dans la vie de la plupart des écrivains : commencements, croissance, apogée, déclin. Seulement Baudelaire n'est pas un écrivain ordinaire et pour obtenir cette classique division Miss Gilman a dû ne pas tenir compte d'une particularité de la carrière de Baudelaire critique qui rend vaine toute application d'une méthode fondée sur la chronologie. Car cette carrière n'a rien de la continuité que suppose une évolution aussi normale. Après s'être fait la main pendant un an exactement, de mai 1845 à mai 1846, Baudelaire, au cours des cinq années qui suivirent, ne publia qu'un compte rendu—article de pure complaisance—d'un livre de son ami Champfleury (mars 1848) et une note précédant sa traduction de "Révélation magnétique" (avril 1848). Du mois d'avril 1851 à mars-avril 1852, il sembla vouloir se remettre à la critique; mais pendant ces douze mois on ne trouve qu'une préface aux *Chants et chansons* de Pierre Dupont, autre geste amical, deux chroniques écrites sur le ton de plaisanterie qui convenait à la feuille humoristique et satirique où elles parurent et le premier article sur Poe plus biographique que critique. Il est difficile de prendre au sérieux cette brève et inconsistante reprise. Et, en effet, pendant trois ans, Baudelaire abandonna de nouveau un genre littéraire auquel il semblait ne pouvoir s'attacher,—jusqu'en mai 1855, où il donna au *Pays* son "Exposition universelle." C'est seulement à partir de cette date que l'on peut parler de production continue. Encore cette période d'activité intense fut-elle elle-même de courte durée, car après 1861, si l'on excepte l'article écrit en 1863 à l'occasion de la mort de Delacroix, simple répétition de ce que Baudelaire avait déjà dit sur cet artiste, et le "Peintre de la vie moderne," imprimé la même année mais appartenant à 1859, il ne reste que des articulets, des projets avortés, des lettres de protestation aux journaux,—en un mot rien qui vaille la peine d'être relevé. Ainsi cette œuvre critique se rencontre seulement au début et vers la fin de la vie littéraire de Baudelaire, la majeure partie de cette œuvre étant entassée dans les six années de la période finale. Voilà qui change du tout au tout les perspectives habituelles. La méthode chronologique, comme la méthode statistique, est d'un emploi délicat: il ne suffit pas d'aligner des dates, il faut les interpréter.

Mais il y a plus. Les idées exprimées dans les articles publiés entre 1855 et 1861 avaient été conçues longtemps auparavant. Prenons, par exemple, la "doctrine de l'imagination" qui, d'après Miss Gilman, dans le "Salon de 1859," "embrasse et symbolise tout le credo artistique de Baudelaire" (p. 119); car c'est seulement dans ce "Salon"—chose surprenante quand on réfléchit qu'il s'agit de l'auteur des *Fleurs du mal*—que Baudelaire aurait enfin vu clairement en cette "reine des facultés" le pouvoir qui "montre à l'homme le sens caché du monde visible et crée l'analogie et la métaphore" (p. 122). Découverte qui, dans l'article sur Wagner, se serait enrichie de la croyance qu'il existe une "étroite alliance entre l'intelligence et l'imagination" (pp. 121, 180). Or, dès le début de 1856, le 21 janvier, Baudelaire écrivait à Tousse-nel: "Il y a bien longtemps que je dis que le poète est *souverainement* intelligent, qu'il est l'intelligence par excellence,—et que l'imagination est la plus scientifique des facultés, parce qu'elle seule comprend l'*analogie universelle*, ou ce qu'une religion mystique appelle la correspondance" (*Lettres 1841-1866*, 83). Et il ajoutait, nous donnant ainsi la raison pourquoi nous ne trouvons pas cette idée exprimée plus tôt: "Mais quand je veux faire imprimer ces idées-là, on me dit que je suis fou." "Il y a bien longtemps que je dis. . . ." Ces mots nous reportent loin dans le passé de Baudelaire, probablement jusqu'au temps où il se nourrissait de Swedenborg et autres mystiques anciens et modernes, c'est-à-dire avant 1846 (Cf. *La Fanfarlo*, nouvelle publiée en janvier 1847, mais écrite bien avant). Et à ce propos il est inexact de dire que dans les premiers "Salons" la théorie des correspondances ne s'appliquait qu'aux synesthésies (p. 113). Dans le "Salon de 1846," citant le passage bien connu d'Hoffmann, sur lequel Miss Gilman fonde sans doute son assertion, Baudelaire a fait allusion aux analogistes, preuve suffisante qu'il était déjà familier avec les rêveries de Fourier, le propagateur en France de la théorie de l'analogie universelle.¹ Et ne savons-nous pas, en plus, qu'à son retour de l'île Maurice Baudelaire se lia avec Esquiros, fouriériste ardent, par qui il avait certainement été initié aux complexités de l'unité universelle. Il en est de même des idées qui constituent la partie théorique du "Peintre de la vie moderne," autre sommet de la critique baudelairienne (p. 116). Il serait facile de démontrer que la recherche de la modernité, la définition du Beau, le rôle de la mémoire, la question de l'imitation de la nature étaient autant d'idées que Baudelaire avait conçues longtemps avant 1859. Pour faire cette démonstration je n'aurais qu'à citer les passages où Miss Gilman reconnaît que tous ces principes de l'esthétique baudelairienne se trouvaient déjà affirmés dans le "Salon de 1846," quel-

¹ Jean Pommier a cru discerner dans le "Salon de 1846" plusieurs expressions empruntées au vocabulaire fouriériste.

quelques en termes "presque identiques" (p. 144. Cf. 47, 141, 153, 162).

La vérité c'est que la doctrine de Baudelaire s'est formée, non pas "lentement" (p. vi), mais, tout au contraire, avec une exceptionnelle rapidité. De même qu'en 1843 l'auteur des *Fleurs du mal* avait écrit ses poèmes les plus originaux, en 1846, il avait déjà arrêté tous les articles de son credo artistique. Et quand, en sa pleine maturité, il s'adonna pour de bon à la critique il ne fit que puiser dans le fonds ancien de convictions profondément ancrées, accentuant tel ou tel aspect de sa doctrine selon les sujets qu'il traitait. Et c'est pourquoi il est impossible de distinguer aucun développement dans ces années 1855-1861. Là où Miss Gilman a cru voir une suite de progrès dans la conquête de l'originalité, il n'y a que déroulement de points de vue divers autour d'une idée constante—fondement de la doctrine—cette "pensée unique et systématique" dont Baudelaire a parlé dans sa lettre à Julien Lemer (23 février 1865) : la théorie des correspondances.

Cette tentative pour retracer un développement inexistant n'affecte après tout que la structure du livre : on peut l'oublier et alors cette étude regagne son utilité. C'est la première fois qu'on nous offre une analyse aussi détaillée de l'œuvre critique de Baudelaire. Tous les articles sont résumés et appréciés ; les jugements sont remarquablement sensés, souvent pénétrants, toujours subtilement nuancés. J'ai noté des pages excellentes sur les rapports de pensée entre Baudelaire et Delacroix, Poe, Joseph de Maistre ;—des comparaisons suggestives avec Bergson et Proust. Miss Gilman a lu tout ce qu'on a écrit sur son auteur et sa documentation est aussi précise que riche : il est difficile de la prendre en délit d'inexactitude.* Et comme elle est rompue à tous les exercices d'érudition, elle s'est livrée à des études de détail qui rendront de grands services. C'est ainsi qu'elle a eu la patience de rassembler tous les exemples de l'emploi de certains mots comme "imagination" (119-122), le "Beau" (143-147), "génie" (150-151), "nature" (161-165), "art" (165-166), "poésie" (203-206)—listes qui forment un

* Voici, cependant, quelques erreurs : p. 8, le passage de la lettre à Mme Aupick ne se rapporte pas à la période de Louis-le-Grand ("school years") mais à l'époque de l'Hôtel Pimodan ; p. 30, Baudelaire parlant de l'universalité de Delacroix aurait dit qu'elle résultait d'une "combination of erudition and naiveté," il a dit "science et naiveté," et par science il entendait "science du métier," "technique" ; p. 128, Baudelaire n'a admis aucune dette envers Catherine Crowe, tout au contraire, il a bien précisé qu'il s'agissait d'une simple rencontre d'idée (Salon de 1859, p. 279, éd. Crépet) ; pp. 101-102, Miss Gilman semble accepter l'hypothèse de J. Crépet, selon laquelle Baudelaire aurait collaboré à la Préface de la *Double vie* d'Asselineau ; mais Baudelaire aurait-il critiqué aussi vivement, sur épreuves, certaines idées et expressions s'il les avait "dictées" ? L'explication est simple : Asselineau admirait si aveuglement Baudelaire qu'il l'imitait en tout et jusqu'à s'appropriier les idées de son ami. Je tiens ce renseignement de Paul Bourget qui le tenait de Banville.

petit index de certaines idées essentielles chez Baudelaire, en attendant que quelqu'un prépare une concordance complète. Enfin, mérite qui n'est pas mince dans un livre où des citations françaises viennent à tout instant se greffer sur le texte anglais, les fautes d'impression sont extrêmement rares.³ *Baudelaire the Critic* est le premier livre important de Miss Gilman: il promet beaucoup pour l'avenir, et l'on attendra avec confiance le volume auquel, si je suis bien informé, elle travaille en ce moment.

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The Didot Perceval According to the Manuscripts of Modena and Paris. Edited by WILLIAM ROACH. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941. Pp. xi + 348.

At last justice has been done to the *Didot-Perceval*. The unsatisfactory earlier editions are now entirely superseded. The two MSS, which differ so widely, are both printed in full, the Modena (MS E) on the upper part of the pages and the Didot (MS D) below, with marginal indications of the page numbering of the earlier edition in each case. Roach properly relegates to an appendix the Merlin material which began the previous editions; he retains, however, the short *Mort Artu* which serves as a conclusion. The title *Didot-Perceval* is kept as being now consecrated by use; henceforth and forever the name of the nineteenth-century owner of one of the two MSS is thus attached to this romance of seven centuries ago.

Roach devotes more than a hundred pages to the complex problems of authorship and sources. He acknowledges his dependence on the ideas of Brugger, who has been dealing with these matters for more than a third of a century, and with whom he had an interview in Switzerland. The central question, long debated by Arthurian scholars, is this: Is the *Didot-Perceval*, which is in prose, based on a lost *Perceval* in verse by Robert de Boron? Roach, following Brugger, answers in the affirmative, but shows that the extant work must have been much modified and interpolated. The evidence is presented minutely and persuasively. No one should object to an argument based on lost versions. It is surely true that only a fraction of the early Grail literature survived. By a strange chance we even have the table of contents of a lost Old French Grail poem of seven branches (*Elucidation*, vv. 339-382). There is nothing improbable in Roach's point of view, but some skeptics will no doubt persist in the belief that the *Didot-Perceval* is entirely

³ P. 6, *bileux pour bulieux*; p. 69, Armand Boschet *pour* Baschet; p. 165, *péché original pour* originel; 194, *c'est moi que ai été pour* qui ai été; p. 247, *entire pour* entier.

the work of a continuator. In its present form its whole spirit is remote from the pious didacticism of Robert's labored verse; it shows more interest in doughty sword blows and fair damsels than in sacred talismans.

Roach censures Jessie Weston for her excessive disdain for the Didot MS, and yet he himself treats it as a stepchild. The scribe was guilty of all possible forms of haplography and dittography; the editor could have done the reader a service by clearing up many such cases. Parentheses are never used to remove unnecessary letters or words. Brackets are sometimes, but not consistently, used to supply missing letters and words. Only a few of the difficulties are cleared up in the Textual Notes. Words from the Didot MS are included in the Table of Proper Names, but not, unfortunately, in the Glossary.

The Glossary covers MS E, including Appendix A. It has a generous listing of verb forms. The majority of words listed would be familiar to most Old French scholars, but Arthurian texts are apt to be consulted by persons who are not experts in Old French. Add: *s'aseürer* "to delay, tarry" (Tobler) E 112, D 101, and at D 20 read [*s'a*]*seür*a instead of *seür*a. No meaning given for *encontre* fits E 1174, see also E 1205. The definition "to promise" for *avoir en covent* fits E 2164, but at E 1320 the meaning is "to owe (something to some one) because of a promise." *Contençon* is defined as "contention," but at E 35, App. A, *nos sommes en contençon de* means "we are striving to." To the definitions of *seneffiance* must be added "sign, indication" for E 37, App. A (Cf. D 34, 40, 106). It is regrettable that the Glossary does not treat MS D, not only to help the reader, but also to record unusual forms or meanings. *Auguetons*, D 365, is modern *hoqueton*; see Tobler *auqueton*. At D 1404 *dinierent* is transitive with the meaning "to eat (something)"; the note says the MS reading is doubtful, but Tobler has an example. *Chablerent*, D 1157, is an interesting variant of *caplerent*, E 1335, as FEW (**cappare*) and Tobler have no examples with *-bl-*; perhaps there is influence of *cha(a)ble* (FEW *katabole*).

The Textual Notes for MS E are carefully done. The emendation suggested for E 2196 is unnecessary as the antecedent of *sien* is *Rome*; so also in D 1709.

No study is made of the language of the MSS. Not much would have been gained by a detailed study of MS E; it has the usual Picard traits. MS D, on the other hand, would have repaid study; it has the rare advantage of being dated (1301) and bristles with western traits. Here are a few observations: the case system has broken down completely; final mute *e* disappears even before consonants: *bon[e] chevalerie* 34, *cest[e] forez* 252, etc.; there are strange confusions of *-i-* and *-ie-*; palatalized *g* before *a* is written *y*; forms with initial *ch-* are common for the verb *couchier*; forms of *attendre* occur repeatedly for *entendre*; the fem. disjunctive

pron. is regularly *lé*; *astornez* 133, corresponding to *estounés* E 150, points to the Southwest (cf. FEW **extonare*); there are other cases of alternation of initial *es-* and *as-*.

Appendix B is a Perceval interpolation from one of the MSS of the *Prose Tristan*, most of it taken from the *Perceval*. Thus by a piece of good fortune we have for most of Episode C three MSS instead of two. Roach might have made more use of this fact. He discusses the matter in only one paragraph of his Introduction (pp. 7-8). To be sure, it was hardly feasible to print this third version on the same pages as the other two, but he might have indicated the correspondences of line. I find that lines 1 to 99 of App. B correspond closely to E 55-226 and D 46-196. Furthermore, the editor should have made references to this third version in his discussion of Episode C. For example, in regard to the relationship of Elaine to Gawain (p. 41), it is important to notice that App. B 22-23 corresponds almost word for word with MS E 103-104, making her Gawain's sister and Lot's daughter, as opposed to D 91-92 which makes her Gawain's niece and daughter of King Viautre de Galerot. When the editor mentions (p. 43) that D 139-141 has a better reading than E, he should have noticed that B 55-56 supports him. The long note (p. 44) on the enchantments of Britain, which makes much of the exact wording of E 218-221, should have indicated that B 93-95 agrees with E against D in the joining of the stone, but lacks the important words *hui cest jor*. When it is stated (p. 46) that D 176-178 is a better reading than E because it lacks the premature revelation about the Fisher King, it is pertinent to observe that B 83 ff. is very close to D. Other interesting comparisons are these: B 2 *Carduel* supports D against E; B 5-7 refers to Judas like E 65-66 and to "our Lord" like D 58, and is more intelligible than either. The number in B 15 is closer to D 69 than to E 77. B 87 *en la maison au Roy Pescheur* is similar to D 181-182; this phrase is lacking in E, so that *Icil*, 209, is meaningless. We have seen that B supports now one MS, now the other; it is evident that it could have been indicated on the simpler stemma of p. 114 as an independent derivative of "z."

Roach was well prepared for the huge task of editing the Didot-*Perceval*. Some years ago he was one of the *maisnie* of Grail questers at Chicago, and very appropriately dedicates this edition to Nitze, his former teacher. The suggestions made above are no severe criticism: they show rather that Roach has achieved his aim of laying the materials before the reader, who can make his own further study and reach his own conclusions.

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Reflexive Verbs: Latin, Old French, Modern French. By ANNA GRANVILLE HATCHER. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1942. Pp. 213. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literature and Languages, XLIII.)

Miss Hatcher, an associate of Professor Leo Spitzer, to whom her book is dedicated, follows essentially Spitzer's method, which he defines in the *Revista de filología hispánica*, III (1941), 371, as a "método psico-linguístico." This method tries to interpret linguistic facts by psychological facts and in particular to explain the linguistic innovations of a given epoch and nation by the psychological, or aesthetic attitude of that particular epoch or nation. Personally I am by no means opposed to the general principle of psychological interpretation of linguistic facts. On the contrary, I believe that language is an expression of human thoughts and feelings, and as such is by no means independent of man inasmuch as he is a feeling and thinking being. But the concrete application of such a general principle is difficult, for what is reflected in language is only to a very small extent the individual man; it is rather the "collective" man, an entity we know as yet little about.

Language is fundamentally a traditional institution, imposed upon one by his parents, his education, his friends. It is a very complex phenomenon. Some important individuals, it is true, such as Cicero and Dante, have contributed to it. National genius¹ or religious or political revolutions may have transformed it to a certain extent, but can we say that French is the expression of the French soul, the creation of the French nation, and that every phenomenon of the French language can be explained only in this way? This assumption would be, in present conditions, little more than a dilettantesque generalization. What is in my opinion of extreme importance is that many facts, which I think can be referred to "psychological" causes, such as the loss of the dual, the creation of the article, the passage from an aspectual type of verb to a temporal type, the loss of the declension and so on, seem to appear sooner or later in all the languages of the world. Inherent in human speech as such, they have nothing to do with national

¹ Even such a prudent and "matter of fact" scholar as Bourciez admits this (*Éléments de ling. rom.*, 3d édit., p. 505, § 416 b). "Par-dessus tout, les Italiens sont une race artiste: cela se sent dans un adjectif comme *leggiadro*, où de l'idée de légèreté, de sveltesse, on est vite passé au sens de 'joli,' 'agréable'; aussi dans *vago* 'errant, qui arrive à signifier 'charmant' par l'intermédiaire de la langue des peintres où il désigne le flou et le vaporeux d'un tableau. Voyez enfin comment de *disinvolto* (= *disinvolutus, c. à d. 'débarassé de ce qui l'enveloppait), s'est heureusement dégagée une idée d'aisance et de liberté dans les manières." I would add for Italian *prepotente*, *senno*, for French *chic*, *joli*, *charmant* etc., words which can scarcely be translated into any other language.

characteristics. Man is before everything else a man, even as a speaker; then he is Italian, French, etc.

This preliminary statement is necessary, I believe, to make clear my standpoint with respect to the fundamental principles that guided Miss Hatcher in the writing of her book. I approve of the essential idea, but I believe that such facts as the difference between active, middle, and passive, which in different forms appear in several ancient and modern languages, should be studied in as many languages as possible. Only by such study can one arrive at definitive results, not simply by logical or psychological deductions. I think it was an unhappy idea of Miss Hatcher's to limit her research to one language, for Modern French is only a modern form of Latin.

Within this limitation she has done a marvelous work, which could hardly be better. The material is gathered, classified, and analyzed completely, all interesting or abnormal cases are carefully examined, with a finesse, an artistic and scientific rigor and skill that show the best method and the greatest scholarly qualities. Whatever the final judgment on her conclusions may be—and I do not think it will ever be completely negative—she has surely paved the way for further research in the same sense and has shown her capacities, which are those of a true linguist.

Good examples of Miss Hatcher's method are given by what she has written on pp. 149 sq. and on p. 152. I read on p. 149: "As for the type *soi apercevoir*, which represented the combination of a verb of apperception + *soi* = 'one's situation' (*son estre*), most of the verbs formed in Old French have remained. *s'apercevoir de*, *se connaître à*, *s'aviser de*, *s'oublier*, *se reconnaître à*. From the first three, the idea of 'awareness of one's situation' has faded. But all of them alike are merely relics: monuments of another age in which there prevailed a different attitude toward the Self—according to which the Self that could be perceived was only Self-in-a-certain-situation." I am also very much attracted by the interesting remark on p. 155: "In Old French, as we have seen, such verbs [*as se modérer*, *se retenir*, *s'abstenir*, *se dompter*, *se maîtriser*, *se vaincre*, etc.] were rare and even so, were regularly used negatively—with the exception of *se contenir*, frequent in the more courtly literature. The exuberant heroes of the Chansons were portrayed more often as expressing than repressing themselves. But with the verbs above we are back once more in the Ciceronian atmosphere of *se cohibere*, *reprimere*, *coercere*, etc." This coincidence between the philosophical antiquity and the scientific modern age as opposed to the barbaric, childlike, epic and mystic Middle Ages seems to me very important.

I have some doubts—mere doubts—about the assertions of the last pages (170-202) concerning the reflexive with inanimate subject. This type strangely enough, seems to be much more frequent in Latin and in Modern French than in Old French (cf. also pp. 126 f.); the most characteristic type, the reflexive of animization, is even "practically non-existent" in Old French. How can this be explained? Are we animists today, more than in past ages? I hardly can believe it. I find an attempt at an explanation in note 32 on p. 172: "In older times one really believed in abstractions; in the ancient as in the medieval civilization, myth and allegory were only another sort of reality. Today we believe less easily—but, in

revenge, we pretend to believe all the more: playfully, lightly, making the gesture of bestowing life, a gesture we do not expect to be taken seriously." But are all these reflexives really "reflexives"? The modern French "reflexive" (the *se*-construction) in reality replaces the Latin passive in most of its functions, as Italian and Spanish easily show (Ital. *qui si ammazzano i vitelli* does not mean that the calves commit suicide, cfr in French itself expressions as *ce qui se dit*, *ce qui se fait*, *ce qui se voit*, etc.) The counterproof of this seems to be given by the extreme rarity of the French "true" passive (with *être*) how many times do we hear or read *il est tué*, *il est vu* etc.? Practically the French passive (and more or less the Italian and Spanish passive) is used almost exclusively when the agent is expressed in other cases other constructions are used (active, *on* etc.), and very frequently the *se*-construction. I have some difficulty in seeing an animization in *le repas s'achève gaiement*, or in *une conversation se poursuivait*, *la robe se déchira*, *quelque chose se trouvait*, *ce mot ne s'analyse pas* (= *ne peut pas être analysé, découpé*), or in the example on p. 201 n. *les porte-monnaies se volent facilement*. We are very far from *attollit se dua Lacina contra*. I do not deny in general the possibility in Modern French of an animization or rather personification for artistic purposes; I am afraid only that the author has gone a little too far.

I do not agree with the author's rather quick and superficial judgment on the work of my pupil Clemente Hernando Balmori, published in *Emerita*, I, 1-77; II, 45-78. How does she know that such verbs as *proficisco*(*r*), *arbitro*(*r*), *auguro*(*r*), *laeto*(*r*) (add *assentio*[*r*] etc.) were originally "deponent"? What we see is that at least some of these verbs, present "dans le latin de cette époque [Plautus; some, such as *assentio*(*r*), even later], comme en grec et en sanskrit, un jeu sémantique régulier de voix active et voix moyenne." That *contemplo*(*r*) "could just as well represent an original deponent in the moulting stage, beginning to lose its R-form plumage" (p. 19, n. 15) seems absolutely incredible to me, for two reasons: first, that the R-middle is by no means dying, as a semantic category, in Plautus' time, but on the contrary (even foreign verbs as *graeor*, *bacchor*, *pocor*, *parasitor*, *sycofantor*, *contechnor*, cf. p. 21, become middle in Latin, a wonderful proof of the immense vitality of this class in those times); second, that, as a rule, if the middle had been losing its "R-plumage" in Plautus' time, we should expect that in general these verbs should have more -*r*-form in Plautus than in later authors: as a matter of fact, the contrary is true: several verbs are active in Plautus or in archaic Latin, which are exclusively or more frequently "deponent" later: such is the case with *aucupat*(*r*), *proficisco*(*r*), *contemplo*(*r*), *crimino*(*r*), *auguro*(*r*), *arbitro*(*r*), *morigero*(*r*), *laeto*(*r*), *opino*(*r*) and others. The facts speak in the clearest way against Miss Hatcher.

But apart from this question, which is after all outside the main track of Miss Hatcher's research, I merely want to express doubts, and this very modestly. The problems she examines are of an extreme delicacy and immense complexity, much more so than the historical, geographical, or phonetical problems to which we are accustomed by present trends in linguistics. I do not dare to give a definite opinion, either on the book as a whole or on its results. In order to do so, one would need years of work, as many as the author has doubtless devoted to the subject, which she has examined with love, care, and intelligence. We are here confronted with a new linguistic method, which deserves without the slightest doubt the greatest respect and attention. One thing at all events

seems clear to me: this book can be discussed, criticized, or even destroyed, but it can surely not be brushed aside with a couple of sentences of praise or blame.

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A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres. By GEORGE GASCOIGNE. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by C. T. PROUTY. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1943. Pp. 305. \$2.50. (The University of Missouri Studies, Vol. xvii, No. 2.)

With this book Professor Prouty complements his excellent biography of a year ago, providing us now with a careful edition that that will certainly supersede the earlier text of B. M. Ward. In the introduction, Prouty bravely faces those perplexing problems of bibliography, chronology, and attribution about which every student of Gascoigne knows. This is followed by a reprint of Ar-A2r and 201-443 of the original text; the *Supposes*, *Jocasta*, and some preliminary leaves are omitted. The text is followed by a list of variants to be found in six of the ten known copies of the *Flowres* and by another list of variants in the Folger copy of the *Poesies*. After this come some fifty pages of critical notes, a glossary, and indices by both first line and number.

Several long-standing difficulties attendant upon this edition are carefully discussed in the introduction. There is first, the matter of the date of publication, which Prouty, I think, establishes firmly at sometime shortly after Gascoigne's departure from England in March, 1572/73. Then, thanks to Ward, there is the question of the multiple authorship. I do not believe that any serious scholar ever accepted this notion, but it deserved demolishing and Prouty demolishes it. The main problem is the curious way in which the book is put together. Signatures B3-X4 contain the *Supposes* and *Jocasta*; this section ends with a colophon on page 164. The second section, which contains the *Flowres* and *The Adventures passed by Master F. I.* has a separate series of signatures and begins on a page number 201 with "H. W. to the Reader." Why are there two series of signatures and why does the second one begin on page 201 when the first one ended on 164? There have been various attempts to explain this; in fact, it was once suggested that two books were originally planned. Prouty does not solve this problem, but he contributes a good deal to its ultimate solution. He shows that both sections were printed by Bynneman; he demonstrates that the masked letters with which the second section begins were by Gascoigne; and he suggests that probably the plays were an afterthought, that otherwise the prefatory letters would have been

printed at the beginning of the first section. The riddle of the book still awaits some unborn Oedipus.

The texts of *The Adventure*, the *Flowres*, and *Dan Bartholomew* are provided with marginal numeration which enables one to find the place in the critical notes with the minimum of effort. The notes themselves are selective, and, in general, they are rather well done. Their main weakness lies in Prouty's failure to think constantly in terms of Gascoigne's background. The circumstances connected with Bersabe's bathing (52) show that Gascoigne accepted the Vulgate tradition so inveighed against by Protestant translators. If he accepted the Vulgate version, he may have accepted Catholic chronology, and if he did that, we may be able to date "His last will and testament." In his note on Gascoigne's allusion to Zoroaster (85), Prouty writes, "the founder of the Persian cult of Mazda." Any sixteenth century reference book—Stephanus, Calepino, Cooper—described Zoroaster as a Bactrian king, who invented magic and astrology. Gascoigne says exactly that in the poem, for he would have had to be as learned as Pico della Mirandola to have known of Mazda. Prouty misses another interesting point in his gloss on Faustine (113), who, says Gascoigne, would have given Marcus Antonius short shrift for deserting her for Cleopatra. Prouty annotates Faustine as "probably Faustina, the wife of Marcus Aurelius, noted for her profligacy." This is correct, but Gascoigne obviously thinks of her as Marc Antony's wife. The answer is probably to be found in Boccaccio's *De Mulieribus*, where there is a life of Faustine, who is described as the wife of Marcus Antonius instead of Marcus Aurelius Antonius. Matters of this sort, and there are a few others, tell us a good deal about Gascoigne and his time, and Prouty's failure to handle them accurately is the only weak spot in his edition.

As the book is part of the University of Missouri series, it is definitely "on gray paper with blunt type." This "catalogue" type of format is quite suitable for *The Effects of Exercise on the Recovery of Motor Function in the Rat*, a work that preceded this volume; but Prouty's book is a distinguished contribution to the history of English letters; it will be the text to which we send students for many years. Under these circumstances, the university press might have extended itself a little. After all, for the price of a second string fullback from Joplin, a more handsome and durable book might have been printed.

D. C. A.

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A Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press. With a record of the prices at which copies have been sold by A. T. HAZEN. Together with a Bibliography and Census of Detached Pieces by A. T. HAZEN and J. P. KIRBY. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. 300. \$10 00.

The mills of the gods grind slowly, but sooner or later all the grist gets into their hopper. For two centuries, lacking fifteen years, the things printed, so it was said, at Strawberry Hill led a charmed life in the book collectors' market, but now the time has come for them to get theirs.

When Horace Walpole, more famous son of a more deserving father, bought a printing outfit and hired the first of a succession of typographers who lost little time in demonstrating why he found them unemployed, he had already qualified for inclusion among the "Royal and Noble Authors" of whom his record was to be his next publication. That he had in mind the convenience of having his own compositions printed under his immediate supervision is reasonably certain, it is not so clear that he did not deliberately scheme to make the output of his establishment "collectors' items." Purposely or not, things were so managed that the 2000 copies of the first thing off the Press sold in the open market so fast that a commercial shop ordered a second edition. The author was flattered, but he and the publisher soon learned that it was the publicity attendant on the advent of a printery as an adjunct to the home of a noble author which had set the buyers to bidding up copies. For the next thirty years, the owner maintained the press for his own purposes, one of which seems to have been the satisfaction of watching people who had begun to buy its output kept on the anxious seat lest they miss something of which there were not enough copies to go around. To make certain that there would be items that would have to be scrambled for, again purposely or not, the second thing printed was a sonnet tossed off of an evening by this son of an earl, and next his verse in tribute to a noble guest of honour at the first small dinner after the christening party, with just enough copies to go around. These were nobody else's business, wherefore they forthwith became the ultimate in desiderata. The proof that people were talking came when a member of his outer circle stopped in at Strawberry when he knew that Walpole was away, with verses in praise of the *Officina Arbuteana* which he connived with the printer to work off as a surprise when the owner next came in to see what was doing.

The Press was three months old when Garrick did some verses "To Mr. Gray on his Odes," the 20-page quarto booklet which had been the first Strawberry imprint. A newspaper printed these on October 1, 1757; on the 6th Garrick wrote Walpole offering them

for printing at the Press. Two dozen copies were ready on the 17th, and three dozen more ten days later. The type almost certainly was kept standing for the second impression, a unique instance of missing a chance to complicate the bibliography, but foxing the bibliographers. This provided 60 copies to extra-illustrate the 2000 of the Odes, correspondingly reducing the number of the latter that would satisfy collectors thereafter. To add piquancy to the market, Thomas Frognall Dibdin, writing on "Bibliomania" in 1811, printed the number as "6," and to the end of time the second-string booksellers will go on offering copies of Garrick's verses as "Six Copies Only."

In due time, the inevitable happened. New fashions in collecting had their day. When everybody took to First Editions and presentation copies, collectors with funds to spare went after all the publications of Goldsmith or Fielding or some other favorite, which led in turn to all the editions of the *Imitatio Christi* or *Robinson Crusoe* or what you will, ending up with the supreme quest by the head of the greatest monopoly for all the loose copies of the First Folio Shakespeare. More modestly and with a keener understanding of possibilities, Mr. Wilmarth S. Lewis of Farmington cultivated a desire for possession of everything that had shared in the fame of Strawberry Hill. Incidentally, while hunting for bigger game, he took pot shots at all the desirable copies of things from the Press that came his wellworn way. The result is that fully half of those that the bibliographer needs to examine can now be compared at one place. Yale, with most of the XVIII Century periodicals in its lap, already sat astride Boswell and had Fielding tucked safely away, when Mr. Lewis of its Library blitized Horace Walpole.

Professor Hazen's Bibliography is a bye-product of the monumental Yale Edition of Walpole's Correspondence. In its present form, it must serve for the duration as an interim report of progress. There are three titles which the compiler cannot go to see, and twice as many more have disappeared since they passed from the auction room decades ago, to hide on a forgotten shelf where they were placed by a long-dead collector. These shortcomings from perfection are more than offset by the establishment of a new and higher standard for bibliography. Disregarding lined titles and the other stigmata of pretentious amateurs, Mr. Hazen gives the data which he has found needful as he worked with the books, and goes on to demonstrate the importance of other details. His results make it necessary to reexamine a goodly share of the publications of the past two centuries that have been given bibliographical attention.

A new cra in this field was introduced by Messrs. Carter and Pollard when they upset the apple-cart of modern English literature collectors by dating the paper and type designs used in a score

of its most desirable rarities. Mr. Hazen now wrecks the Strawberry Hill collectors' paradise by looking through the paper on which are things supposed to have been printed in 1757. He found watermarks that do not occur elsewhere before 1768, and then went on to observe similarly inconsequential, but convincing, details which sum up to a probability approaching certainty that a number of the choicest desiderata were actually produced to placate insistent collectors shortly after Walpole died in 1792. The marshalling of the evidence gains much of its force from the careful insistence that there is nowhere a particle of actual proof, except in the most damning of all proof that there is no other reasonable explanation. The weak spot in the argument, as in that of Carter and Pollard, is in the use of language that assumes intentional wrong doing on the part of the perpetrator of these "forgeries" at the time when they were produced. They were trifles in the first place, which came to have a fictitious value to which they have no legitimate right. Neither originals nor replicas were or are of intrinsic importance. They were and are of the life blood of high-grade collecting—the sort of thing that leads a man of superior business judgement to pay \$3900 for the best copy of a booklet that a score of booksellers could supply not so good for £10. The demand for these particular things was livelier 150 years ago than it has ever been since. A good many intelligent, high-principled persons will not think too harshly of Walpole's printer if, plagued by demands that he produce copies of thirty-year-old trivialities, he supplied—at a price which gave him little enough for his trouble—something that was regarded as just as good for another century and a half. It was from the same press with the same type on paper the press was using. Fifty years later, these extra copies in turn failed to supply the demand, and another lot of them made its appearance. This time deceit was deliberate and there can be no extenuation; however, the perpetrator kept clear of any hint of suspicion. It may be a mitigating factor that again the wrong-doing must have been for the fun of the doing, for all the copies that can have been sold at current prices can have provided no more than the cost of a celebration of the achievement. If in this case it was a professional instead of an amateur book dealer, the sin has returned to roost on the trade, for the fun has gone out of Strawberry Hill collecting.

Dover, Massachusetts

GEORGE P. WINSHIP

Smollett Studies. By CLAUDE E. JONES. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1942. Pp. xii + 29-134. \$1.25. (University of California Publications in English, Vol. 9, No. 2.)

Mr. Jones's book contains two sizable essays: one concerned with Smollett's treatment of the British Navy; the other concerned with Smollett's work on the *Critical Review*. Each essay provides a useful summary of known facts which have hitherto lain unhandily in scattered publications, and each gives some new details for which every student of this neglected novelist must be grateful. In particular, Mr. Jones's concise survey of the state of the British Navy in 1740 offers an interesting and valuable background for the understanding of *Roderick Random*. Mr. Jones also gives (Appendix B1) a list of attacks on the *Critical Review*, 1756-1771, which satisfies a long need; he calls our attention (Appendix C) to an obscure short story which seems to be by Smollett; and he rescues from neglect two interesting letters from John Gray to Smollett (Appendix E).

But one feels some misgivings about the accuracy of the book. A bad mistake occurs in Mr. Jones's misdating of Smollett's imprisonment: "Between the middle of October, 1759, and the end of February, 1760, Smollett served his term in King's Bench Prison, where he was visited by his friends, including Garrick, and where he seems to have written *Lancelot Greaves*, for his own newly established *British Magazine*," (p. 87). Mr. Jones arrives at these dates by erroneously placing in 1760 a letter written to Smollett by Huggins in 1761: an error which leads (p. 88) to the misdating of three other letters. These letters have all been properly dated by Professors Powell and Noyes; moreover, Mr. Harold Stein (*TLS.*, May 5, 1927, p. 318) has shown that Smollett was sentenced to prison on November 28, 1760, and was released in February, 1761. This proper dating indicates that *Sir Launcelot Greaves* was not begun in prison, since the first installment of the novel appeared in January, 1760.

There are other slips of this kind. In mentioning one John Campbell who wrote for the *Critical Review* and who has been suggested as the original of Paunceford in *Humphry Clinker*, Mr. Jones identifies him (pp. 101-2) with Dr. John Campbell, the well-known historian and general writer; this identification is impossible, since the known facts about the two men are at nearly complete variance. The quotations in the book are often very inaccurate (see, for example, pp. 88-9, 94).

The book has, I think, another kind of weakness in the section dealing with Smollett and the Navy. Mr. Jones follows too much the common practice of reading the naval scenes in *Roderick*

Random as history. He does not make sufficient allowance for the distortions of fact and the fictional additions which form such an important part of this satirical novel. He treats Smollett's two important accounts of the expedition to Carthage (one in *Roderick Random* and the other, an historical account, in Smollett's *Compendium of Voyages*) as if they were interchangeable, whereas there are significant differences between them. Mr. Jones properly states that Smollett's art is generally that of caricature; and I believe he intends only to show that, like all good caricature, Smollett's naval scenes and naval characters have a basis in fact; but frequently, as in his treatment of Captain Oakum, he gives the impression that he wishes to prove the characters entirely realistic.

In regard to Smollett's own character Mr. Jones shares with many people a questionable view. He speaks of "the cold casualness with which Smollett treats moral corruption," and links this with a "strong stomach" which Smollett displays in his "penchant for loathsome details." (Pp. 74-5.) But many times the loathsome details in his works arise directly from an intense moral fervor; by disgusting our taste Smollett hopes to aid in arousing our morals against the laxness or turpitude which can produce disgusting conditions. One could even argue that Smollett's preoccupation with disgusting details is in general the result, not of a callousness, but of an extreme sensitivity to them.

But I do not wish to emphasize weaknesses out of all proportion to the whole book: these seem to damage, but not destroy, the usefulness of Mr. Jones's studies.

LOUIS L. MARTZ

Yale University

The Poems of Samuel Johnson. Edited by DAVID NICHOL SMITH and EDWARD L. McADAM. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941. Pp. xxvi + 420. \$7.50.

Editorial labors seem inevitably to be more protracted as the scholar's responsibilities increase, and the limit has not yet been reached. Charles Churchill satirized Johnson for a six-year delay in the publication of his edition of Shakespeare. Now the poems of Johnson appear, in an edition that Professor Nichol Smith proudly announced in 1913 as "in preparation." The delay can fairly be regretted, I think, despite the disarming remark in the Preface; but it is not without its compensations. Several lost manuscripts have appeared even since 1934, when the Johnsonian Sesquicentennial limped along without the long-expected edition of the poems, and since 1934 Professor McAdam has been able to bring to the task valuable time, energy, and acumen, to hasten its progress and to improve its execution.

REVIEWS

Here is what Boswell promised to prepare, an edition of Johnson's poems, with their authenticity ascertained, and illustrated with notes and various readings. The notes are complete, but concise and apposite; I find the references to the *Dictionary* (Johnson quoting himself) of real interest and rejoice that they were included. The handling of the most serious textual crux (*London*, lines 250-51: "Fair Justice . . . held high the steady scale, but deep'd the sword") seems unduly conservative, Professor Smith found "deep'd" in twenty editions and was awed by quantity, forgetting that of those twenty editions nineteen have no textual value. "Drop'd" can be found in exactly the same figure in contemporary verse, and I vote for its insertion in *London*.

The editors and the printer have triumphed over the serious problems presented by the heavily annotated text, so that the Latin original, Johnson's notes, textual notes, and explanatory notes parade below the text in clear and almost in handsome succession. The first draft of *Irene*, in particular, is a masterpiece of typographical ingenuity. I am less happy about the facsimiles, chosen ostensibly to illuminate the text. Here are five title-pages from the five works separately published, an obvious if unimaginative choice. But all these plates were issued in 1925 with Courtney's *Bibliography*, what was in that book of great value is here of no value, and must be accounted a mistaken attempt to gain credit for the volume without cost to the publisher. Furthermore, the defective plate of the *Drury Lane Prologue*, despite some retouching, has not been corrected. Even during the war one could fairly ask from the Clarendon Press an illustration of some significance, a page from the first draft of *Irene*, perhaps, or the fine impromptu on Sir John Lade.

As a poet Johnson will still be more readily understood by the usual selections. The many Latin couplets and the amusing but unimportant impromptus and parodies distract the reader who would attempt a new appraisal of the poet. *Irene* is appropriately and silently placed at the end of the volume; I have never been able to urge myself to a careful reading of that frigid classic. Perhaps this edition will never be popular with the general reader, who will be deterred by the elaborate annotation as well as by the chronological juxtaposition of good and unimportant verse; let us hope for a cheaper edition, with accurate text and explanatory notes but relieved of such burdens as the first draft of *Irene*, the doubtful poems, and the textual notes. Yet these pages present a revealing record of Johnson the witty companion, the wise scholar, and the devout Christian; and it is illuminating to read the great satires again, with complete annotation.

A. T. HAZEN

Hunter College

Swift and Defoe A Study in Relationship. By JOHN F. ROSS.
Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press,
1941. Pp. xi + 152. (University of California Publications
in English, XI.)

This penetrating study is a model of conciseness. In the earlier chapters Ross discusses the very noticeable differences between Swift and Defoe, with perhaps too much emphasis upon Swift's pessimism (pp. 11, 124). Swift "was the conservative satirist, the negative and destructive critic," belonging in spirit to the dying aristocracy; Defoe was the constructive voice of the rising middle-class. The feud between them, dating from 1705 when Defoe in the *Consolidator* made two thrusts at *A Tale of a Tub*, is less significant than is usually supposed. Though Defoe was sometimes irritated into impotence, Swift seems not to have singled him out with special rancour.

Ross traces Swift's flying island, Laputa, to Defoe's flying machine in the *Consolidator*, but he thinks that on the whole critics like Dottin have made too little of the debt of the *Consolidator* to *A Tale of a Tub* and too much of the debt of *Gulliver* to the *Consolidator* and *Crusoe*. He does not, in my opinion, consider enough the close similarities, like the voyage theme and the shipwrecks, between *Crusoe* and *Gulliver*. Of their common use of Dampier's voyages he seems unaware, though it helps explain why both are, as he remarks, made of the stuff of real life. In a chapter on style, "Simplicity Versus Complexity," Ross denies that Defoe could write sustained irony. In the *Shortest Way* Defoe intended to be ironic but succeeded only in being taken literally. Defoe was inferior to Swift in other elements of style, such as precision and economy of language; "he may not get the best word, or he may, but he gets a handful, and gives them all to the reader." His words express only their primary meaning and lack emotional intensity. Still, he excels Swift in spontaneity (see p. 114) and in charm.

In a closing chapter, "Two Unaccommodated Men," Ross strips Swift and Defoe of their lendings and finds them essentially alike. Addison, Congreve, and Pope were men of the rapier; Swift and Defoe "were men of the broadsword and cudgel." They saw life more clearly than their neo-classical brethren and dared describe its harsher aspects. They were practical men of action, interested in "the basic realities of human existence" and gifted with "an uncommon power to communicate those realities."

A. W. SECORD

The University of Illinois

The Background of Thomson's Seasons. By ALAN DUGALD McKILLOP. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1942. Pp. vi + 191. \$2.50.

In his Preface the author grants that his book might more accurately have been entitled, *Studies and Notes in the Background of Thomson's "Seasons."* The volume, indeed, consists of four studies: one on the philosophical and religious background of Thomson's poem, one on the relation between his scientific knowledge and his descriptive technique, one on his primitivism, and one on his exoticism. Each study is a richly suggestive but somewhat sketchy and loosely organized body of material. Professor McKillop's method is to work backward from the text of *The Seasons* to books which Thomson certainly knew or which at least represent tendencies with which he must have been familiar.

Chapter I, "Philosophic Views," is the least profitable section despite the importance of the subject. It cites a few passages of background literature which so far as I know have not previously been used in this connection, but it adds no fundamental ideas which are not already familiar to scholars who have followed the work of Lovejoy, Crane, Whitney, Moore, Drennon, and the present reviewer. Like the poet whom he studies, Professor McKillop is more rewarding when he turns from the abstract to the concrete. There follows a very profitable chapter on "Description and Science." It is shown that the sharply observant and specifically informative side of Thomson's art is nourished not only by the *Georgics* but by the literature of applied science, natural history, and husbandry. Several actual sources are established, and even when the parallels are merely suggestive they increase our understanding of Thomson. Chapter III, "The Golden Age," provides some useful illustrative footnotes to what is already known about the primitivism-progress conflict in Thomson, but one finds difficulty in feeling it as a unit. As the author himself recognizes, the philosophical aspect of the theme causes awkward overlapping with Chapter I; and since much of the material pertains to geography and travel, it steals a good deal of thunder from Chapter IV. But though too heavily anticipated by the preceding section, Chapter IV, "Distant Climes," has the solid virtues of Chapter II. It adds to our knowledge of the sort of reading which forms the background of Thomson's more exotic descriptions.

It is unfortunate that this interesting book appeared before the announcement of the rediscovery of the sale-catalogue of Thomson's furniture and library. But the anonymous "Correspondent's" description of the library in *LTLS* for June 20, 1942, lists several books, such as Bradley's *Husbandry*, which Professor McKillop emphasizes as certain or probable sources; and on the other hand the absence of a book from Thomson's shelves is no

proof that he never read it. Nevertheless the unexpected dearth of works in philosophy and physico-theology is striking. Can Thomson have cared less about such matters than some of us who have written on him?

HOXIE N. FAIRCHILD

Hunter College

Wordsworth and the Vocabulary of Emotion. By JOSEPHINE MILES. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942. Pp. viii + 182. (University of California Publications in English, vol. 12, 1).

This unattractive title conceals the exposition of a significant thesis about the essential difference between the poetry of Wordsworth and modern poetry. The main argument is briefly that Wordsworth's poetry is distinguished from modern poetry by naming and labeling feelings explicitly. Miss Miles has been impressed by T. S. Eliot's conception of the "objective correlate" of emotion and contrasts the indirect method of modern poetry of suggesting emotions with Wordsworth's way of putting up "a signpost to show you where you are to feel." She argues then that this theory and practice are deeply rooted in the eighteenth century psychology of the passions and emotions. With the help of elaborate statistics Miss Miles brings out the distinctive features of Wordsworth's use of different devices in the naming of emotions (location in body, bestowal on external objects, personification, etc.) and traces the changes in his poetic evolution.

All this is excellent, though Miss Miles has surely overstressed the value of statistical evidence. It seems mere deference to "scientific" method to believe that we can find out "the materials' emphasis," or the "stress of the writer" (pp. 4-5) only by counting. The stress of the writer may not at all be proportionate to the frequency of the occurrence of any factor in his work. The merely traditional devices may be much more frequent than the most individual innovations. Besides, she has not clearly envisaged the implications of her problem, though she pays some passing attention to them (pp. 29, 104). Does not all other poetry, except the most modern, also "name emotions"? In turning, e.g. the pages of Racine we find emotions named in almost every speech. Modern poetry may be rather an exception than the rule and Wordsworth's method may be less foreign to our time than Miss Miles implies in her very self-conscious modernism. The problem is also not confined to poetry as Miss Miles herself recognizes when she quotes scattered passages from novels (p. 88). Private letters and the oral expression of feelings should also be considered. The problem thus widens into the whole complex question of senti-

mentalism, sensibility, the genealogy of the man of feeling and even the rise of introspection.

But, with all its limitations, this is an unusually thoughtful and original book which raises many central problems of the nature of the poetic.

RENÉ WELLEK

University of Iowa

New Poems, including a selection from his published poetry. By HARTLEY COLERIDGE. Ed. EARL LESLIE GRIGGS. New York: Oxford U. Press, 1942. Pp. xxii + 135. \$3.00.

If heredity and environment together could make a poet, Hartley Coleridge should have been one. But what he inherited was little more than facility of expression, and his associations with his father, with his uncle, and with Wordsworth merely made it natural that he should try to express himself in verse. One of the dalesmen to whom Canon Rawnsley went for reminiscences of Wordsworth unconsciously explained the reason for his failure: "Hartley 'ud goa running along beside o' the brooks and mak his potry, and goa in the first oppen door and write what he had got upo' paper. But Wudsworth's potry was real hard stuff, and bided a deal of makking, and he'd keep it in his head for long enough." And Hartley Coleridge himself wrote: "Of all my verses, not a single copy was begun with any definite purpose." As a result, his lines very rarely show the concentrated mastery of language which is present in all good poetry and which, in its turn, is the sign of the poet's mastery of thought and theme. His verse seems to be the product of a vague desire to express himself rather than of a precise awareness of what he wanted to express. Even when he began confidently, the inner pressure would falter, and then fail, and the expression would become flaccid and jejune.

One can, as one pleases, laugh at or deplore the opening line of Keats's early sonnet, "O Chatterton! how very sad thy fate!" but Keats, struggling to master his art, soon outgrew such fatuity; Hartley Coleridge never did. The opening lines of a sonnet to Thomas Clarkson, published for the first time by Professor Griggs, are characteristic of his incapacity for self criticism:

Long hast thou laboured, long, and very hard,
For human woes. 'Twas not thy cue to weep
And like an infant cry thyself to sleep.
Oh no; thy manly nature did discard
All lazy, soft emotions, that retard
The active will in its sublime intent.

He can even write lines worthy of a place in *The Stuffed Owl*:

The world hath changed
 Since she was young The nimble feet that ranged
 The lofty pastures—upward push'd the plough
 Straight in the coffin they point upward now.
 The oldest man that walks behind her hearse
 Her middle age might see—a babe at nurse.

Such quotations, which represent him at his worst, illustrate his fundamental weaknesses: failure of the true poetic impulse, and the attempt to dress up a passing emotion as poetry.

Professor Griggs has reprinted 89 poems already collected and has added 61 others, of which 49 have never been printed before. His brief introduction makes no exaggerated claims, but is written with the good sense and sensitiveness we have come to expect from him. The editing is unobtrusive, and appears to be competent, although I suspect a couple of misprints ("I" for "It," four lines from the foot of p. 81, and "hugh" for "huge" nine lines from the foot of p. 94). "Cut" (four lines from the foot of p. 100) seems to need, if not an emendation, at least a note.

The newly published poems will scarcely add much to Hartley Coleridge's literary reputation, although they further reveal his attractive, wayward, but rather aimless personality. The personal interest of his poetry is its most significant feature. Historically, he may be said to illustrate the transition from Romanticism to Victorianism, but he is a Victorian rather than a Romantic, and a very minor Victorian at that.

R. C. BALD

Cornell University

Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement: Studies in S. T. Coleridge, Dr. Arnold of Rugby, J. C. Hare, Thomas Carlyle, and F. D. Maurice. By CHARLES RICHARD SANDERS. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1942. Pp. viii + 307. \$3.50.

Admittedly following the procedure of Strachey in *Eminent Victorians*, Professor C. R. Sanders has "ventured out upon the Broad Church sea of thought," lowered five buckets therein, examined the contents, and charted an important current in that sea—the Coleridge-Kantian-Cambridge-Platonic stream. Coleridge is the main source, Maurice the complex tide at its full; and each is accorded a third of the book. Arnold of Rugby is a source second only to Coleridge, but also represents the Oxford-Aristotelian stream; Julius Hare is in the main stream; and Carlyle is a crosscurrent. Mr. Sanders has examined his material carefully, slighting neither the works of these five men nor the considerable scholarship about them and the Movement. The major results are a systematic

statement of Coleridge's complex ideals of freedom, truth, and unity—particularly as they apply to religion and conduct; a correction of Strachey's "clever caricature of Dr. Arnold"; and an able presentation of Maurice's ideas which also brings that singular and strenuous individualist to life.

Few aspects of Victorian liberalism are more complex than the Broad Church Movement, and Coleridge and Maurice are Protean enough in any context. Professor Sanders' success is therefore considerable. One might, however, perhaps question the treatment of Arnold and the inclusion of Carlyle though both were influenced by Coleridge. Not quite enough is done with Arnold as a representative of the Oxford-Aristotelian current to bring out its strength in the Movement. Carlyle's ambivalent relationship with Coleridge is well demonstrated; but theology was as important to the Broad Churchmen as good works, and Carlyle is related more to Coleridge than to the Movement. Lastly, one might on two counts question the author's procedure—in general "to expose, not to comment." He has let each figure speak for himself, and his quotations are perceptively chosen but rather generously given. Then, one wishes that Mr. Sanders, who not only is among the first of recent English scholars to consider the Broad Church but also has a wide knowledge of it, had made a more extended explicit critical evaluation of it. It is hardly enough to say, at the end, that the great work of these men was "that of reconciliation" and that, laboring independently, they converged toward a point. One hopes that Professor Sanders' projected further study of the Movement will interpret it more.

RICHARD BROOKS

Vassar College

The Language Of Poetry. Edited by ALLEN TATE. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, [1942]. Pp. x + 125. \$2.00. (The *Mesures* Series in Literary Criticism.)

Directions in Contemporary Literature. By PHILO M. BUCK, JR. New York: Oxford University Press, [1942]. Pp. xiv + 353. \$2.25.

"The Language Of Poetry" is a valuable collection despite a number of defects. Not the least of these is the fact that each of the four distinguished authors have expressed the same perceptions better elsewhere in their writings. Professor Wheelwright, who appears to have begun the formulation of a religious philosophy, speaks of the poet's need of a mythology; Wallace Stevens discusses the complex relationships between the imagination and the actual world; I. A. Richards points out once more (but it can never be

done too much!') how the meanings of words act upon each other in a poem, and Cleanth Brooks analyzes the paradoxical surface of metaphor in poetry. The essays suffer from having been lectures. One can see how the living voice must have emphasized and organized passages which in print are full of gaps and unexpressed transitions. Wallace Stevens' essay suffers in addition from a fault which is the other side of its value: it proceeds in terms of metaphors which are, I should think, hardly intelligible to readers not familiar with the poetic style which has made Mr. Stevens one of the best living poets. What he has to say is important in itself, and useful in the study of his poetry; but his valuable intuitions deserve better expression than the metaphorical statement he has given them here.

It is impossible for me to find anything of value in "Directions in Contemporary Literature." From the details of the writing to the broad generalities which throng its pages, one gets little but inaccuracy, vagueness, platitudinousness, and comparisons remarkable for their scope and their pointlessness. The details of the writing contain errors in quotation and punctuation which render sentences almost meaningless; I am thinking, for example, of the quotation from Pascal on page 75 in which the accents are missing. But it is by the kind of thinking which runs through the book that one is most amazed and distressed. It must be possible to say anything about any author if George Santayana can be called a twentieth century Hamlet, if André Gide can be called at the same time "the eternal adolescent" and the Faust of the twentieth century, and if Adolf Hitler (who from the author's point of view is obviously a direction in contemporary literature) can be compared to Joan of Arc. Professor Buck's ostensible purpose is to examine the leading ideas of modern authors—Santayana, Hauptmann, Gide, Pirandello, Proust, Eugene O'Neill, Tagore, Huxley, Romaine, Hitler, Sholokhov, T. S. Eliot, and Mann are all apparently modern authors in the same sense—in order to find out how they propose to deal with the present crisis of society. This purpose permits him to disregard the literary quality of these authors and to go on any excursion of discussion which happens to occur to him. He concludes that "hope must be realistic" and that one ought to be self-reliant and reasonable, a conclusion he finds warrant for in Montaigne, rather than in any modern author. The character and competence of the book can be accurately estimated by considering such a sentence as this: "Even Tolstoi and Dostoyevsky at times almost forgot that literature has a serious mission in life when they wrote *Anna Karenina*, and *The Brothers Karamazov*," an error so complete and so obvious that it leaves one breathless. It would be interesting to know what the Oxford Press had in mind when it decided to publish this work.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Housman: 1897-1936. By GRANT RICHARDS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. xxii + 495. \$4.00.

No one interested in A. E. Housman can fail to be thankful for Grant Richards's *Housman. 1897-1936*, the most extensive work yet published about the poet-scholar. The author says it "is not a biography; it is not a critical study. It is largely the story of my own business relation and my own friendship with Alfred Housman" from 1897 to A. E. H.'s death in 1936. Depending on his memory, on a few notes, and principally on about 500 letters Housman wrote to him, and quoting from scores of critics, eulogists, detractors, and parodists, Richards has produced a vast and indispensable compilation. This wealth of citation is burdensome, for many of the letters are no more than the poet's refusals to anthologists, permission to composers, and agonies over printers' errors in editions of his poems or of Manilius. Of the ten appendices by various hands some are unnecessary: for example, Withers's "Recollections" has since been expanded into a book, and Cockerell's "Dates of Housman's Poems" is far more complete in the *Collected Poems*.

But we do have definite contributions to our knowledge of Housman: the virtually complete bibliographical account of *A Shropshire Lad*, including long quotations from early reviews; the detailed portrait of Housman the gastronomic don, with his refined taste for good food and good wines; and Housman's own poetic workshop, as shown in his reading and criticism of contemporaries (he liked Proust, Hardy, Mark Twain, Edith Wharton, Millay, and disliked Hewlett, Galsworthy, the later Meredith) and his borrowings from early writers, Shakespeare, Milton and others, which Professor G. B. A. Fletcher has catalogued in Appendix III.

In all of these Richards is on surer ground than when he attempts to explain the genesis of *A Shropshire Lad* and the "unpleasant element" in Housman's poetry: a romantic interest in his own sex. Granted his character is "blameless," the question of the psychological origin of the *Lad* is still unsettled. The poet's sister, Mrs. Katharine M. Symons, in a short introduction, likewise denies that the poems derive from an unhappy personal attachment. The book is not entirely free from the carelessness which Housman so often castigated in printers: thus, when one letter appears twice (pp. 132 n. and 241) two variations occur, and although Richards says (on p. 54) of a humorous poem, "I am allowed to print it in facsimile," the facsimile is not included in the American edition.¹ (It is however in the English edition, printed five months earlier, as is another illustration, on p. 66, referred to in the American text but omitted in this printing.)

¹ Richards is apparently unaware that the poem had previously appeared in Laurence Housman's *My Brother, A. E. Housman*, p. 232.

Despite the lack of profundity, *Housman: 1897-1936* is of the greatest documentary value. Though we still believe with Laurence Housman that no complete life of his brother could be written "because no one is competent to write it," this contribution to Housman literature is one that could have been written only by Richards and as such one that Housman admirers will find very useful.

WILLIAM WHITE

U. S. Army Signal Corps, Alaska

Essays in Criticism and Research. By GEOFFREY TILLOTSON.
Cambridge: at The University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942. Pp. xxvii + 215. \$3.75.

These essays are both lively and learned. The contents, ranging from Henryson to Housman, are brought together rather casually from scattered reviews, articles, and brief notes, and are of various degrees of importance, but never dull or trivial. Tillotson's deftness of touch appears to good advantage in the pleasant paper on "The Publication of Housman's Comic Poems." A principal topic is diction and imagery, as in the essays on Elizabethan and eighteenth century subjects. Much of the eighteenth century material has already appeared in the author's book on Pope and elsewhere. The approach to poetic diction which he recommends is fruitful but difficult; as he says in the *Pope*, "Each word must be examined separately, and it must be remembered that the exact linguistic effects of two or three hundred years ago are now impossible to synthesize." Moreover the words are to be considered in relation to the several intentions of the poet as they appear in meter, sound-pattern, grammatical and rhetorical structure, and conformity to a given genre. Tillotson speaks frequently of the layers of meaning and intention in Pope. His general position, though he does not state it in just this way, is that the accepted account of eighteenth century poetry exaggerates the impoverishment of connotation in the best verse of the period. For poetic diction in the narrow sense (practically limited to certain literary kinds, such as georgic, pastoral, elegy, and ode) he offers an apology in terms of the standards of the age, which he is perhaps too readily inclined to take as an absolute aesthetic justification. Undoubtedly the diction is often used with greater precision than has generally been admitted, and it is important to point out that perfunctory attention to the substratum of classical reminiscence is not enough, and that neglected sources of the vocabulary, such as physico-theological terminology, must be considered. Granted all this, it is still true that the diction may hamper the other intentions of the poet. Tillotson is concerned with showing how a major artist like

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Pope can accommodate the diction to multiple intentions or "ambiguities." In a balanced estimate the imperfect solutions and the failures would also be considered. But Tillotson's Preface anticipates this criticism with the remark that in attacking received opinion what is required is not a final estimate but "a horn blown in an unexpected key." His brilliant comments call for sequels and supplements, and send us back with renewed eagerness to the essential issues raised by the texts themselves.

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BRIEF MENTION

Humanistic Studies in Honor of John Calvin Metcalf. Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia, 1941. Pp. x + 338. \$3.00. (University of Virginia Studies, 1.) In a brief notice one can only indicate the range of these nineteen papers, all contributed by members of the University of Virginia in honor of a colleague. Half of them are of the highly "specialized" sort usually found in the journals of learned societies. Here belong A. D. Fraser's paper on "The Bronze Bull in Cleveland," the article by Atcheson L. Hench on "The Survival of 'Start-Naked' in the South," and "'Long I' in Richmond Speech" by Francis Duke. Another group of somewhat greater "popular appeal" is represented by Lester J. Cappon's "Government and Private Industry in the Southern Confederacy" and by the study of "Congress and Contested Elections" by R. K. Gooch. Most worthy of this permanent record, however, are the three contributions from members of the Corcoran School of Philosophy. Professor William S. Weedon's article "Concerning Biography," though dense and difficult reading, deserves the close study that it requires. "Knowing and Making," by Lewis M. Hammond, is a timely amplification of Kant's view that the mind in the act of cognition works freely as a creative artist. But the most rewarding of all these papers is the deeply thoughtful and well written essay by Albert G. A. Balz entitled "Modern Faith and the Utopian Fallacy."

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CORRESPONDENCE

TENNYSON AND PERSIAN POETRY, AGAIN. Mr. J. D. Yohannan's article, "Tennyson and Persian Poetry,"¹ may fairly be termed misleading. The central difficulty concerns the following passage (the italics are mine).

But we have already gone by the year 1846, when *apparently* Tennyson began to read Persian poetry in the original Edward B Cowell . . . in that year introduced Tennyson to the Persian language. There is not *much more* than Cowell's word for this (the *Memoir*, for instance, does not mention it) but the internal evidence of the poetry, as we shall see, supports the contention Cowell testifies that Tennyson "took to Hafiz," whose *odes* he had been translating for the poet interlinearly. . . *Apparently* Tennyson made but little progress with his Persian at this time, for eight years later (in 1854) he was *hard at it again*.

The only evidence behind these statements and implications—except the internal evidence of the poetry, which will be examined below—is the testimony of Cowell, which occurs in a letter of 1898:

I once began to teach him [Tennyson] a little Persian in 1846, when I spent a few days in London and went with Ed. FitzGerald to see him in his bachelor lodgings. He wanted to read some Hafiz, so I translated an ode with an interlinear translation; but the character daunted him. He took to Hafiz. . . .²

These sentences indicate, to anyone less enthusiastic than Mr. Yohannan, nothing more than several hours of friendly conversation upon the Persian characters, the Persian language, and Hafiz. That Tennyson desired to read Persian in 1846 is certain; that he did as much as learn the Persian characters at that time is unproved.

The earliest evidence that the poet made a serious effort to learn Persian comes from a letter that he wrote to Forster on 29 March 1854. He apologized for not writing sooner because of

the bad condition of my right eye which quite suddenly came on as I was reading, or trying to read small Persian text. . . . in a moment, after a three hours' hanging over this scratchy text, my right eye became filled with great masses of floating blackness, and the other eye [became] similarly affected tho' not so badly. I am in great fear about them, and think of coming up to town about them.³

¹ *MLN.*, LVII (1942), 83-92

² G. Cowell, *Life and Letters of Edward Byles Cowell* (1904), pp. 373-374. The remainder of the last sentence quoted does not concern Tennyson: Cowell's acquaintance with the poet remained slight. His biographer records that the two men met only (a) at London, in 1846, as above; (b) at Oxford, during the May-week of 1855; (c) one day at Cambridge in 1886. Cowell's name does not appear in the *Memoir*, in *Tennyson and his Friends*, or in any of the books about Tennyson.

³ *Alfred Lord Tennyson, a Memoir* (1897), I, 373.

He had probably been moved to study Persian by the imminence of a visit from FitzGerald, who, he knew, would be able and glad to help him. The visit seems to have taken place in April.⁴ In the *Memoir* Hallam Tennyson wrote that during a fortnight

In the evenings he [FitzGerald] played Mozart, or translated Persian Odes for my father, who, as has been said in the letter to Forster, had hurt his eyes by poring over a small-printed Persian Grammar until this with Hafiz and other Persian books had to be hidden away, for he had seen "the Persian letters stalking like giants round the walls of his room."⁵

We do not know whether Tennyson accepted FitzGerald's offer, made in a letter of 15 June, to obtain for him another Persian dictionary and a text and a translation of the *Gulistan*.⁶ It is probable that, after his guest left Farringford, Tennyson allowed his attempt to learn Persian to lapse. There is no evidence to the contrary. Throughout his life he was periodically terrified by the notion that his sight was failing; and the strain that Persian characters, even of a large size, would have placed upon his eyes may well have caused him to refrain. It is true that in March 1857 FitzGerald wrote to Cowell: "I am sure that what Tennyson said to you is true: that Hafiz is the most Eastern—or, he should have said, most Persian—of the Persians."⁷ The Laureate must have made his remark before 1 August, 1856, when Cowell sailed for India. It is impossible, even on the basis of Mr. Yohannan's arguments, to suppose that Tennyson's remark indicated any wide and critical knowledge of Persian poetry in the original. Mr. Yohannan displays a proper disinclination to accept FitzGerald's phrase at its face value. One may wonder what tentative sentence was transmuted in Cowell's eager and generous mind, and reported in glory to FitzGerald.

It is conceivable that, as Mr. Yohannan suggests, Tennyson's attempt to learn Persian—or FitzGerald's oral translations of Hafiz⁸—affected the imagery of the twenty-second section of the first part of *Maud*, which was written in the summer, fall, and winter of 1854. On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that Tennyson ever became able to read Persian with profit, unaided; or that he ever attempted to do so after the spring of 1854.

II.

"The internal evidence of the poetry" that Mr. Yohannan proffers will be found—apart from the section of *Maud* just mentioned—to be nugatory. From the passage that has been quoted from Mr. Yohannan's article, one sentence was omitted: "Later, he [Cowell] detected Tennyson's use of the

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 374.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Tennyson and his Friends* (1911), 107.

⁷ *Letters and Literary Remains of Edward FitzGerald* (1902-3), II, 61.

⁸ Mr. Yohannan says that "Aided by Sir William Jones' *Grammar*, Tennyson managed to get on pretty well with the odes of Hafiz." He gives no reference; and I have been unable to discover any basis for the assertion.

form of the Persian *ghazal* or ode in 'The Princess'; more particularly in one of the songs which were added in 1850."⁹ By the phrase "more particularly" Mr. Yohannan means, of course, "to speak more precisely." The lyric in question is the first of those that the Princess Ida reads aloud by the bedside of the wounded Prince. It appeared in the first edition of "The Princess," in 1847. It is not a true *ghazal*, as comparison with Mr. Yohannan's definition of the form will make clear, the refrain does not appear as consistently as it should, nor is it preceded, as it should be, by rhyming words. Although there can be little doubt that Tennyson had in mind the stanzaic devices of the Persian ode, he employed them only so far as he saw fit. Mr. Yohannan's further deduction, that the poet had observed the effects of these devices in the original Persian, must be denied. For no matter how seldom the form of the Persian ode had appeared in English verses or English translations, it had before 1825 been thoroughly domesticated in German verse, most notably by Friedrich Rückert and Count Platen, and by Goethe in his *West-östliche Divan*. We know that Tennyson studied German quite seriously in the 1830's. Since Goethe was the one German poet whom we know Tennyson to have studied thoroughly, and admired highly; and since Goethe's treatment of the *ghazal* is by far the nearest to Tennyson's, it is probable that the form of the lyric in "The Princess" was suggested by Goethe's experimental approximations to the Persian ode. In fact, one may suggest that Tennyson's expressed desire, in 1846, to read something by Hafiz in the original was a characteristic attempt to confirm information derived at second hand.

Mr. Yohannan also considers the phrase "behind the veil," which occurs in the fifty-sixth section of *In Memoriam*. Following Dean Bradley, he discusses the possibility that Tennyson had in mind "the veil in *Leviticus*, xvi, 2 and *Hebrews*, vi, 19-20 . . . that is, the veil which shut off the 'holy place.' This view, it seems to me [Mr. Yohannan writes], is weak because it forces upon the imagination a material concept in an eminently mystical poem." A reference to *Hebrews*, vi, 17-20—which may be termed the indubitable source of the notion, though not of the exact phrase—should be sufficient to refute Mr. Yohannan's remark. There the image of eternal hope lying with the veil is part of a highly mystical metaphor. There is no need to seek a Persian source for the phrase.

His fourth and final instance of direct influence by Oriental poetry upon Tennyson Mr. Yohannan proposes in the following sentence:

It is easy to believe that Tennyson deliberately availed himself of this novel metrical form [of the *ghazal*] when one recalls how he was impressed by the meters of the Arabic poems, *The Moallakat*, which he imitated with great success in the Locksley poems.

He gives in a footnote references to the two passages in the *Memoir* which record Tennyson's admission that Sir William Jones' prose translations of

⁹ *Fraser's Magazine*, LIX (1856), 603 n. "We can distinctly recognize the Persian measure in Tennyson's beautiful ode in the *Princess*." Here the words "distinctly recognize" must mean "detect with certainty the influence of."

the *Moðllakát* gave him the notion of "Locksley Hall."¹⁰ But there is no evidence that Tennyson "was impressed by the meters of the Arabic poems." "Locksley Hall" and "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After" he wrote in catalectic trochaic octameters, according to Sir William Jones, none of the seven poems that make up the *Moðllakát* is in trochaics, or in octameters—nor can any metrical jugglery equate any of them with "Locksley Hall." As a matter of fact, comparison will show that the relation between "Locksley Hall" and the *Moðllakát* is of the most tenuous kind.

III.

On the first pages of his article Mr. Yohannan suggests that as a boy and as a young man Tennyson was influenced by a number of (unspecified) translations of Persian poets. This is quite possible; but it is an unnecessary assumption. We know that as a boy Tennyson read, or at least read in, the *Works* of Sir William Jones, whose translations from various Oriental languages are a sufficient source for the Orientalisms in question. Mr. Yohannan writes:

A glance at some of the titles of the *Poems by Two Brothers*, and particularly at some of the footnotes to Alfred's contributions, will reveal his debt to these sources [translations of Persian poetry by Sir William "and his fellow Orientalists"]. His early acquaintance with Persia is manifest in the poem of that name, in which Xenophon and Sir William are equally laid under contribution for epithets. From the former Tennyson gets the fauna and flora of the country. . . .

With the exception of the references to Sir William Jones, these statements are, to put it bluntly, false. The titles and footnotes in *Poems by Two Brothers* mention only one Oriental poet—the Sanskrit poet Jayadeva, whose *Gītagōvinda* Sir William Jones had translated. The only Orientalists mentioned, other than Sir William, are George Sale, the translator of the Koran (which is in Arabic prose), and Major Rennell, the author of a learned work on *The Geographical System of Herodotus*. Tennyson had no doubt read the *Anabasis* of Xenophon in the schoolroom (it was in his time used as an introduction to Greek prose), and it is certain that in writing his poem on Persia he drew upon his memories of the text. But he derived thence neither the fauna nor flora of Persia. In the first place, he could not, since the March of the Ten Thousand did not traverse any part of Persia proper. In the second place, he did not: in "Persia" he mentioned neither beast, bird, nor reptile, and the only two plants that he named were the rice-plant and the blue lotus, neither of which happens to occur in the writings of Xenophon. The apparent basis for Mr. Yohannan's claim is the fact that Tennyson referred to "fair Diarbeck's land of spice,"

¹⁰ Three references to the *Works* of Sir William Jones occur in the footnotes to *Poems by Two Brothers* (2nd ed., 1893; pp. 80, 166, 208); the last of these proves that the library at Somersby contained a copy of the edition, in six quarto volumes, of 1799.

and appended a footnote. "Xenophon says, that every shrub in these wilds had an aromatic odour." The canton or Diar of Beir lay in upper Mesopotamia.

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REPLY. Mr. Paden is right in pointing out:

1) that in the *Poem by Two Brothers* there is no explicit evidence of Tennyson's having read any other Orientalist but Sir William Jones.

2) that in the poem "Persia" Tennyson does not draw upon Xenophon for his fauna and flora, and that no fauna are mentioned in the poem. The point is of no importance that I can see.

3) that Tennyson was not imitating *meters* of the *Modlakât* in his Locksley poems. There is, however, absolutely no doubt that the Arabic poems were the model for Tennyson's as he disclosed to both his son and F. T. Palgrave (*Memoir*, I, 195, II, 491). Moreover, Tennyson did approximate the long rolling line of the Arabic in his octometers. My original point was made only in passing, but see *Islam in English Literature* (Beirut, Lebanon, 1939, p. 123) by Byron Porter Smith, who regards the relation between the two works as more than tenuous.

As to my main contentions, I cannot yield to Mr. Paden at all. It was not my purpose to prove that Tennyson had "any wide and critical knowledge of Persian poetry in the original," but only that he had enough knowledge to read in the language, however haltingly. It is clear that he worked with a grammar, the poems of Hafiz, and "other Persian books"—as Mr. Paden's quotation shows. (Later it is possible that a dictionary and the *Gulistan* were read.) He may indeed not have pursued his Persian studies seriously but I am inclined to believe, on the basis of internal evidence, that such reading as he did left its impress upon his work.

Having admitted the song from "The Princess" resembles the *ghazal* in form, Mr. Paden prefers to suppose that Tennyson learned the form from German sources—although neither the *West-östlicher Divan* nor Rückert and Platen are mentioned anywhere in the *Memoir*. With a leading Persian scholar like Cowell for friend, why should it require Goethe to send Tennyson to Persian poetry? Mr. Paden also admits, as he must, that Cowell read and translated Hafiz to Tennyson in 1846, yet he says later: "Mr. Yohannan's further deduction, that the poet had observed the effects of these devices [of the *ghazal*] in the original Persian, must be denied." Equally dogmatic is his preference for a Biblical source for the phrase "behind the veil," for both the Old and the New Testament *loci* cited read "within the veil," while the Persian phrase *pass-i-pardah* says exactly "behind the veil."

Against the degree of probability that I have claimed for Tennyson's knowledge and use of Persian poetry, Mr. Paden has only asserted a possibility to the contrary.

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